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Daniel O'Connell

THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE

TREATY OF LIMERICK TO THE PRESENT TIME:

BEING

A CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE ABBÉ MACGEOGHEGAN

COMPILED BY

JOHN MITCHEL.

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INTRODUCTION.

In preparing a Continuation of the valuable History of Ireland by the Abbé MacGeoghegan, the compiler has aimed only to reduce and condense into a coherent narrative the materials which exist in abundance in a great number of publications of every date within the period included in the Continuation.

That period of a century and a half embraces a series of deeply interesting events in the annals of our country—the deliberate Breach of the Treaty of Limerick—the long series of Penal Laws—the exile of the Irish soldiery to France—their achievements in the French and other services—the career of Dean Swift—the origin of a Colonial Nationality among the English of Ireland—the Agitations of Lucas—the Volunteering—the Declaration of Independence—the history of the Independent Irish Parliament—the Plot to bring about the Union—the United Irishmen—the Negotiations with France—the Insurrection of 1798—the French Expeditions to Ireland—the "Union" (so called)—the decay of Trade—the fraudulent Imposition of Debt upon Ireland—the Orangemen—the beginning of O'Connell's power—the *Veto* Agitation—the Catholic Association—Clare Election—Emancipation—the series of Famines—the Repeal Agitation—the Monster Meetings—the State Trials—the Great Famine—the Death of O'Connell—the Irish Confederation—the fate of Smith O'Brien and his comrades—the Legislation of the United Parliament for Ireland—Poor-Laws—National Education—the Tenant-Right Agitation—the present condition of the country, etc.

The mere enumeration of these principal heads of the narrative will show how very wide a field has had to be traversed in this Continuation; and what a large number of works—Memoirs, Correspondence—Parliamentary Debates—Speeches and local histories must have been collated, in order to produce a continuous story. There exist, indeed, some safe and useful guides, in the works of writers who have treated special parts or limited periods of the general History; and the compiler has had no scruple in making very large use of the collections

of certain diligent writers who may be said to have almost exhausted their respective parts of the subject.

It may aid the reader who desires to make a more minute examination of any part of the History, if we here set down the titles of the principal works which have been used in preparing the present: Doctor John Curry's "Historical Review of the Civil Wars," and "State of the Irish Catholics"—Mr. Francis Plowden's elaborate and conscientious "Historical Review of the State of Ireland," before the Union:—the same author's "History of Ireland" from the Union till 1810—the Letters and Pamphlets of Dean Swift—Harris's "Life of William the Third"—Arthur Young's "Tour in Ireland"—the Irish "Parliamentary Debates"—Mr. Scully's excellent "State of the Penal Laws"—Thomas MacNevin's "History of the Volunteers," in the "Library of Ireland"—Hardy's "Life of Lord Charlemont"—the Four Series of Dr. Madden's collections on the "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen"—Hay's "History of the Rebellion in Wexford"—the Rev. Mr. Gordon's "History of the Irish Rebellion" [the work of Sir Richard Musgrave, as being wholly untrustworthy, is purposely excluded]—The "Papers and Correspondence" of Lord Cornwallis—and of Lord Castlereagh;—the "Memoirs of Miles Byrne, an Irish Exile in France," and a French officer of rank, lately deceased—the Lives and Speeches of Grattan and Curran—Sir Jonah Barrington's "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation"—Memoirs and Journals of Theobald Wolfe Tone—Richard Lalor Shiel's "Sketches of the Irish Bar"—Wyse's "History of the Catholic Association"—O'Connell's Speeches and Debates in the United Parliament.

These are the chief authorities for all the time previous to the Catholic Relief Act. As to the sketch which follows, of transactions still later, it would be obviously impossible to enumerate the multifarious authorities: but the speeches of O'Connell and of William Smith O'Brien are still, for the Irish history of their own time, what the orations of Grattan were for his; and what the vivid writings of Swift were for the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The newspapers and Parliamentary Blue Books also come in, as essential materials (though sometimes questionable) for this later period: and for the Repeal Agitation, the State Trials, the terrible scenes of the Famine, and the consequent extirpation of millions of the Irish people, we have, without scruple, made use (along with other materials) of the facts contained in "The Last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)"—excluding generally the inferences and opinions of the writer, and his estimate of his contemporaries. Indeed, the reader will find in the present work very few opinions or theories put forward at all; the genuine object of the writer being simply to

present a clear narrative of the events as they evolved themselves one out of the others.

Neither does this History need comment; and indignant declamation would but weaken the effect of the dreadful facts we shall have to tell. If the writer has succeeded—as he has earnestly desired to do—in arranging those facts in good order, and exhibiting the naked truth concerning English domination since the Treaty of Limerick, as our fathers saw it, and felt it;—if he has been enabled to picture, in some degree like life, the long agony of the Penal Days, when the pride of the ancient Irish race was stung by daily, hourly humiliations, and their passions goaded to madness by brutal oppression;—and further to picture the still more destructive devastations perpetrated upon our country in this enlightened nineteenth century; then it is hoped that every reader will draw for himself such general conclusions as the facts will warrant, without any declamatory appeals to patriotic resentment, or promptings to patriotic aspiration:—the conclusion, in short, that, while England lives and flourishes, Ireland must die a daily death, and suffer an endless martyrdom; and that if Irishmen are ever to enjoy the rights of human beings, the British Empire must first perish.

As the learned Abbé MacGeoghegan was for many years a chaplain to the Irish Brigade in France, and dedicated his work to that renowned corps of exiles, whose dearest wish and prayer was always to encounter and overthrow the British power upon any field, it is presumed that the venerable author would wish his work to be continued in the same thoroughly Irish spirit which actuated his noble warrior-congregation;—and he would desire the dark record of English atrocity in Ireland, which he left unfinished, to be duly brought down through all its subsequent scenes of horror and slaughter, which have been still more terrible after his day than they were before. And this is what the present Continuation professes to do.

J. M.

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HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE TREATY OF LIMERICK TO THE END OF 1691.

Treaty of Limerick.—Violated or not?—Arguments of Macaulay.—Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath.—No faith to be kept with Papists.—First act in violation of the treaty.—Situation of the Catholics.—Charge against Sarsfield.

The Articles of Limerick were signed on the 3d October, 1691, and the city was surrendered to the army of King William, who was then, for the first time, recognized by the body of the Irish nation as King of Ireland: and when the Irish forces, who had held Limerick and Galway so gallantly, were shipped off to France, pursuant to the capitulation, there was not left in all Ireland the slightest semblance of any power capable of resisting or troubling the new settlement of the kingdom. The timely surrender had also enabled William to bring to a close this most troublesome and costly war, at a moment when it was urgently needful for him to concentrate all his force against the great power of France.

It is therefore evident, and has always been admitted, that in return for the engagements of the treaty purporting to protect Catholic rights, the king and the English colonists received most valuable consideration. "In Ireland there was peace: the domination of the colonists was absolute." These are the words of Lord Macaulay, who, of all modern historians, has uniformly exhibited the most inveterate malignity against the Irish nation.

Before proceeding to narrate in detail the manner in which the articles were observed on the part of the king and the dominant colony of English, it will be well to exhibit some other facts proving what a very valuable consideration the Catholics gave for the poor guaranty they thought they were receiving on their side. At the beginning of October the winter was closely approaching, and the army of Ginkell was almost certain to be forced to raise the siege on that account alone. The same Macaulay, in his estimate of the chances of Ginkell's success, thus sums them up—

"Yet it was possible that an attempt to storm the city might fail, as a similar attempt had failed twelve months before. If the siege should be turned into a blockade, it was probable that the pestilence which had been fatal to the army of Schomberg, which had compelled William to retreat, and which had all but prevailed even against the genius and energy of Marlborough, might soon avenge the carnage of Aghrim. The rains had lately been heavy. The whole plain might shortly be an immense pool of stagnant water. It might be necessary to move the troops to a healthier situation than the banks of the Shannon, and to provide for them a warmer shelter than that of tents. The enemy would be safe till the spring. In the spring a French army might land in Ireland—the natives might again rise in arms from Donegal to Kerry—and the war, which was now all but extinguished, might blaze forth fiercer than ever."

This historian, whose work enjoys much more popularity than credit, does not mention a circumstance which made it, in fact, certain that the war would soon have blazed forth fiercer than ever, beyond all doubt. It is that, before the signing of those articles, assurances had been sent from France to the defenders of Limerick that a considerable expedition was then on its way

to their aid, under command of Chateau Renault; which re-enforcement did actually arrive in Dingle Bay two days after the treaty was signed, "consisting," says Harris, in his Life of King William, "as appears from the minutes of a letter from the lords-justices to the king, of eighteen ships of war, six fire-ships, and twenty great ships of burthen, and brought on board eight or ten thousand arms, two hundred officers, and three thousand men." Whether the Irish commanders were or were not justified in surrendering a city which they were still capable of defending, and while in daily expectation of so powerful succor, is a question which need not here be discussed. The sequel of the story will show that they had soon cause to regret not having held out to the last extremity, though they should have been buried in the ruins of their ancient city.

It was afterwards known, too, that William was himself so sensible of the necessity of finishing this struggle and bringing his troops to re-enforce his army on the continent, that he had sent instructions to the lords-justices to issue a proclamation assuring the Irish of much more favorable conditions than they afterwards obtained by the Articles of Limerick. And the justices actually framed these instructions into a proclamation, afterwards called the secret proclamation, because, though printed, it was never published; for their lordships, learning that the defenders of Limerick were offering to capitulate, hastened to Ginkell's camp, that they might hold the Irish to as hard terms as could possibly be wrung from them. So that, as Lord Macaulay complacently observes, the Dutch general "had about him persons who were competent to direct him."

In return for this full and final surrender of the last fortress which held for King James, and of the whole cause of that monarch, the Irish Catholic leaders stipulated, it must be confessed, for but a poor measure of civil and religious freedom when they put their hands to the clause engaging that "The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; *or*, as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second." But it is probable that, placing more reliance on the good faith of King William than events afterwards justified, they believed themselves secured by the remaining words of that article—"And their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion." All which was duly ratified by their majesties' letters-patent. Sarsfield and Wauchop then, with their French brother-officers, in marching out of Limerick, thought that they were leaving, as a barrier against oppression of the Catholics, at least the honor of a king.

The whole history of Ireland, from that day until the year 1793, consists of one long and continual breach of this treaty.

But as there has been, both among Irish and English political writers, a great deal of wild declamation and unwarranted statement on this subject, it seems needful to give a precise view of the real purport and limitations of the engagements taken towards the Irish Catholics upon this occasion. Independently, then, of the royal promise of future parliamentary relief to "protect Catholics from all disturbance," there was the general engagement for such privileges to Catholics in the exercise of their religion "as were consistent with the laws of Ireland; *or*, as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II." And also the ninth article of the treaty, that "The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government shall be the oath above-mentioned (namely, the oath of allegiance), and no other." These provisions were applicable to all Catholics living in any part of Ireland. Other articles of the treaty, from the second to the eighth inclusive, related only, *first*, to the people of Limerick and other garrisons then held by the Irish; *second*, to officers and soldiers then serving King James, in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo; *third*, to "all such as were under their protection in the said counties," meaning all the inhabitants of

those counties. These three classes of persons were to be secured their properties and their rights, privileges, and immunities (as in the reign of Charles the Second), and to be permitted to exercise their several callings as freely as Catholics were permitted to do in that reign. We need not, at this day, occupy ourselves at great length with these latter specific stipulations; but attend to the general proviso in favor of all Catholics. What, then, were the rights of Catholics under King Charles the Second?—for this seems to be what is meant by the other phrase, "consistent with the laws of Ireland."

Now it is true that penal laws against Catholic priests and Catholic worship did exist in Ireland during the reign of Charles the Second: Catholics, for example, could not be members of a corporation in Ireland, nor hold certain civil offices in that reign. But there was no law to prevent Catholic peers and commons from sitting in parliament. There was also in practice so general a *toleration* as allowed Catholic lawyers and physicians to practice their professions. At the very lowest, therefore, this practical toleration must have been what the Catholics thought they were stipulating for in the Articles of Limerick. Neither did there exist in the reign of Charles the Second that long and sanguinary series of enactments concerning education, the holding of land, the owning of horses, and the like, which were elaborated by the ingenuity of more modern chiefs of the Protestant Ascendency. The first distinct breach of the Articles of Limerick was perpetrated by King William and his parliament in England, just two months after those Articles were signed.

King William was in the Netherlands when he heard of the surrender of Limerick, and at once hastened to London. Three days later he summoned a parliament. Very early in the session the English House of Commons, exercising its customary power of binding Ireland by acts passed in London, sent up to the House of Lords a bill providing that no person should sit in the Irish parliament, nor should hold any Irish office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nor should practise law or medicine in Ireland, till he had taken the oaths of allegiance *and supremacy* and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation. The law was passed, only reserving the right of such lawyers and physicians as had been within the walls of Galway and Limerick when those towns capitulated. And so it received the royal assent. This law has given rise to keen debates; especially during the Catholic Relief Agitation; the Catholics insisting that disabilities imposed by law on account of religion, are an invasion of those privileges in the exercise of their religion, which purported to be secured by treaty; the Ascendency Party arguing that the first article of the treaty meant only that Catholic worship should be tolerated. The Catholics pointed out that by Article Nine, only the oath of allegiance was to be imposed on them, while this new law required those who should practise law or sit in the House of Parliament, to take a certain other oath, which they could not do without perjuring themselves. The Ascendency Party replied that on taking the oath of allegiance alone, Catholics were tolerated in *their worship*, and that this was all they had stipulated for; that it still belonged to the Legislature to prescribe suitable formalities to be observed by those who aspired to exercise a public trust or a responsible profession. It is apparent that on this principle of interpretation, parliament might require the oath of supremacy from a baker or a wine-merchant, as well as from a lawyer and doctor, and then it would be lawful for a Catholic to go and hear Mass, but it would be lawful for him to do nothing else. As might be expected, the Baron Macaulay takes the Ascendency view of the question, as will appear from this specimen of his reasoning:

"The champions of Protestant ascendency were well pleased to see the debate diverted from a political question about which they were in the wrong, to a historical question about which they were in the right. They had no difficulty in proving that the first article, as understood by all the contracting parties, meant only that the Roman Catholic worship should be *tolerated as in time past.* That article was drawn up by Ginkell; and, just before he drew it up, he had declared that he would rather try the chance of arms

than consent that Irish Papists should be capable of holding civil and military offices, of exercising liberal professions, and of becoming members of municipal corporations. How is it possible to believe that he would, of his own accord, have promised that the House of Lords and the House of Commons should be open to men to whom he would not open a guild of skinners or a guild of cordwainers? How, again, is it possible to believe that the English peers would, while professing the most punctilious respect for public faith, while lecturing the Commons on the duty of observing public faith, while taking counsel with the most learned and upright jurist of the age as to the best mode of maintaining public faith, have committed a flagrant violation of public faith, and that not a single lord should have been so honest or so factious as to protest against an act of monstrous perfidy aggravated by hypocrisy?"

Whereupon it may be remarked that mere toleration of Catholic worship was *not* understood, by all the contracting parties, as being all which was meant by the treaty, inasmuch as many Catholic peers and commoners did attend in their places in the Irish parliament the very next year after this law was passed in London; and the slavish Irish parliament then, for the first time, excluded them by resolutions in obedience to the law enacted in the English Houses. As for the argument which seems intended to be conveyed in the string of questions contained in the above extract, we answer that "it is possible to believe" almost any thing of the men and the times we are now discussing; and that this narrative will tell of many other things which will seem impossible to believe, and which any good man would wish it were impossible to believe.

Macaulay, indeed, before quitting this question, does admit, as it were incidentally, and in the obscurity of a note, that although the Treaty of Limerick was not broken at that particular moment, nor by that particular statute of the 3d William and Mary, c. 2, yet, "The Irish Roman Catholics complained, and with but too much reason, that at a later period the Treaty of Limerick *was* violated." And it is remarkable that this historian endeavors to sustain his position by the authority of the Abbé MacGeoghegan. He says, "The Abbé MacGeoghegan complains that the treaty was violated some years after it was made, but he does not pretend that it was violated by Statute 3d, William and Mary, c. 2." This is extremely uncandid. The Abbé MacGeoghegan did not profess to continue his History of Ireland beyond the Treaty of Limerick; before quitting his subject, however, the venerable author does incidentally mention that this treaty was afterwards violated by many statutes, which it was not his province to arrange in chronological order; and after noticing some of the hardships thus inflicted upon the Irish people, he adds: "By *other acts*, the Irish nobility were deprived of their arms and horses; they were debarred from purchasing land, from becoming *members of the bar*, or filling any public office; and, contrary to the ninth article of the treaty, they were made subject to infamous oaths."*

Notwithstanding the very slender concessions which were apparently granted to the Catholic people by this memorable treaty, however, the Protestant English colony in Ireland was immediately agitated by the bitterest indignation against both the general and the lords-justices. They thought the Irish entitled to no articles or conditions but what would expose them to the severest rigors of war; and the "Protestant Interest," and "Ascendency" thought themselves defrauded of a legitimate vengeance, to say nothing of their natural expectations of plunder; a most unfounded apprehension, as will presently appear.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the lords-justices returned to Dublin; and on the following Sunday attended service in Christ Church Cathedral. The preacher was Doctor Dopping, bishop of Meath; and he took for the subject of his sermon the late important events at Limerick. He argued that no terms of peace ought to be observed with so perfidious a people;† a fact which, if it were not notorious and well-attested, might seem incredible; seeing that one of the worst charges brought against the Catholics at that period was that *they* taught that faith was not to be kept with heretics. The doctrine of the Bishop of Meath, however,

* See page 613 of Sadlier's Edition.
† Harris's Life of King William.

was not approved by all the divines of his party, for on the next Sunday, in the same church, Doctor Moreton, bishop of Kildare, demonstrated the obligation of keeping public faith. It seems that this important question greatly occupied men's minds at that time; for it was judged necessary to settle and quiet public opinion; and to this end, on the third Sunday, in the same church, Dean Synge preached a conciliatory sort of discourse, neither absolutely insisting on observing the treaty, nor distinctly advising that it should be broken. His text was, "Keep peace with all men, *if it be possible.*" After this we hear no more of any discussions of the grand controversy in the pulpit; but in Parliament and in Council the difference subsisted, until the English Act of Resumption of Estates quieted the disputants, who then saw they lost nothing by the articles, as the Catholics gained nothing.

While these debates were proceeding in Dublin, the Protestant magistrates and sheriffs had no doubt upon the point, whether faith was to be kept with Catholics or not; they universally decided in the negative; and in less than two months after the capitulation was confirmed by the king, as we learn on the authority of William's own partial biographer, Harris, "the justices of peace, sheriffs, and other magistrates, presuming on their power in the country, did, in an illegal manner, dispossess several of their majesties' subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but of their lands and tenements, to the great disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, subversion of the law, and reproach of their majesties' government." It is a much heavier reproach to their majesties' government that no person appears to have been prosecuted, nor in any way brought to justice for these outrageous oppressions. It appears by a letter of the lords-justices of the 19th November, 1691 (six weeks after the surrender of Limerick), "that their lordships had received complaints from all parts of Ireland of the ill-treatment of the Irish who had submitted, had their majesties' protection, or were included in articles; and that they were so extremely terrified with apprehensions of the continuance of that usage, that some thousands of them who had quitted the Irish army, and had gone home with a resolution not to go for France, were then come back again [come back, it is presumed, to Cork, Limerick, and other seaports], and pressed earnestly to go thither, rather than stay in Ireland, where, contrary to the public faith (add these justices), as well as law and justice, they were robbed of their substance and abused in their persons." But, still no effectual means were used by the government for repressing such wrong; so that we may well adopt the language of Dr. Curry, that these representations made by the lords-justices were only a "pretence." Indeed, Harris affirms, and every statement of this nature made by Harris is an unwilling admission, that Capel, one of these very lords-justices, did, shortly after, proceed as far as it was in his power, to infringe the Articles of Limerick.

The prospect which now opened before the Catholics of Ireland was gloomy indeed. Already they were made to feel in a thousand forms all the bitterness of subjugation, and to perceive that in this reign of King William, so vaunted for its liberality, the blessings and liberties of the British Constitution, if any such there were, existed not for them; that they had no security for even such remnants of property as had been left them, no redress by the laws of the land, and no refuge from their enemies even in the pledged faith of a solemn treaty. Yet we have only arrived at the beginning of the system of grinding oppression which was soon to be put in operation against them. This preliminary chapter is devoted to an account of the immediate breaches of the Articles of Limerick which were perpetrated within the three months after their signature. We are next to trace the development of that great code of *Penal Laws*, which Dr. Samuel Johnson described as more grievous than all the Ten Pagan persecutions of the Christians.

Before finishing this chapter, it is proper to allude to one other instance of the determined mendacity of Baron Macaulay. Respecting the embarkation of Sarsfield and the Irish troops from Cork, that historian compiles from several sources the following narrative:

"Sarsfield perceived that one chief cause of the desertion which was thinning his army was the natural unwillingness of the men to

leave their families in a state of destitution. Cork and its neighborhood were filled with the kindred of those who were going abroad. Great numbers of women, many of them leading, carrying, suckling their infants, covered all the roads which led to the place of embarkation. The Irish general, apprehensive of the effect which the entreaties and lamentations of these poor creatures could not fail to produce, put forth a proclamation, in which he assured his soldiers that they should be permitted to carry their wives and families to France. It would be injurious to the memory of so brave and loyal a gentleman to suppose that when he made this promise *he meant to break it.* It is much more probable that he had formed an erroneous estimate of the number of those who would demand a passage, and that he found himself, when it was too late to alter his arrangements, *unable to keep his word.* After the soldiers had embarked, room was found for the families of many. But still there remained on the water-side a great multitude, clamoring piteously to be taken on board. As the last boats put off there was a rush into the surf. Some women caught hold of the ropes, were dragged out of their depth, clung till their fingers were cut through, and perished in the waves. The ships began to move. A wild and terrible wail rose from the shore, and excited unwonted compassion in hearts steeled by hatred of the Irish race and of the Romish faith. Even the stern Cromwellian, now at length, after a desperate struggle of three years, left the undisputed lord of the blood-stained and devastated island, could not hear unmoved that bitter cry, in which was poured forth all the rage and all the sorrow of a conquered nation."

The sad scene here related did really take place; and in after-times, when those Irish soldiers were in the armies of France, and saw before them the red ranks of King William's soldiery, that long, terrible shriek rung in their ears, and made their hearts like fire and their nerves like steel. We know that when their officers sought to rouse their ardor for a charge, no recital of the wrongs their country had endured could kindle so fierce a flame of vengeful passion as the mention of "the women's parting cry." But the dishonesty of Lord Macaulay's account is in ascribing that cruel parting to the noble Sarsfield, and in distinctly charging him with breaking his word to the soldiers, though he did not mean to break it when he gave it.

Now, by referring back to the "Military Articles" of the Treaty, we see that it was not Sarsfield, but General Ginkell, on the part of King William, who was to furnish shipping for the emigrants and their families—"all other persons belonging to them;"—that it was not Sarsfield, but Ginkell, who was to "form an estimate" of the amount of shipping required; and that it was not Sarsfield, therefore, but Ginkell, who could "alter the arrangements" at the last moment. As to General Sarsfield's proclamation to the men, "that they should be permitted to carry their wives and families to France," he made that statement on the faith of the First and several succeeding articles of the treaty, not being yet aware of any design to violate it. But this is not all: the historian who could not let the hero go into his sorrowful exile without seeking to plunge this venomous sting into his reputation, had before him the Life of King William, by Harris, and also Curry's Historical Review of the Civil Wars, wherein he must have seen that the lords-justices and General Ginkell are charged with endeavoring to defeat the execution of that First Article. For, says Harris, "as great numbers of the officers and soldiers had resolved to enter into the service of France, and to carry their families with them, Ginkell would not suffer their wives and children to be shipped off with the men; not doubting that by detaining the former he would have prevented many of the latter from going into that service. This, I say, was confessedly an infringement of the Articles."

To this we may add, that no Irish officer or soldier in France afterwards attributed the cruel parting at Cork to any fault of Sarsfield, but always and only to a breach of the Treaty of Limerick. And if he had deluded them in the manner represented by the English historian, they would not have followed him so enthusiastically on the fields of Steinkirk and Landen.

CHAPTER II.

1692—1693.

William the Third not bigoted.—Practical toleration for four years.—First Parliament in this reign.—Catholics excluded by a resolution.—Extinction of civil existence for Catholics.—Irish Protestant Nationality.—Massacre of Glencoe.—Battle of Steinkirk.—Court of St. Germains.—"Declaration."—Battle of Landen, and death of Sarsfield.

King William the Third was not personally fanatical or illiberal; and never desired to punish or mulct his subjects, whether in Ireland, in England, or in Holland, for mere differences of religion, about which this king cared little or nothing. But he was king by the support of the Protestant party; was the recognized head of that party in Europe; was obliged to sustain that party, and avenge it upon its enemies, or it would soon have deserted his interests and his cause. For the first four years of his reign in Ireland, we have even the too favorable testimony of some Irish writers to the leniency and beneficence of his administration, which the reader will find hard to conciliate with the actual facts. Mr. Matthew O'Conor, a worthy member of the "Catholic Board," gives this very remarkable testimony:

"In matters of religion, King William was liberal, enlightened, and philosophic. Equally a friend to religious as to civil liberty, he granted toleration to dissenters of all descriptions, regardless of their speculative opinions. In the early part of his reign, the Irish Catholics enjoyed the full and free exercise of their religion. They were protected in their persons and properties; their industry was encouraged; and under his mild and fostering administration, the desolation of the late war began to disappear, and prosperity, peace, and confidence to smile once more on the country."

To those who are disposed to be thankful for very small favors, the beginning of William's reign in Ireland was certainly acceptable. There was a practical toleration of Catholic worship, though it was against the law; priests were not hunted, though by law they were felons; and for a short while it seemed as if "the Ascendency" would content itself with the forfeitures of rich estates, and the exclusion of Catholic gentlemen from Parliament, from the Bar, and the practice of medicine, and Catholic traders from the guilds of their trade, and from the corporate bodies of the towns they dwelt in. This was actually the amount of the toleration granted to the Irish Catholic nation during those early years of this reign.

In 1692, the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Sydney, convened the first Irish Parliament of William's reign. It was the first Parliament in Ireland (except that convened by James) for twenty-six years. As there was then no Irish Act disqualifying Catholics from sitting in Parliament, certain peers and a few commoners of that faith attended, and took their seats; but the English Parliament of the year before having provided against this, they were at once met by the oath of supremacy, declaring the king of England head of the Church, and affirming the sacrifice of the Mass to be damnable. The oath was put to each member of both houses, and the few Catholics present at once retired, so that the Parliament, when it proceeded to business, was purely Protestant. Here then ended the last vestige of constitutional right for the Catholics: from this date, and for generations to come, they could no longer consider themselves a part of the existing body politic of their native land; and the division into two nations became definite. There was the dominant nation, consisting of the British colony; and the subject nation, consisting of five-sixths of the population, who had thereafter no more influence upon public affairs than have the red Indians in the United States.

Before quitting the subject of this total abolition of civil existence for the Catholics, we may anticipate a little to observe that, by another act of the Irish Parliament, in 1697,* it was enacted, that "a Protestant *marrying* a Catholic was disabled from sitting or voting in either house of Parliament." But as Catholics could still vote at elections (though they could now vote for none but mortal enemies), even this poor privilege was taken away from them a few years later. In 1727, it was enacted that "no Catholic shall be entitled or admitted to vote at the

* 9th Wm. III., chap. 3.

election of any member to serve in Parliament as a knight, citizen, or burgess; or at the election of any magistrate for any city, or other town corporate; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."* By the operation of these statutes alone, without taking account for the present of the more directly penal code, the great mass of the population of this country was debased to a point which it now requires an effort fully to comprehend. No man had to court their votes, nor consult their interest or their feelings. They had no longer any one to stand up for them in the halls of legislation, to oppose new oppressions (and the oppressions were always new and heavier from day to day), nor to expose and refute calumnies, and these were in plenty. They were not only shut out from the great councils of the nation, but every one of them, in every town and parish in Ireland, felt himself the inferior and vassal of his Protestant neighbors, and the victim of a minute, spiteful, and contemptuous tyranny, at the hands of those who were often morally and physically far his inferiors. Of the exclusion from Parliament, the able author of the *Statement of the Penal Laws* has truly observed:

"The advantages flowing from a seat in the Legislature, it is well known, are not confined to the *individual representative.* They extend to all his family, friends, and connections; or, in other words, to every Protestant in Ireland. Within his reach are all the honors, offices, emoluments: every sort of gratification to avarice or vanity: the means of spreading a great personal interest by innumerable petty services to individuals. He can do an infinite number of acts of kindness and generosity, and even of public spirit. He can procure advantages in trade, indemnity from public burdens, preferences in local competitions, pardons for offences. He can obtain a thousand favors, and avert a thousand evils. He may, whilst he betrays every valuable public interest, be, at the same time, a benefactor, a patron, a father, a guardian angel to his political adherents. On the other hand, how stands the Catholic gentleman or trader? For his own person, no office, no power, no emolument; for his children, brothers, kindred, or friends, no promotion, ecclesiastical or civil, military or naval. Except from his private fortune, he has no means of advancing a child, of making a single friend, or of showing any one good quality. He has nothing to offer but harsh refusal, pitiful excuse, or despondent representation."

And the effect of the exclusion from corporations was a thousand times more galling still; because that disability presses upon individuals everywhere, in their own homes, and in every daily action of their lives. The same accurate author, writing more than a century after King William's death, thus describes the condition of Catholic tradesmen and artificers throughout the towns of Ireland:—it will show how thoroughly these penal laws did their work for generations:

"They are debased by the galling ascendency of privileged neighbors. They are depressed by partial imposts; by undue preferences and accommodation bestowed upon their competitors; by a local inquisition; by an uncertain and unequal measure of justice; by fraud and favoritism daily and openly practised to their prejudice. The Catholic gentleman, whose misfortune it may be to reside in or near to any of these cities or towns in Ireland, is hourly exposed to all the slights and annoyances, that a petty sectarian oligarchy may think proper to inflict. The professional man risks continual inflictions of personal humiliation. The farmer brings the produce of his lands to market under heavier tolls. Every species of Catholic industry and mechanical skill is checked, taxed, and rendered precarious.

"On the other hand, every species of Protestant indolence is cherished and maintained; every claim is allowed; every want supplied; every extortion sanctioned: nay, the very name of 'Protestant' secures a competence, and commands patrician pre-eminence in Ireland."

But though the inhabitants of Ireland were now, counting from the year 1692, definitively divided into two castes, there arose immediately, strange to say, a strong sentiment of Irish nationality; not, indeed, amongst the depressed Catholics—they were done with

* 1 Geo. II., chap. 9.

national sentiment and aspiration for a time; but the Protestants of Ireland had lately grown numerous, wealthy, and strong. Their numbers had been largely increased, partly by English settlers coming to enjoy the plunder of the forfeited estates, and very much by conversions, or pretended conversions of Catholics who had recanted their faith to save their property or their position in society, and who generally altered or disguised their family names when these had too Celtic a sound. The Irish Protestants also prided themselves on having saved the kingdom for William and "the Ascendency;" and having now totally put down the ancient nation under their feet, they aspired to take its place, to rise from a colony to a nation, and to assert the dignity of an independent kingdom.

Even in this Parliament of 1692 the spirit of independence ventured to show itself. Two money-bills, which had not originated in Ireland, were sent over from England to be passed, or rather to be accepted and registered. One of these bills was for raising additional duty on beer, ale, and other liquors; and this they passed, to an amount not exceeding £70,000; but grounding their action upon the alleged urgency of the case, and declaring that it should not be drawn into a precedent. This was on the 21st of October, 1692. Much constitutional discussion took place upon this occasion; and honorable members stimulated one another's patriotism by recalling the rights and prerogatives of the ancient kingdom of Ireland. So, a few days after, on the 28th of October, the House of Commons rejected altogether the second English bill; which was to grant to their majesties the produce of certain duties for one year. On the 3d of November Sydney prorogued Parliament with a very angry speech; and at the same time required the clerk to enter his formal protest against the dangerous doctrine asserted in the Commons' resolutions, and haughtily affirming the right and power of the English Parliament to bind Ireland by acts passed in London. After two prorogations, this Parliament was dissolved on the 5th of September, 1793.

Not only did King William give his royal assent to the laws of exclusion made by this Parliament, but he did not make any proposal or any effort to gain for the Irish Catholics those "further securities" as engaged by the Treaty of Limerick, which were to protect them from "all disturbance" in the exercise of their religion. Yet this was but a trifling matter compared with what the same king did in the course of the next following Parliament, that convened in 1695. It is often alleged, on his behalf, that he was provoked and distressed by the furious bigotry and violence of his Irish Protestant subjects; and that he even endeavored to moderate them by the influence of Sydney, his lord-lieutenant; in short, that he was so wholly dependent on his Parliaments, both of England and of Ireland, that he could not venture to thwart their one great policy, purpose, and passion—to crush Papists; and that such opposition on his part would have cost him his crown. That was unfortunate for him; inasmuch as the actual conduct which these headstrong supporters of his obliged him to adopt, has cost him more than a crown, his reputation for good faith.

It was in February of this year, 1692, that the massacre of Glencoe befel in a remote valley of the highlands of Scotland. King William, we are assured, did not wish to perpetrate this iniquity, any more than to break the Treaty of Limerick; but certain wicked advisers in Scotland forced him to do the one deed, just as his furious Protestants of Ireland obliged him to commit the other. In Scotland it was the wicked Master of Stair, together with the vindictive Marquis of Breadalbane, who planned the slaughter; and Stair, the Secretary for Scotland, presented to the king, in his closet, and then and there induced his majesty to sign a paper in these words: "As for MacIan of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." And this order was directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland. What was intended, therefore, was military execution, without judge or jury, to be inflicted upon unarmed and unsuspecting country-people, with their wives and children. The crime, or alleged crime, was having been late in coming in and giving their submission. The king did not read the order above cited says Arch-

bishop Burnet, but he signed it; and says his eloquent eulogist, Macaulay, "Whoever has seen any thing of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign documents which they have not read; and of all documents, a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness, not set down in any map, was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend." Yet the order was not a long one; about three seconds, if his majesty could have spared so long a time from meditating on the fate of Europe, would have shown him what fate he was decreeing to the MacDonalds of Glencoe. It seems he could not give so much of his leisure, so the order was sent; and accordingly, the king's troops, having first quartered themselves amongst the simple people, in the guise of friends, and partaken of their mountain hospitality; and having taken the precaution, as they believed, to guard all the outlets of the valley, arose before dawn one winter's morning, and butchered every MacDonald, man, woman, and child, whom they could find. A few details of this performance may be interesting; they are given by Lord Macaulay, an author who was certainly not disposed to exaggerate their atrocity:

"But the orders which Glenlyon had received were precise, and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host, Inverriggen, and nine other Macdonalds, were dragged out of their beds, bound hand and foot, and murdered. A boy twelve years old clung round the captain's legs, and begged hard for life. He would do any thing: he would go anywhere: he would follow Glenlyon round the world. Even Glenlyon, it is said, showed signs of relenting: but a ruffian named Drummond shot the child dead.

"At Auchnaion the tacksman Auchintriater was up early that morning, and was sitting with eight of his family round the fire, when a volley of musketry laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor. His brother, who alone had escaped unhurt, called to Sergeant Barbour, who commanded the slayers, and asked as a favor to be allowed to die in the open air. 'Well,' said the sergeant, 'I will do you that favor for the sake of your meat which I have eaten.' The mountaineer, bold, athletic, and favored by the darkness, came forth, rushed on the soldiers who were about to level their pieces at him, flung his plaid over their faces, and was gone in a moment.

"Meanwhile Lindsay had knocked at the door of the old chief, and had asked for admission in friendly language. The door was opened. MacIan, while putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshments for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers; but a soldier tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day."

Over thirty persons were killed there that morning, but owing to the "blunder," as Macaulay calls it, of commencing the massacre with a volley of musketry, instead of giving them the cold steel, three-fourths of the MacDonalds of Glencoe escaped the slaughter, but only to perish in the snowy mountains for want of food and shelter. Such, and so sad may be the effects of evil counsels upon the minds of benevolent monarchs, who are too deeply occupied in revolving projects on which the fate of Europe might depend.

Another event befell in the summer of this year, 1692, which deserves record. On a July morning, about the time when the Protestant Parliament in Dublin was devising cunning oaths against Transubstantiation and Invocation of Saints, to drive out its few Catholic members, Patrick Sarsfield, and some of his comrades, just fresh from Limerick, had the deep gratification to meet King William on the glorious field of Steinkirk. Sarsfield and Berwick were then officers high in command under Marshal Luxembourg, when King William, at the head of a great allied force, attacked the French encampment. The attacking force was under the banners of England, of the United Provinces, of Spain and of the Empire; and it had all the advantage of effecting a surprise. The battle was long and bloody, and was finished by a splendid charge of French cavalry,

among the foremost of whose leaders was the same glorious Sarsfield, whose sword had once before driven back the same William from before the walls of Limerick. The English and their allies were entirely defeated in that battle, with a loss of about ten thousand men. Once more, and before very long, Sarsfield and King William were destined to meet again.

King James was at this time residing at the palace of St. Germain-en-laye, near Paris, upon a pension allowed him by Louis XIV., and waiting on the result of the war between France and the Allies. As William had now become very unpopular in England, it was believed by the advisers of the exiled monarch that a suitable "Declaration" issued from St. Germains, and promising, as the Stuarts were always ready to promise, such reforms and improvements in administration as should conciliate public opinion in England, might once more turn the minds of his British subjects towards their legitimate dynasty, and open a way for his return to his throne. His great counsellor on this occasion was Charles, Earl of Middleton, a Scotchman. On the 17th of April, 1693, this famous Declaration was signed and published. It promised, on the part of James, a free pardon to all his subjects who should not oppose him after his landing; that as soon as he was restored he would call a parliament; that he would confirm all such laws passed during the usurpation as the Houses should present to him for confirmation; that he would protect and defend the Established Church in all her possessions and privileges; that he would not again violate the Test Act; that he would leave it to the Legislature to define the extent of his dispensing power; and that he would maintain the Act of Settlement in Ireland. This Declaration, then, was an appeal to his English subjects exclusively; and to propitiate them, he promised to leave the Irish people wholly at their mercy—to undo all the measures in favor of religious liberty and common justice which had been enacted by his Irish Parliament of 1689, and to leave the holders of the confiscated estates, his own deadly enemies in Ireland, in undisturbed possession of all their spoils. It is asserted, indeed, in the Life of King James, that he struggled against committing himself to such unqualified support of the Protestant interest, but he was finally induced to sign the document as it stood. It was sent to England, printed, and published, but produced no effect whatever of the kind intended. It did produce, however, a great and just indignation among the Irish soldiers and gentlemen who had lost all their possessions, and encountered so many perils to vindicate the right of this cowardly and faithless king. Serious discontent was manifested among the Irish regiments then serving in the Netherlands and on the frontiers of Germany and Italy; and we find that the treacherous Middleton, his Scottish and Protestant adviser, who had led the king into this act of ingratitude, as useless as it was base, made great efforts to soothe the feelings of these fine troops. A letter is extant from Lord Middleton to Justin MacCarthy, then on active service in Germany, endeavoring to explain away the obnoxious points of the Declaration, and soliciting MacCarthy's influence to pacify other officers. In this letter Secretary Middleton has the assurance to say, "The king promises in the foresaid Declaration to restore the Settlement, but at the same time declares that he will recompense all those who may suffer by it, in giving them equivalents."* There was no such promise in the Declaration, and his correspondent must have known it; but, in truth, the Irish troops in the army of King Louis, the fierce exiles of Limerick, were at that time too busy in the camp and the field, and too keenly desirous to meet the English in battle, to pay much attention to any thing coming from King James. They had had enough of *Righ Seamus* at the Boyne Water.

A portion of them soon had their wish; for neither Luxembourg nor King William allowed the grass to grow under their horses' hoofs. On the 19th of July, in this year, 1693, they were in presence again on the bank of the little river Landen, and close by the village of Neerwinden. The English call that memorable battle by the first name, and the French by the second. It was near Liege in the Netherlands, that famous battle-ground which had seen, and was again to see, so many bloody days.

* The letter is in Macpherson's Collection.

This time it was the French who attacked the Allies in an intrenched position. After heavy artillery firing for some time, the French made a desperate attack on the village of Neerwinden; and the Duke of Berwick, at the head of some Irish troops, led the onset, supported and followed by the left wing of the French army, commanded by Montchevreuil. The slaughter in the village was tremendous, and here Berwick was taken prisoner. This first attack failed, and after a furious struggle the French and Irish were forced back. A fresh division, under the Duke de Bourbon, renewed the attack, and was again repulsed; but as this was the important point, Luxembourg resolved to make a final struggle for it, and the chosen forces of King Louis, led on by his renowned household troops, were launched in a resistless mass against the village. A third time it was entered, and a third time there was a scene of fearful carnage in its streets. Among the French officers in this final struggle was Patrick Sarsfield.* King William fought his army to the last; but Neerwinden being gone, the key of the position was lost, and at length the whole English and allied army gave way all along the line. The pursuit was furious and sanguinary, as the Allies kept tolerable order, and fought every step of the way. In the army of William was the Duke of Ormond, and in the wild confusion he was unhorsed; but the French soldier who brought him down espied on his finger a precious diamond, and saved his life as being certainly a prisoner of rank. He was soon after exchanged for Berwick. At length the flying army of William arrived at the little river Gette; and here the retreat was in danger of becoming a total rout. Arms and standards were flung away, and multitudes of fugitives were choking up the fords and bridges of the river, or perishing in its waters, so fiercely did the victors press upon their rear. It was here that Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, who had that day, as well as at Steinkirk, earned the admiration of the whole French army, received his death-shot at the head of his men. It was in a happy moment. Before he fell, he could see the standards of England swept along by the tide of headlong flight, or trailing in the muddy waters of the Gette—he could see the scarlet ranks that he had once hurled back from the ramparts of Limerick, now rent and riven, fast falling in their wild flight, while there was sent pealing after them the vengeful shout, "*Remember Limerick!*"

The victory of the French was complete; and after two such defeats, so closely following each other, the affairs of King William went badly for a time. There was, therefore, a certain mildness and mercy observable in the administration of Ireland towards the Catholics; for as Lawless has justly observed, "The rights of Irishmen and the prosperity of England cannot exist together—a melancholy truth which the events of the present day only contribute to confirm, and which is still left to the enlightened English Government of future days to refute. The lights of history cannot be extinguished, nor her powerful voice silenced. The conclusions we have drawn are irresistible, and the idle violence which attempts to punish their publication only impresses those truths more deeply on the mind. The glories of William and of Anne—the victories of Marlborough, and the universal conquests of Chatham, have been the most disastrous epochs of Ireland. Never was the heart of our country so low as when England was the envy and the terror of her enemies. The sounds of English triumphs were to her the sounds of sorrow—the little tyrants who ruled her were inflamed with courage, and urged on with increased rancor—the unhappy Catholics of Ireland, who always constituted the nation, were doomed to be again insulted and tortured with impunity."

Accordingly, it will soon be seen that the apparent gentleness used at this time towards the ancient Irish nation, was destined to be of short continuance.

* It does not seem certain that Berwick and Sarsfield had any Irish regiments under their command at Landen. O'Connor (Military Memoir) says that Sarsfield fell in leading a charge of French troops.

CHAPTER III.

1693—1698.

Capel lord-lieutenant.—War in the Netherlands.—Capture of Namur.—Grievances of the Protestant colonists.—Act for disarming Papists.—Laws against education.—Against priests.—Against intermarrying with Papists.—Act to "confirm" Articles of Limerick.—Irish on the continent.

SYDNEY, the lord-lieutenant, became exceedingly unpopular with the people of the English colony in Ireland, in consequence of his continued assertion of the supreme powers of the British Parliament, and his opposition to the assertion of this new Anglo-Irish nationality. But his unpopularity was still greater on account of his known repugnance to still further and more searching penal laws against the Catholics. He was soon, therefore, recalled, and the island was ruled for a time by three lords-justices, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe. Between these three, serious differences of policy soon manifested themselves; the two latter being in favor of a continuance of the toleration, and of showing some slight regard to the rights of the Catholic people under the Treaty of Limerick; while Capel, as Harris confesses, was desirous of doing all in his power to infringe that treaty. The intrigues of the intolerant party finally prevailed so far as to procure the appointment of Capel as lord-lieutenant; and in 1695, he summoned a parliament, the second of this reign.

In the mean time, King William and his allies had been prosecuting the war against France with varying success, but on the whole, the advantage had rested with the French, at least, in the campaigns by land. In 1695, however, the tide began to turn in the Netherlands; and on the 26th of August, in that year, the town and fortress of Namur, one of the strongest places in Europe, defended by Marshal Boufflers, was surrendered to the allies after an arduous siege. For the first time, since first there were marshals of France, a French marshal delivered up a fortress to a victorious enemy. There was high rejoicing in England over this great event; it was, therefore, an event of evil omen for Ireland.

During the three years preceding the meeting of this parliament, there had been continual complaints made by the Protestant "Ascendency," of the favors shown to "Papists," and the consequent discouragement and depression of the Protestant interest. The great theme of discussion in Ireland at that day was whether, and how far, the Articles of Limerick ought to be considered binding; and the parliament, in 1692, had addressed the king, complaining of the restoration of certain confiscated estates to Catholics in the five counties specified in the articles; which restoration was expressly stipulated for in the treaty;* and further requesting his majesty "to have the articles of the Treaty of Limerick laid before us [the parliament], in order that we may learn by what means, and under what pretext they have been granted," etc. Considerably over a million of acres had been adjudged confiscated in consequence of the last "rebellion," and of this land, about one quarter had been restored to its right owners in pursuance of the treaty. In short, the "Irish nation," as the handful of colonists called themselves, was suffering under grievous distress and oppression; and a Mr. Stone, member of the Irish House of Commons, being examined at the bar of the English House, gave in his evidence so sad an account of the sufferings of the Protestants, as produced a serious effect upon public opinion in England. "There never was," he declared, "a House of Commons of that kingdom of greater property or better principles than those which met under Lord Sydney's administration." He boasted of their loyalty and zeal for his majesty's service, and alleged that their opposition to the money bills had been occasioned by Lord Sydney's arrogance in insisting upon the supreme sovereignty of the English crown and Parliament; and last, and worst of all, he complained "that the Papists were in actual possession of that liberty which, if extended to Protestants, would have prevented the necessity of rendering the Irish Commons obnoxious by the rejection of so many bills." In short, the pathetic narration of these pretended grievances and oppressions

* See the Address in full, in MacGeoghegan: Sadlier's Edition.

had brought about, first, the recall of Lord Sydney, and afterwards the appointment of Lord Capel as lord-lieutenant. The comparative success of William's arms in the Netherlands contributed still more effectually to give a complete triumph to the Ascendency party; and accordingly the Protestant colonists were highly gratified when Lord Capel, in opening the parliament of 1695, announced that the king was intent on a firm settlement of Ireland "upon a Protestant interest." It might have been supposed that Ireland was already pretty well settled in the interest of Protestants; but the ingenuity of this parliament found means of still further extending and improving the laws which already made Catholics outlaws in their native land.

There was no more factious opposition to the government; the parliament was obsequious, and readily passed all bills that were required at its hands. All it asked was to have the Papists delivered up, body and goods, into the hands of the Ascendency. It will give an idea of the grievances and oppressions which the Protestants now plaintively represented to parliament in petitions which poured in from all quarters, if we mention that one of these petitions was from the mayor, sheriffs, and Protestant aldermen of the city of Limerick, complaining that "they were greatly damaged in their trade by the great numbers of Papists residing there, and praying to be relieved therein." And, in fact, those honest Protestants were relieved by express enactment. Another petition, gravely presented to parliament, was "A petition of one Edward Sprag, and others, in behalf of themselves and other Protestant porters, in and about the city of Dublin, complaining that one Darby Ryan, a Papist, employed porters of his own persuasion."* This petition was referred, like others, to the "Committee on Grievances." The grievances of persecuted Protestants, however, were soon to have an end.

Catholics had been already excluded from the legislature, from the corporations, and from the liberal professions; but we have seen that they could still damage the trade of Protestant artificers in Limerick, and even compete with Protestant coal-porters in Dublin. The parliament of Lord Capel was now about to take such order with them that it was hoped they would never trouble the Protestant interest any more. The first requisite was to effectually disarm them. Accordingly, one of the first enactments is entitled "An Act for the better securing the government by disarming the Papists."* By this act, all Catholics within the kingdom of Ireland were required to discover and deliver up by a certain day, to the justices or civil officers, all their arms and ammunition. After that day search might be made in their houses for concealed arms and ammunition; and any two justices, or a mayor or sheriff, might grant the search-warrant, and compel any Catholic suspected of having concealed arms, etc., to appear before them and answer the charge or suspicion upon his oath† The punishments were to be fine and imprisonment, or, at the discretion of the court, the pillory and whipping. It is impossible to describe the minute and curious tyranny to which this statute gave rise in every parish of the island. Especially in districts where there was an armed yeomanry, exclusively Protestant, it fared ill with any Catholic who fell, for any reason, under the displeasure of his formidable neighbors. Any pretext was sufficient for pointing him out to suspicion. Any neighboring magistrate might visit him at any hour of the night, and search his bed for arms. No Papist was safe from suspicion who had any money to pay in fines; and woe to the Papist who had a handsome daughter!

It would be difficult to imagine any method of degrading human nature more effectual than the prohibition of arms; but the parliament resolved to employ still another way. This was to prohibit education. Catholics were already debarred from being tutors or teachers; and many Catholic young men were sent for education to the schools and universities of the continent. It was therefore enacted "that if any subjects of Ireland should, after that session, go, or send any child or person, to be educated in any popish university, college, or school, or in any pri-

* Commons Journals.

* 7 Wm. III. c. 5.

† This enactment, under various new forms and names, is the law at this day.

vate family; or if such child should, by any popish person, be instructed in the popish religion; or if any subjects of Ireland should send money or things towards the maintenance of such child, or other person, already sent, or to be sent, every such offender, being thereof convicted, should be forever disabled to sue or prosecute any action, bill, plaint, or information in law or equity; to be guardian, administrator, or executor to any person, or to be capable of any legacy, or deed of gift; and, besides, should forfeit all their estates, both real and personal, during their lives."* It was further enacted, that "No Papist, after the 20th January, 1695, shall be capable to have, or keep in his possession, or in the possession of any other, to his use, or at his disposition, *any horse, gelding, or mare*, of the value of £5 or more;" with the usual clauses to induce Protestants to inform, and cause search to be made for the contraband horses; the property of the horses to be vested in the discoverer.

The two acts before mentioned at once bred in Ireland a great swarm of informers and detectives, who have been a grievous plague upon the country ever since. But the penal code was still far from complete. It was thought needful to strike at the Catholics more directly through their religion itself, in which it was observed that they took much comfort. Therefore, it was enacted by the same Parliament "That all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall depart this kingdom before the 1st day of May, 1698." If any of them remained after that day, or returned, the delinquents were to be transported, and if they returned again, "to be guilty of high treason, and to suffer accordingly." To pretend a toleration of the Catholic religion, but to banish bishops, and thus prevent orders, can scarcely be considered a very liberal proceeding; but there were still more minute provisions made, after banishing the clergy, for the continual torture of the laity. For example, this same parliament, in 1695, enacted a statute which imposed a fine of two shillings (and, in default of payment, *whipping*) upon "every common laborer, being hired, or other servant retained, who shall refuse to work at the usual and accustomed wages, upon any day except the days appointed by *this statute* to be kept holy; namely, all Sundays in the year, and certain other days named therein."

Another act was passed by this parliament "to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists," in order to obviate the possible danger of the two nations becoming gradually amalgamated by affinities and family interests; and as the Catholics, in some places, were associating together to place their interests in the hands of legal advisers, an act was passed "to prevent Papists being solicitors." It must not be omitted to mention, that the parliament which violated, by so many ingenious laws, the conditions made at the capitulation of Limerick, did also gravely and solemnly pass an act "for the confirmation of *Articles* made at the surrender of the city of Limerick—or so much thereof," said the preamble, "as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesty's subjects in these kingdoms." The greater part, or almost the whole of the stipulations on behalf of the Catholics, contained in those articles, had been deliberately and avowedly violated by the very legislature which enacted this hypocritical act. It passed almost unanimously in the Commons; but unexpectedly met with vigorous resistance in the House of Lords; where, on its final passage, a formal protest against it was entered by a number of the ancient nobility, and even by some Anglican bishops. The protest was signed by the lords Duncannon, Londonderry and Tyrone, the barons of Limerick, Howth, Ossory, Killaloe, Kerry, Strabane and Kingston, and also by the bishops of Derry, Elphin, Clonfert, Kildare and Killala. It gave these reasons for the protest:

"1. Because the title did not agree with the body of the bill; the title being an act for the confirmation of the Irish articles, whereas no one of said articles was therein fully confirmed. 2. Because the articles were to be confirmed to them to whom they were granted; but the confirmation of them by that bill was such, that it put them in a worse condition than they were in before. 3. Because the bill omitted the material

* 4 Wm. and Mary, c. 4.

words, 'and all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' which were by his Majesty's titles patent, declared to be part of the second article; and several persons had been adjudged within said articles who would, if the bill passed into a law, be entirely barred and excluded, so that the words omitted being so very material, and confirmed by his Majesty after a solemn debate in council, some express reason ought to be assigned in the bill, in order to satisfy the world in that omission. 4. Because several words were inserted in the bill which were not in the articles, and others omitted, which altered both the sense and meaning thereof. Lastly, because they apprehended that many Protestants might and would suffer by the bill in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased, and lent money, upon the faith of said article."

Of the proceedings of this parliament, it is only necessary to add one further detail:

"A petition of Robert Cusack, gentleman, Captain Francis Segrave and Captain Maurice Eustace, in behalf of themselves and others, comprised under the Articles of Limerick, setting forth, that in the said bill [act to confirm, &c.] there were several clauses that would frustrate the petitioners of the benefit of the same, and if passed into a law would turn to the ruin of some, and the prejudice of all persons entitled to the benefit of the said articles, and praying to be heard by counsel to said matters, having been presented and read, it was unanimously resolved that said petition should be *rejected*."

King William was all this while busily engaged in carrying on the war against Louis the Fourteenth, and his mind was profoundly occupied about the destinies of Europe. He seems to have definitively given up Ireland, to be dealt with by the Ascendency at its pleasure. Yet he had received the benefit of the capitulation of Limerick:—he had engaged his royal faith to its observance;—he had further engaged that he would endeavor to procure said Roman Catholics such further security as might preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion. And he not only did not endeavor to procure any such further security, but he gave his royal assent, without the least objection, to every one of these acts of Parliament, carefully depriving them of such securities as they had, and imposing new and grievous oppressions "upon the account of their said religion." It is expressly on account of this shameful breach of faith on the part of the King that Orange squires and gentlemen, from that day to this, have been enthusiastically toasting "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William."

The war was still raging all over Europe; and multitudes of young Irishmen were quitting a land where they were henceforth strangers and outlaws on their own soil, to find under the banners of France an opportunity for such distinction as exiles may hope to win. Brilliant reports of the achievements of the old regiments of Limerick on many a field, came to Ireland by stray travellers from the continent, and inspired the high-spirited youth of the country with an ambition to enroll themselves in the ranks of the Irish brigade. They had heard, for example, of the great victories of Steinkirk and of Landen; and how at Marsiglia, on the Italian slope of the Alps, the French marshal, Catinat, obtained a splendid victory over the army of the Duke of Savoy—a victory, says Voltaire, "so much the more glorious as the Prince Eugene was one of the adverse generals;" and how the conduct of the Irish troops, who served under Catinat on that occasion, gained the applause of Europe and the thanks of King Louis. It is no wonder, therefore, seeing the depressing and humiliating condition to which they were reduced at home, that there was a large and continual emigration of the best blood of Ireland, at this time, and for a great part of the following century. These exiles were not confined to the people of the Celtic Irish clans; for all the English settlers in Ireland, down to the time of Henry the Eighth, had of course been Catholic, and these families generally adhered to the old religion. Thus these old English found themselves included in all the severities of the penal laws, along with the primeval Scotic people, and they had now their full proportion in the ranks of the military adventurers who

sought service on the continent. Accordingly, among the distinguished names of the Irish brigades, by the side of the Milesian Sarsfields, O'Briens, and O'Donnells, we find the Norman-descended Dillons, Roches, and Fitzgeralds. Of the amount of that great emigration it is difficult to procure any very exact idea; but on this subject there is no better authority than the learned Abbé MacGeoghegan, who was chaplain in the brigade, and who devoted himself to the task of recording the history of his country. He affirms that researches in the office of the French War Department show that from the arrival of the Irish troops in France, in 1691, to the year 1745 (the year of Fontenoy), more than four hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen *died* in the service of France. The statement may seem almost incredible; especially as Spain and Austria had also their share of our military exiles; but, certain it is, the expatriation of the very best and choicest of the Irish people was now on a very large scale; and the remaining population, deprived of their natural chiefs, became still more helpless in the hands of their enemies. Baron Macaulay, whose language is never too courteous in speaking of the Irish, takes evident delight in dwelling upon the abject condition of the great body of the nation at this time. He calls them "Pariahs;" compares their position, in the disputes between the English and the Irish parliament, with that of "the Red Indians in the dispute between Old England and New England about the Stamp Act;" mentions with complacency, that Dean Swift "no more considered himself as an Irishman than an Englishman born at Calcutta considers himself as a Hindoo;" and says, very truly, though coarsely, that none of the "patriots" of the seventeenth century "ever thought of appealing to the native population—they would as soon have thought of appealing to the *swine*." The truth is, that most of the choicest intellect and energy of the Irish race were now to be looked for at the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and Vienna, or under the standards of France on every battle-field of Europe. The Catholics of Ireland may be said, at this date, to disappear from political history, and so remained till the era of the volunteering.

Obscure and despised as they were, however, they were not too humble to escape the curious eye of the lawyers and legislators of the "Ascendency." In fact, we have not yet advanced far beyond the threshold of the Penal Laws.

CHAPTER IV.

1698—1702.

Predominance of the English Parliament.—Molyneux.—Decisive action of the English Parliament.—Court and country parties.—Suppression of woollen manufacture.—Commission of confiscated estates.—Its revelations.—Vexation of King William.—Peace of Ryswick.—Act for establishing the Protestant succession.—Death of William.

While the ancient Irish nation lay in this miserable condition of utter nullity, the Protestant colony continued its efforts to vindicate its independence of the Imperial Parliament, but without much success. Not only was its parliament compelled to send over to London the "heads" of its bills, to be ratified there, but the British Parliament still persisted in exercising an original jurisdiction in Ireland, and to bind that kingdom by laws made in England, without any concurrence asked or obtained from the colonial legislature. It was always the firm resolve, both of the king and of the people of England, to deny and trample upon these assumed pretensions of their colony in Ireland to be an independent kingdom.

The reader will suppose that the English government should not have been very jealous of any power with which the Protestant Ascendency might be armed, when they so faithfully turned those arms against the civil and religious liberties of their Catholic countrymen. The Irish Parliament, however, presumed rather too much on its past services to England. Though they were so obedient as to forge chains for the Catholics, they should not flatter themselves with the liberty of making their own laws or regulating their own slaves. They were, for the future, to consider themselves as the humbled agents of an English Government, prompt at every call which national jealousy would give to inflict or to suspend the torture.

In short, the Irish Protestant Ascendency was soon to be taught that it was the mere agent of English empire, and must aspire to no other freedom than the freedom to oppress and trample upon the ancient Irish nation. "Your ancestors," said Mr. Curran to the Irish Parliament a hundred years after—"Your ancestors thought themselves the oppressors of their fellow-subjects—but they were only their gaolers; and the justice of Providence would have been frustrated if their own slavery had not been the punishment of their vice and of their folly." This appeared very plainly when Mr. William Molyneux, one of the members for Dublin University, published, in 1698, his work entitled "The case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," a production which owes its fame rather to the indignant sensation it made in England, than to any peculiar merits of its own. It professed to discuss the principles of government and of human society, and was, in fact, more abstract and metaphysical than legal. It is said that Mr. Molyneux, who was an intimate friend of John Locke, had found his principles in the writings of that philosopher, and had even submitted his manuscript to Mr. Locke's approval. The essential part of the book, however, and the only practical part, was the distinct assertion of the independent power of the Irish Parliament, as the legislature of a sovereign state; and consequent denial of the right claimed and exercised by the English Parliament to bind Ireland by its own enactments. The book at once attracted much attention, and was speedily replied to by two writers, named Carey and Atwood. A committee of the English Parliament was then appointed to examine the obnoxious pamphlet, and on the report of that committee, it was unanimously resolved "that the said book was of dangerous consequence to the crown, and to the people of England," etc. The House, in a body, presented an address to the king, setting forth what they called the bold and pernicious assertions contained in the aforesaid publication, which they declared to have been "more fully and authentically affirmed by the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons in Ireland, during their late sessions, and more particularly by a bill transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, entitled 'An act for the better security of his majesty's person and government;' whereby an act of parliament made in England was *pretended* to be re-enacted, and divers alterations therein made; and they assured his majesty of their ready concurrence and assistance to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of this realm; and they humbly besought his majesty that he would discourage all things which might in any degree lessen or impair that dependence." The king promptly replied "that he would take care that what was complained of might be prevented and redressed as the Commons desired." Such was the extreme political depression of Ireland, that this haughty procedure occasioned no visible resentment in her parliament, although the leaven of the doctrines of Molyneux was still working in men's minds; was afterwards improved by Swift and Lucas, and at length became irresistible, and ripened into an independent Irish Parliament in 1782. Meantime the proscribed Catholics took no interest in the controversy at all, and seemed insensible to its progress. As the excellent Charles O'Conor, of Belanagar, afterwards in the midst of the commotions excited by Lucas, wrote to a friend: "I am by no means interested, nor is any of our unfortunate population, in this affair of Lucas. A true patriot would not have betrayed such malice towards such unfortunate slaves as we." And he truly adds, "These boasters, the Whigs, wish to have liberty all to themselves." In short, the two parties then existing in Ireland, and termed the court and country parties, were divided mainly upon this question: Is the conquered nation to be governed and *exploited* for the sole benefit of the colonial interest? or, Are all interests in Ireland, both colonial and native, both Protestant and Catholic, to be subservient and tributary to England? Candor requires it to be stated that of these two parties, the court and the country, the former was rather more favorable to the downtrodden Catholics; a fact of which several examples will soon have to be related. At that moment the court party held the sway, and the English Parliament ruled all.

The English were not disposed to let their

predominance remain without practical fruits, as appeared in the proceedings touching the woollen-trade of Ireland. During the few first years of William's reign, there being then abundance of sheep in Ireland, and also much cheap labor, considerable progress was made in the manufacture of woollen cloths; these fabrics were exported in some quantity to foreign countries, and in many cases the Irish manufacturer was enabled to undersell the English. But England was then using great exertions to obtain the entire control of this gainful trade; and the competition of Ireland gave great umbrage. It is true that the woollen-trade in Ireland, and all the profits of its export and sale, were in the hands of the English colonists, and that the colonial parliament in Dublin would fain have extended and protected it if they had been permitted. But here, again, the English power stepped in, and controlled every thing according to its own interest. The two houses of Lords and Commons addressed King William, urging that some immediate remedy must be found against the obnoxious trade in Ireland. The Lords, after detailing the intolerable oppression which was inflicted upon deserving industrious people in England, expressed themselves thus: "Wherefore, we most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, that your majesty would be pleased in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland, that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long been, and will be ever, looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom, and *if not timely remedied*, may occasion very strict laws *totally to prohibit and suppress the same*." Probably no more shameless avowal of British greediness was ever made, even by the parliament of England. But the king replied at once that "he would do all that in him lay to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland;" in other words, to ruin his subjects of that island. The Irish Parliament was now also assembled in Dublin. The Earl of Galway and two others were lords-justices; and they, pursuant to their instructions, recommended to parliament to adopt means for putting a stop to the woollen manufacture and to encourage the linen. The Commons, in their address, meekly replied, that "they shall heartily endeavor" to encourage the linen trade; and as to the woollen, they tamely express their hope to find such a *temperament* that the same may not be injurious to England." The temperament they found was in the acts which were passed in the following year, 1699, which minutely regulated every thing relating to wool. In the first place, all export of Irish woollen cloths was prohibited, except to England and Wales. The exception was delusive, because heavy duties, amounting to a prohibition, prevented Irish cloth from being imported into England or Wales. Irish wool, thereafter, had to be sent to England in a raw state, to be woven in Yorkshire; and even this export was cramped by appointing one single English port, Barnstable, as the only point where it could legally enter. All attempts at foreign commerce in Ireland were at this time impeded also by the "Navigation Laws," which had long prohibited all direct trade between Ireland and the colonies; no colonial produce, under those laws, could be carried to Ireland until after it should have first entered an English port, and been unloaded there. The object of these laws, of course, was to secure to English merchants and shipowners a monopoly of all such trade, and they had the desired effect, so that a few years afterwards, the Dean of St. Patrick's could truly write: "The conveniency of ports and harbors, which nature had bestowed so liberally upon this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon."

It is noticeable that these navigation acts were not new; they had existed before the last Revolution, and had been repealed by the excellent parliament of 1689, under King James, consisting indifferently of Catholics and Protestants, and really representing an Irish nation—that same parliament which had also enacted perfect liberty for all religions, and had swept away a most foul mass of penal laws from the statute-book; but on the failure of the cause of the Stuarts, all the enactments of that parliament were ignored, and the penal laws and restrictions on trade reappeared in full force.

With such a deliberate system in full operation, not only to put down the political

pretensions, but to destroy the trade of Ireland, and all enforced directly by English statutes, it will be seen that the country party, which so proudly claimed national independence, had but very slender chances at that time. Another event still further illustrated this fact. The English Parliament, which was continually importuned by the king for grants of money to carry on his darling war against Louis XIV., found that the immense amount of confiscated lands, forfeited by the "rebellion" (as the national war was called), had been squandered upon King William's favorites, or leased at insufficient rents, also a small portion of it restored to its owners who had satisfied the government that they were innocent. That parliament therefore resolved, before making any more grants of money, to inquire how the forfeitures had been made available for the public service. A commission was appointed by a vote of parliament for this purpose, and at the same time to provide for a grant of a million and a half sterling, for military and naval expenses. The form of this commission was itself an intimation that nothing less was contemplated than resumption of all the lands granted by special favor of the king. This was very hard upon his majesty, and he regarded the proceeding with sour and silent displeasure; for, in fact, he had granted out of these forfeitures immense estates to William Bentinck, whom he created Lord Woodstock, to Ginkell, Lord Athlone, and others of his Dutch friends;—especially, he had bestowed over 95,600 acres on Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney, a lady, who in the words of Lord Macaulay, "had inspired William with a passion which had caused much scandal and unhappiness in the little court of the Hague"—where, in fact, his lawful wife resided. If the consideration of the grant was of the kind here intimated, it must be allowed that William paid the lady royally, out of others' estates. The commissioners further report great corruption and bribery in the matter of procuring pardons, and astonishing waste and destruction, especially of the fine woods, which had covered wide regions of the island. The drift of their report is, that the whole of the dealings with those confiscated lands were one foul and monstrous job.

Here, it is to be remarked that this inquiry and report were by no means in the interest of the plundered Catholics, the right owners of all those estates; on the contrary, one of the points dwelt on most bitterly by the commissioners was the restoration of a small portion of them to Catholic proprietors, under what the commissioners considered delusive pretences; and the resumption which they contemplated was to have the effect of again taking away those wrecks and remnants of the property of Catholics which had been redeemed out of the general ruin. The English House of Commons, in a violent ferment, immediately resolved "that a bill be brought in to apply all the forfeited estates and interests in Ireland, and all grants thereof, and of the rents and revenues belonging to the crown within that kingdom, since the 13th February, 1689, to the use of the public." Then a "Court of Delegates" was appointed to determine claims; and it was resolved by the House "that they would not receive any petitions whatever against the provisions of this bill." The report of the commission had been signed only by four commissioners out of seven, namely, by Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton and Langford, the other three having dissented. The House, therefore, came to the resolution, "that Francis Annesley, John Trenchard, James Hamilton, and Henry Langford, Esqs., had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity; which was an implied censure on the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Levinge, the three dissentient commissioners; and the House went so far as to vote Sir Richard Levinge to be the author of certain groundless and scandalous aspersions respecting the commissioners who had signed the report, and to commit him, thereupon, prisoner to the Tower. There were long and acrimonious debates upon this question; a sharp address to the king, in pursuance of the sense of the majority, and a submissive answer from his majesty, declaring that he was not led by inclination, but thought himself obliged, in justice, to reward those who had served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion there." And the

House resolved, in reply, "that whoever advised his majesty's answer to the Address of the House has used his utmost endeavor to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people." The "Bill of Resumption" of the forfeited estates finally passed, after vehement opposition, and received the reluctant royal assent, on the 11th of April, 1700, on which day his majesty prorogued the houses, without any speech, thinking there was no room for the usual expressions of satisfaction and gratitude; and not choosing to give any public proof of discontent or resentment. In all these parliamentary disputes, there was not the least question of the rights or claims of any Irish Catholic; nor does it appear that there would have been the slightest opposition to any scheme which concerned merely the resumption of lands restored to *them*. The biographer of William remarks, "that no transaction during the reign of this monarch so pressed upon his spirits, or so humbled his pride, as the resumption of the grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland by the English Parliament." This may be easily believed; but it is to be remarked, that we find no such opinion from King William's enthusiastic biographer when he was called on to set his seal to the legislative violations of the Treaty of Limerick. He could ill bear to deprive his Dutch courtiers of their Irish estates; but it was of small moment to him to beggar and oppress millions of Irishmen in violation of his own plighted faith.

In his private despatches to Lord Galway, shortly after the rising of parliament, the king says: "You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary proceedings gave me; and I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure is not the least of my griefs. I never had more occasion than at present for persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship."

The short remainder of William's reign was occupied chiefly with negotiations on the continent; and with oscillations of his policy between the Whig and Tory parties; according to the use which he thought he could make of those parties respectively in promoting his views against France—the only use which he could ever see in English parties, to say nothing of Irish ones. The peace of Ryswick was signed in 1697; but in 1701, King James died at St. Germains; and his son (afterwards called the Pretender) was recognized as King James III. of England by the king and court of France, who paid their visits of condolence and congratulation at the Court of St. Germains. King William immediately recalled his ambassador from Paris; and again there was the evident and imminent necessity of a new war with France; which was all that King William lived for. He was not, however, to live much longer.

The death of the young Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, about the same time with that of King James II., gave occasion to the Act of Parliament—the last act of this reign—by which the crown of England was settled on the House of Hanover, after the demise of Anne. This act was repeated, as it were, mechanically, by the servile parliament of the Irish colony. But though a highly important settlement of the sovereign authority, it does not seem to have aroused the smallest interest in the mass of the Irish people. It seemed now to be their opinion, and indeed the opinion was just, that it mattered nothing to them for the future whether Stuarts or Hanoverians should rule in England. They had had bitter experience of the one dynasty; and did not know that they were yet to have a more terrible experience of the other.

King William had fallen into very bad health; but still occupied himself in vast projects concerning his great concern, "the destinies of Europe." His speech, on the assembling of his last parliament, the last day of the year 1701, will show how his active mind was occupied to the last. "I persuade myself," said the king, "that you are met together, full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people. The eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known. Let me conjure you to disappoint

the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a popish prince and a French government. If you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity." The king meant by voting large supplies for war with France. But King William was at the end of his wars; he was destined never to make any more of his famous retreats before French marshals; and he died in little more than two months after this speech, 8th of March, 1702, his death having been hastened by a fall from his horse in riding from Kensington to Hampton Court. His death was little regretted, save in Holland, by anybody; even by the squires of the "Ascendency" in Ireland, who long toasted in their cups his "glorious, pious, and immortal memory." He had no personal quality that could endear him to any human being, unless the common quality of personal bravery may be so accounted. His religion was hatred to Papists; his fair fame was stained by faithlessness and cruelty, and he will be forever named in history the Treaty-breaker of Limerick and the assassin of Glencoe.

CHAPTER V.

1702-1704.

Queen Anne.—Rochester lord-lieutenant.—Ormond lord-lieutenant.—War on the continent.—Successes under Marlborough.—Second formal breach of the Treaty of Limerick.—Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery.—Clause against the Dissenters.—Catholic lawyers heard against the bill.—Pleading of Sir Toby Butler.—Bill passed.—Object of the Penal Laws.—To get hold of the property of Catholics.—Recall of the Edict of Nantes.—Irish on the Continent.—Cremona.

The Princess Anne, generally called at that time Anne of Denmark, because she was the wife of the Prince of Denmark, succeeded William on the throne of the three kingdoms. She was the daughter of King James II., in vindication of whose rights the Irish nation had fought so desperately, and suffered so cruelly. She was acknowledged as queen, avowedly as the last of her race, by virtue of the act establishing the succession in the House of Hanover; and her brother was an attainted and proscribed outlaw. But if the Irish people had imagined that any Stuart, or indeed any English sovereign, could either be moved by gratitude for their loyal service, or stung by resentment against the dominant Whig party, which ruined and degraded the Stuart family, to the point of interposing or interceding on behalf of the oppressed Catholics, they would have been grossly deceived. In truth, they had no such hope or expectation. They were as indifferent to the Stuarts now as the Stuarts were to them; and except some Irish officers on the continent, who still put their trust in a counter-revolution, none of the Irish took the smallest interest in the new settlement of the throne, nor cared whether a descendant of the Stuarts or of the Electress of Hanover should reign over England.

King William had died just at the moment when his able policy had succeeded in uniting the power of the Germanic Empire with that of England and Holland, for another war against Louis. Three days after her accession, the queen repaired in person, with the usual pomp and solemnity, to the House of Peers, and made a speech from the throne, expressing her fixed resolution to prosecute the measures concerted by the late king, whom she styled "the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." And she declared "that too much could not be done for the encouragement of our allies, and to reduce the exorbitant power of France." In the conclusion of her speech she took occasion to protest "that her heart was truly English," which was considered a studied affront to the memory of the late king, whose heart was Dutch; but the allusion probably only added to her popularity. Her most influential counsellors, at first, were the Earls of Marlborough and Godolphin, who were eager for the most vigorous prosecution of the war. Lord Godolphin

was appointed Lord High Treasurer, and Marlborough Captain-General of the forces of England at home and abroad. War was declared against France simultaneously on the same day at London, Vienna, and the Hague.

Lord Rochester was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was of the Tory party, much averse to the war, and loud in his denunciations of it. But his protests at the council-board having been disregarded, he retired in high indignation to his country-seat. Shortly afterwards a message from the queen was dispatched to him, commanding him to repair to his government of Ireland, whereupon he insolently declared "that he would not go if the queen gave him the whole country." The earl then waited on her majesty and resigned his office, which was immediately conferred upon the Duke of Ormond; an evil omen for Ireland when one of the name of Butler was appointed to rule over her. But the duke did not come to Dublin for that year, as he was employed in military service abroad; this island was therefore, as usual, placed under the government of three lords-justices, Lord Mount Alexander, General Erle, and Mr. Knightley.

The military operations began with the siege of Kaisarswart, a strong place on the Rhine. The Prince of Nassau-Saarbruck conducted the siege, and Ginkell, now "Earl of Athlone," commanded the covering army. The place capitulated on the 15th of June. Shortly after, the Earl of Marlborough came over from England to take command of the allied army; and entered upon that career of brilliant achievements which entitled him to rank as the first soldier of his time. Unfortunately the English arms were successful in this campaign; and the unfailing result followed—a new code of laws to still further beggar and torture the Irish. It is an irksome and painful task to pursue the details of that terrible penal code; but the penal code is the history of Ireland. The Duke of Ormond, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and a prosperous one upon the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Vigo, in Spain, came over to his government in Ireland, where the Irish Commons, in a body, presented to him the first of the famous bills "to prevent the further growth of Popery." The House, says Burnett, "pressed the duke with more than usual vehemence, to intercede so effectually that it might be returned back under the great seal of England." His grace was pleased to give his promise "that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner, and do every thing in his power to prevent the growth of Popery."

One might indeed suppose that "Popery" had been already sufficiently discouraged; seeing that the bishops and regular clergy had been banished; that Catholics were excluded by law from all honorable or lucrative employments; carefully disarmed and plundered of almost every acre of their ancient inheritances. But enough had not yet been done to make the "Protestant interest" feel secure. The provisions of this bill "to prevent the further growth of Popery," which were so warmly recommended by the Duke of Ormond, are shortly these: the third clause enacts that if the son of a Papist shall at any time become a Protestant, his father may not sell or mortgage his estate, or dispose of it, or any portion of it, by will. The fourth clause provides that a Papist shall not be guardian to his own child; and further, that if his child, no matter how young, conforms to the Protestant religion, he reduces his father at once to a tenant for life; the child is to be taken from its father, and placed under the guardianship of the nearest Protestant relation. The sixth clause renders Papists incapable of purchasing any landed estates, or rents or profits arising out of land, or holding any lease of lives, or any other lease for any term exceeding thirty-one years; and even in such leases the reserved rent must be at least "one-third of the improved annual value;" any Protestant who *discovers* being entitled to the interest in the lease. The seventh clause prohibits Papists from succeeding to the property of their Protestant relations. The tenth clause provides that the estate of a Papist who has no Protestant heir shall be *gavelled;* that is, parcelled in equal shares between all his children. Other clauses impose on Catholics the oath of abjuration and the sacramental test, to qualify for any office or for voting at any election. After several further clauses relating to qualifications for office, which were not of very great importance, as no Catholic then aspired to any office, come the 15th,

16th, and 17th clauses, which carefully deprive the citizens of Limerick and Galway of the poor privilege promised them in the treaty, of living in their own towns and carrying on their trade there, which, it will be remembered, was grievously complained of by the Protestant residents as a wrong and oppression upon *them*.

When this bill was sent to England it somewhat embarrassed the court. Queen Anne was then in firm alliance with the great Catholic power of Austria, and the English Government, with its usual hypocritical affectation of liberality, was ever pressing the emperor for certain indulgences to his Protestant subjects. Yet the bill was not objected to on the part of the crown; it was, in fact, thought then, as it is thought now —and with justice—that what is done in Ireland is done in a corner; and that England might continue to play her part as champion of religious liberty in the world, while she herself went to the uttermost extremities of intolerant atrocity in Ireland. The bill was sent back approved, in order that it might be passed by the Irish Parliament; and the only modification it received in England was actually an additional clause imposing still further penalties and disabilities. This clause was levelled against the Protestant Dissenters, who were already a numerous and wealthy body, especially in Ulster; and was to the effect that none in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify by receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England; according to the Test Act, which had 'till then been applicable only to that kingdom, and had never yet been imposed upon Ireland. It has been alleged by the friends of the Government of Queen Anne, that the Administration invented this plan, hoping that it would defeat the bill altogether. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times, says, "It was hoped, by those who got this clause added to the bill, that those in Ireland who promoted it most, would now be the less fond of it, when it had such a weight hung to it." If it be indeed true that the government intended to defeat the bill by this underhand method, the plan did not succeed. Nothing was too savage for the "Ascendency," provided only that it was to aggrieve and oppress the Catholics; and for the same great object, the Dissenters themselves, though they remonstrated at first by petition, soon meekly acquiesced in their own exclusion and disabilities. The law was to ruin the Catholics; and that was enough for them.

On the return of the bill to Ireland, and before its passage in Dublin, certain Catholics prayed to be heard by counsel in opposition to it. They were Nicholas Viscount Kingsland, Colonel J. Brown, Colonel Burke, Colonel Robert Nugent, Colonel Patrick Allen, Captain French, and other Catholics of Limerick and Galway. Their petition was granted; and in pursuance of that order, three advocates for the Catholics appeared at the bar of the House of Commons. They were Sir Theobald Butler, Counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice; the two first in their gowns, the third without a gown, as he appeared not for the petitioners in general, but for himself in his private capacity, as one of the aggrieved persons. It is to be observed that these Catholic lawyers were themselves "protected persons," within the meaning of the Articles of Limerick; and that they were pleading on that day not only for their clients, but for themselves—for their own liberty to plead in court and to wear their gowns. It was a very remarkable scene; and as it forms an era in the history of Irish penal laws, we shall insert here the main part of the excellent argumentative appeal of Sir Theobald Butler, as it is abstracted in several histories of the time.* The speaker opens, of course, by laying great stress upon the Articles of Limerick; he proceeds thus:

"That since the said articles were thus under the most solemn ties, and for such valuable considerations granted the petitioners, by nothing less than the general of the army, the lords-justices of the kingdom, the king, queen, and parliament, the public faith of the nation was therein concerned, obliged, bound, and engaged, as fully and firmly as was possible for one people to pledge faith to another; that therefore this Parliament could not pass such a bill as that intituled An Act

* It will be found at full length in Plowden's Appendix and in Curry's Historical Review.

to prevent the further growth of Popery, then before the House, into a law, without infringing those articles, and a manifest breach of the public faith; of which he hoped that House would be no less regardful and tender than their predecessors who made the act for confirming those articles had been.

"That if he proved that the passing that act was such a manifest breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, he hoped that honorable House would be very tender how they passed the said bill before them into a law; to the apparent prejudice of the petitioners, and the hazard of bringing upon themselves and posterity such evils, reproach, and infamy as the doing the like had brought upon other nations and people.

"Now, that the passing such a bill as that then before the House to prevent *the further growth of Popery* will be a breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, I prove (said he) by the following argument:

"The argument then is (said he) whatever shall be enacted to the prejudice or destroying of any obligation, covenant, or contract, in the most solemn manner, and for the most valuable consideration entered into, is a manifest violation and destruction of every such obligation, covenant, and contract: but the passing that bill into a law will evidently and absolutely destroy the Articles of Limerick and Galway, to all intents and purposes, and therefore the passing that bill into a law will be such a breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, plighted for performing those articles; which remained to be proved.

"The major is proved (said he), for that whatever destroys or violates any contract, or obligation, upon the most valuable considerations, most solemnly made and entered into, destroys and violates the end of every such contract or obligation: but the end and design of those articles was, that all those therein comprised, and every of their heirs, should hold, possess, and enjoy all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities, which they and every of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully intituled to, in the reign of King Charles the Second; or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign in this realm: but that the design of this bill was to take away every such right, title, interest, &c., from every father being a Papist, and to make the Popish father, who, by the articles and laws aforesaid, had an undoubted right either to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of his estate, at any time of his life, as he thought fit, only tenant for life: and consequently disabled from selling, or otherwise disposing thereof, after his son or other heir should become Protestant, though otherwise never so disobedient, profligate, or extravagant: *ergo*, this act tends to the destroying the end for which those articles were made, and consequently the breaking of the public faith, plighted for their performance.

"The minor is proved by the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of the said bill, all which (said he) I shall consider and speak to, in the order as they are placed in the bill.

"By the first of these clauses (which is the third of the bill), I that am the Popish father, without committing any crime against the state, or the laws of the land (by which only I ought to be governed), or any other fault; but merely for being of the religion of my forefathers, and that which, till of late years, was the ancient religion of these kingdoms, contrary to the express words of the second Article of Limerick, and the public faith, plighted as aforesaid for their performance, am deprived of my inheritance, freehold, &c., and of all other advantages which by those articles and the laws of the land I am entitled to enjoy, equally with every other of my fellow-subjects, whether Protestant or Popish. And though such my estate be even the purchase of my own hard labor and industry, yet I shall not (though my occasions be never so pressing) have liberty (after my eldest son or other heir becomes a Protestant) to sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of, or charge it for payment of my debts, or have leave out of my own estate to order portions for my other children; or leave a legacy, though never so small, to my poor father or mother, or other poor relations; but during my own life my estate shall be given to my son or other heir being a Protestant, though never so

undutiful, profligate, extravagant, or otherwise undeserving; and I that am the purchasing father, shall become tenant for life only to my own purchase, inheritance and freehold, which I purchased with my own money; and such my son or other heir, by this act, shall be at liberty to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of my estate, the sweat of my brows, before my face; and I that am the purchaser, shall not have liberty to raise one farthing upon the estate of my own purchase, either to pay my debts, or portion my daughters (if any I have), or make provisions for my other male children, though never so deserving and dutiful: but my estate, and the issues and profits of it, shall, before my face, be at the disposal of another, who cannot possibly know how to distinguish between the dutiful and undutiful, deserving and undeserving. Is not this, gentlemen (said he), a hard case? I beseech you, gentlemen, to consider, whether you would not think it so, if the scale was changed, and the case your own, as it is like to be ours, if this bill pass into a law.

"It is natural for the father to love the child; but we all know (says he) that children are but too apt and subject, without any such liberty as that bill gives, to slight and neglect their duty to their parents; and surely such an act as this will not be an instrument of restraint, but rather encourage them more to it.

"It is but too common with the son who has a prospect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of one-and-twenty, to think the old father too long in the way between him and it; and how much more will he be subject to it, when by this act he shall have liberty, before he comes to that age, to compel and force my estate from me, without asking my leave, or being liable to account with me for it, or out of his share thereof, to a moiety of the debts, portions, or other incumbrances, with which the estate might have been charged, before the passing this act.

"Is not this against the laws of God and man; against the rules of reason and justice, by which all men ought to be governed? Is not this the only way in the world to make children become undutiful, and to bring the gray head of the parent to the grave with grief and tears?

"It would be hard from any man; but from a son, a child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nursed in my bosom and tendered more dearly than my own life, to become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to cut my throat, and to take away my bread, is much more grievous than from any other; and enough to make the most flinty of hearts to bleed to think on't. And yet this will be the case if this bill pass into a law; which I hope this honorable assembly will not think of when they shall more seriously consider, and have weighed these matters.

"For God's sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule, to do as you would be done unto? And if not, surely you will not, nay you cannot, without being liable to be charged with the most manifest injustice imaginable, take from us our birthrights, and invest them in others before our faces.

"By the 4th clause of the bill, the popish father is under the penalty of 500*l.* debarred from being guardian to, or having the tuition or custody of his own child or children: but if the child pretends to be a Protestant, though never so young or incapable of judging of the principles of religion, it shall be taken from its own father, and put into the hands or care of a Protestant relation, if any there be qualified as this act directs, for tuition, though never so great an enemy to the popish parent; and for want of relations so qualified, into the hands and tuition of such Protestant stranger as the court of chancery shall think fit to appoint; who perhaps may likewise be my enemy, and out of prejudice to me who am the popish father, shall infuse into my child not only such principles of religion as are wholly inconsistent with my liking, but also against the duty which, by the laws of God and nature, is due from every child to its parents: and it shall not be in my power to remedy, or question him for it; and yet I shall be obliged to pay for such education, how pernicious soever. Nay, if a legacy or estate fall to any of my children, being minors, I that am the popish father shall not have the liberty to take care of it, but it shall be put into the hands of a stranger; and though I

see it confounded before my face, it shall not be in my power to help it. Is not this a hard case, gentlemen? I am sure you cannot but allow it to be a very hard case.

"The 5th clause provides that no Protestant or Protestants, having any estate, real or personal, within this kingdom, shall at any time after the 24th of March, 1703, intermarry with any Papist, either in or out of this kingdom, under the penalties in an act made in the 9th of King William, intituled, An Act to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists; which penalties, see in the 5th clause of the act itself.

"Surely, gentlemen, this is such a law as was never heard of before, and against the law of right and the law of nations; and therefore a law which is not in the power of mankind to make without breaking through the laws which our wise ancestors prudently provided for the security of posterity, and which you cannot infringe without hazarding the undermining the whole legislature, and encroaching upon the privileges of your neighboring nations, which it is not reasonable to believe they will allow.

"It has indeed been known, that there hath been laws made in England that have been binding in Ireland: but surely it never was known that any law made in Ireland could affect England or any other country. But by this act, a person committing matrimony (an ordinance of the Almighty) in England or any other part beyond the seas (where it is lawful both by the laws of God and man so to do), if ever they come to live in Ireland, and have an inheritance or title to any interest to the value of 500*l.*, they shall be punished for a fact consonant with the laws of the land where it was committed. But, gentlemen, by your favor, this is what, with submission, is not in your power to do: for no law that either now is, or that hereafter shall be in force in this kingdom, shall be able to take cognizance of any fact committed in another nation; nor can any one nation make laws for any other nation, but what is subordinate to it, as Ireland is to England; but no other nation is subordinate to Ireland; and therefore any laws made in Ireland, cannot punish me for any fact committed in any other nation, but more especially England, to whom Ireland is subordinate: and the reason is, every free nation, such as all our neighboring nations are, by the great law of nature, and the universal privileges of all nations, have an undoubted right to make, and be ruled and governed by the laws of their own making: for that to submit to any other, would be to give away their own birthright and native freedom, and become subordinate to their neighbors, as we of this kingdom, since the making of Poyning's Act, have been and are to England. A right which England would never so much as endure to hear of, much less submit to.

"We see how careful our forefathers have been to provide that no man should be punished in one country (even of the same nation) for crimes committed in another country; and surely it would be highly unreasonable, and contrary to the laws of all nations in the whole world, to punish me in this kingdom for a fact committed in England, or any other nation, which was not against, but consistent with the laws of the nation where it was committed. I am sure there is not any law in any other nation of the world that would do it.

"The 6th clause of this bill is likewise a manifest breach of the second of Limerick Articles, for by that article all persons comprised under those articles, were to enjoy and have the full benefit of all the rights, titles, privileges, and immunities whatsoever, which they enjoyed, or by the laws of the land then in force, were entitled to enjoy, in the reign of King Charles II. And by the laws then in force, all the Papists of Ireland had the same liberty that any of their fellow-subjects had to purchase any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases of lives, or for years, rents, or any other thing of profit whatsoever: but by this clause of this bill, every Papist or person professing the popish religion, after the 24th of March, 1703, is made incapable of purchasing any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents, or profits out of the same; or holding any lease of lives, or any other lease whatsoever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years; wherein a rent, not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value, shall be reserved, and made payable, during the whole term: and therefore this clause of

this bill, if made into a law, will be a manifest breach of those articles.

"The 7th clause is yet of much more general consequence, and not only a like breach of those articles, but also a manifest robbing of all the Roman Catholics of the kingdom of their birthright: for by those articles all those therein comprised were (said he) pardoned all misdemeanors whatsoever, of which they had in any manner of way been guilty; and restored to all the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities whatever, which, by the laws of the land, and customs, constitutions and native birthright, they, any, and every of them, were, equally with every other of their fellow-subjects intituled unto. And by the laws of nature and nations, as well as by the laws of the land, every native of any country has an undoubted right and just title to all the privileges and advantages which such their native country affords: and surely no man but will allow, that by such a native right every one born in any country hath an undoubted right to the inheritance of his father, or any other to whom he or they may be heir at law; but if this bill pass into a law, every native of this kingdom that is and shall remain a Papist is, *ipso facto*, during life, or his or their continuing a Papist, deprived of such inheritance, devise, gift, remainder, or trust of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of which any Protestant now is, or hereafter shall be seized in fee-simple-absolute, or fee-tail, which by the death of such Protestant, or his wife, ought to descend immediately to his son or sons, or other issue in tail, being such Papists, and eighteen years of age; or, if under that age, within six months after coming to that age, shall not conform to the Church of Ireland, as by law established; and every such devise, gift, remainder, or trust which, according to the laws of the land, and such native right, ought to descend to such Papist, shall, during the life of such Papist (unless he forsake his religion), descend to the nearest relation that is a Protestant, and his heirs being and continuing Protestants, as though the said popish heir and all other popish relations were dead; without being accountable for the same: which is nothing less than robbing such popish heir of such his birthright; for no other reason, but his being and continuing of that religion, which by the first of Limerick Articles, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom were to enjoy, as they did in the reign of King Charles II., and then there was no law in force that deprived any Roman Catholic of this kingdom of any such their native birthright, or any other thing which, by the laws of the land then in force, any other fellow-subjects were intituled unto.

"The 8th clause of this bill is to erect in this kingdom a law of *gavel-kind*, a law in itself so monstrous and strange, that I dare say this is the first time it was ever heard of in the world; a law so pernicious and destructive to the well-being of families and societies, that in an age or two there will hardly be any remembrance of any of the ancient Roman Catholic families known in the kingdom; a law which, therefore, I may again venture to say, was never before known or heard of in the universe.

"There is, indeed, in Kent, a custom called the custom of gavel-kind; but I never heard of any law for it till now; and that custom is far different from what by this bill is intended to be made a law; for there, and by that custom, the father or other person, dying possessed of any estate of his own acquisition, or not entailed (let him be of what persuasion he will), may by will bequeath it at pleasure: or if he dies without will, the estate shall not be divided, if there be any male heir to inherit it; but for want of male heir, then it shall descend in gavel-kind among the daughters and not otherwise. But by this act, for want of a Protestant heir, enrolled as such within three months after the death of such Papist, to be divided, share and share alike, among all his sons; for want of sons, among his daughters; for want of such, among the collateral kindred of his father; and for want of such, among those of his mother; and this is to take place of any grant, settlement, &c., other than sale, for valuable consideration of money, really, *bona fide*, paid. And shall I not call this a strange law? Surely it is a strange law, which, contrary to the laws of all nations, thus confounds all settlements, how ancient soever, or otherwise warrantable by all the laws heretofore in force in this or any other kingdom.

"The 9th clause of this act is another manifest breach of the Articles of Limerick; for by the 9th of those articles, no oath is to be administered to, nor imposed upon such Roman Catholics as should submit to the Government, but the oath of allegiance appointed by an act of parliament made in England in the first year of the reign of their late majesties King William and Queen Mary (which is the same with the first of those appointed by the 10th clause of this act): but by this clause, none shall have the benefit of this act, that shall not conform to the Church of Ireland, subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath of abjuration, appointed by the 9th clause of this act; and therefore this act is a manifest breach of those articles, &c., and a force upon all the Roman Catholics therein comprised, either to abjure their religion or part with their birthrights; which, by those articles, they were, and are as fully and as rightfully intituled unto as any other subjects whatever.

"The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th clauses of this bill (said he) relate to offices and employments which the Papists of Ireland cannot hope for enjoyment of, otherwise than by grace and favor extraordinary: and therefore, do not so much affect them, as the Protestant Dissenters who (if this bill pass into a law) are equally with the Papists deprived of bearing any office, civil or military, under the Government, to which, by right of birth and the laws of the land, they are as indisputably intituled, as any other their Protestant brethren; and if what the Irish did in the late disorders of this kingdom made them rebels (which the presence of a king they had before been obliged to own and swear obedience to gave them a reasonable color of concluding it did not), yet surely the Dissenters did not do any thing to make them so; or to deserve worse at the hands of the Government than any other Protestants; but, on the contrary, it is more than probable that if they (I mean the Dissenters) had not put a stop to the career of the Irish army at Enniskillen and Londonderry, the settlement of the Government, both in England and Scotland, might not have proved so easy as it thereby did; for if that army had got to Scotland (as there was nothing at that time to have hindered them, but the bravery of those people, who were mostly Dissenters, and chargeable with no other crimes since; unless their close adhering to, and early appearing for the then Government, and the many faithful services they did their country, were crimes), I say (said he) if they had got to Scotland, when they had boats, barks, and all things else ready for their transportation, and a great many friends there in arms waiting only their coming to join them, it is easy to think what the consequence would have been to both these kingdoms: and these Dissenters then were thought fit for command, both civil and military, and were no less instrumental in contributing to the reducing the kingdom than any other Protestants: and to pass a bill now to deprive them of their birthrights (for those their good services), would surely be a most unkind return, and the worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving. Whatever the Papists may be supposed to have deserved, the Dissenters certainly stand as clean in the face of the present Government as any other people whatsoever: and if this is all the return they are like to get, it will be but a slender encouragement, if ever occasion should require, for others to pursue their example.

"By the 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of this bill, all Papists, after the 24th of March, 1703, are prohibited from purchasing any houses or tenements, or coming to dwell in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs of either, and even such as were under the articles, and by virtue thereof have ever since lived there, from staying there; without giving such security as neither those articles, nor any law heretofore in force, do require; except seamen, fishermen, and day-laborers, who pay not above forty shillings a year rent; and from voting for the election of members of Parliament, unless they take the oath of abjuration; which, to oblige them to, is contrary to the 9th of Limerick Articles; which, as aforesaid, says the oath of allegiance, and no other, shall be imposed upon them; and, unless they abjure their religion, takes away their advowsons and right of presentation, contrary to the privilege of right, the laws of nations, and the

great charter of Magna Charta which provides that no man shall be disseized of his birthright, without committing some crime against the known laws of the land in which he is born or inhabits. And if there was no law in force, in the reign of King Charles the Second, against these things (as there certainly was not), and if the Roman Catholics of this kingdom have not since forfeited their right to the laws that then were in force (as for certain they have not); then with humble submission, all the aforesaid clauses and matters contained in this bill, intituled, *An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery*, are directly against the plain words and true intent and meaning of the said articles, and a violation of the public faith and the laws made for their performance; and what I therefore hope (said he) this honorable house will consider accordingly."

It is but just to mention the arguments by which this earnest reasoning was met in the Irish House of Commons. It was objected, then, that the counsel for the Catholics had not demonstrated how and when (since the making of the Articles of Limerick) the Papists of Ireland had addressed the queen or Government, when all other subjects were so doing; or had otherwise declared their fidelity and obedience to the queen. Further it was urged, by way of reply, "That any right which the Papists pretended to be taken from them by the bill was in their own power to remedy, *by conforming*, as in prudence they ought to do; and that they ought not to blame any but themselves." It was still further argued that the passing of this bill would not be a breach of the Treaty of Limerick, because the persons therein comprised were only to be put into the same state they were in the reign of Charles the Second; and because in that reign there was no law in force which hindered the passing of *any other law* thought needful for the future safety of the Government: lastly, that the House was of opinion that the passing of this bill was needful at present for the security of the kingdom; and that there was not any thing in the Articles of Limerick to prohibit them from so doing. It is not needful to comment on the excessive insolence of the subterfuge.

The same counsel were heard before the Lords: and here it was admitted, on the part of the petitioners, that the legislative power cannot be confined from altering and making such laws as shall be thought necessary, for securing the quiet and safety of the Government; that in time of war or danger, or when there shall be just reason to suspect any ill designs to disturb the public peace, no articles or previous obligations shall tie up the hands of the legislators from providing for its safety, or bind the Government from disarming and securing any who may be reasonably suspected of favoring or corresponding with its enemies, or to be otherwise guilty of ill practices: "Or indeed to enact any other law," said Sir Stephen Rice, "that may be absolutely needful for the safety and advantage of the public; such a law cannot be a breach either of these, or any other like articles. But then such laws ought to be in general, and should not single out, or affect, any one particular part or party of the people, who gave no provocation to any such law, and whose conduct stood hitherto unimpeached, ever since the ratification of the aforesaid Articles of Limerick. To make any law that shall single any particular part of the people out from the rest, and take from them what by right of birth, and all the preceding laws of the land, had been confirmed to and entailed upon them, will be an apparent violation of the original institution of all right, and an ill precedent to any that hereafter might dislike either the present or any other settlement, which should be in their power to alter; the consequence of which is hard to imagine."

The Lord Chancellor having then summed up all that was offered at the bar, the House of Lords proceeded to pass the bill without delay. And it is really remarkable that in neither House did one single peer or commoner offer a word of remonstrance against its passage. A few days after, on the 4th of March, it received the royal assent.

The penal code might now be considered tolerably complete; and the nine-tenths of the population of Ireland was thus effectually brought down under the feet of the other one-tenth; so absolutely subjugated, indeed, that they could not possibly be depressed lower, unless they had been actually bought

and sold as slaves. Forbidden to teach or to be taught, whether at home or abroad, deprived of necessary arms for self-defence, or even for the chase; disabled from being so much as game-keepers, lest any of them should learn the use of firearms; and provision being made for gradually impoverishing the Catholic families who still owned any thing, and preventing the industrious from making themselves independent by their labor—it would be hard to point out any people of ancient or modern times who groaned under a more ingenious, torturing, and humiliating oppression. Yet one peculiarity is to be remarked in the administration of these laws:—they were so applied, for generations, as to allow a bare toleration to Catholic worship, provided that worship were practised in mean and obscure places, provided there were no clergy in the kingdom but simple secular priests; who were also compelled to register their names and the parishes "of which they pretended to be popish priests"—the penalty for saying mass out of those registered parishes being transportation, and in case of return, *death*. On these terms, then, it was practically permitted to Catholics to attend at the service of their religion, although this was contrary to an express law, namely, to the "Act of Uniformity," which required all persons not having lawful excuse to attend on the services of the Established Church. But throughout all this reign of Anne, and the two succeeding reigns, there was no such relaxation as this allowed in any matter relating to property, privilege, or trade: in all these matters the code was executed with the most rigorous severity. So that it is plain the object of the Ascendency was not so much to convert Catholics to Protestantism, as to convert the goods of Catholics to Protestant use. This is the main difference between the Catholic persecutions on the continent at that period and the Protestant persecutions in Ireland: and it fully justifies the reflection of a late writer —"It may be a circumstance in favor of the Protestant code (or it may not), that whereas Catholics have really persecuted for religion, 'enlightened' Protestants only made a pretext of religion; taking no thought what became of Catholic souls, if only they could get possession of Catholic lands and goods. Also we may remark, that Catholic governments in their persecutions always really desired the conversion of misbelievers (albeit their methods were rough); but in Ireland, if the people had universally turned Catholic, it would have defeated the whole scheme."

The recall of the Edict of Nantes, which edict had secured toleration for Protestantism in France, is bitterly dwelt upon by English writers as the heaviest reproach which weighs on the memory of King Louis the Fourteenth. The recall of the edict had taken place in 1685, only a few years before the passage of this Irish "Act to prevent the further growth of Popery." The differences between the two transactions are mainly these two: *first*, that the French Protestants had not been guaranteed their civil and religious rights by any treaty, as the Irish Catholics, thought they held theirs by the Treaty of Limerick; *second*, that the penalties denounced against French Protestants by the *recalling* edict bore entirely upon their religious service itself, and were truly intended to induce and force the Huguenots to become Catholics; there being no confiscations except in cases of relapse, and in cases of quitting the kingdom; but there was nothing of all the complicated machinery above described, for beggaring one portion of the population, and giving its spoils to the other part. We may add, that the penalties and disabilities in France lasted a much shorter time than in Ireland; and that French Protestants were restored to perfect civil and religious equality with their countrymen in every respect forty years before the "Catholic Relief Act" purported to emancipate the Irish Catholics, who are not, indeed, emancipated yet. Mr. Burke, in his excellent tract on the penal laws, comparing the recall of the Nantes Edict with our Irish system, says with great force—

"This act of injustice, which let loose on that monarch such a torrent of invective and reproach, and which threw so dark a cloud over all the splendor of a most illustrious reign, falls far short of the case in Ireland. The privileges which the Protestants of that kingdom enjoyed antecedent to this revocation, were far greater than the Roman Catholics of Ireland ever aspired to under a contrary establishment. The number of their sufferers, if considered absolutely, is not the

half of ours; if considered relatively to the body of each community, it is not perhaps a twentieth part; and then the penalties and incapacities which grew from that revocation are not so grievous in their nature, nor so certain in their execution, nor so ruinous by a great deal to the civil prosperity of the state, as those which were established for a perpetual law in our unhappy country."

Readers will turn with pleasure from the gloomy and painful scene presented by Ireland in that dismal time, to the other half of Ireland, the choicest of the whole nation; which was to be found in all the camps and fields of Europe, wherever gallant feats of arms were to be done. The gallant Justin MacCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, had long been dead, having fallen on the field of Staffardo under Marshal Catinat, in 1790; where a brigade of Irish troops had been serving in the French army before the surrender of Limerick. The arrival of Sarsfield, with so many distinguished officers and veteran troops, gave occasion to the formation of the "New Irish Brigade;" and we have seen with how much distinction that corps had fought against England on so many fields of the Netherlands. In the new war which followed the accession of Queen Anne, bodies of the Irish forces served in each of the great French armies. There were four regiments of cavalry, Galway's, Kilmallock's, Sheldon's, and Clare's—the last commanded by O'Brien, Lord Clare, constantly employed in these wars—and at least seven regiments of infantry. All these corps were kept more than full by new arrivals of exiles and emigrants.

It will afford a relief from the irksome tale of oppression at home, to tell how some of these exiles acquitted themselves when they had the good luck to meet on some foreign field either Englishmen or the allies of England. About the time when the lawyers of the "Ascendency" were elaborating in Dublin their bill for the plunder of Catholic widows and orphans, it happened that there were two regiments, Dillon's (one of Mountcashel's old brigade) and Burke's, called the Athlone regiment, which formed part of the garrison of Cremona on the bank of the Po. The French commander was the Duke de Villeroy, who had just brought his whole army into Cremona, after an unsuccessful affair with Prince Eugene at Chiari. Cremona was then, as it is now, a very strong fortified town; and the duke intended to rest his forces there for a time, as it was the depth of winter. The enterprising Prince Eugene planned a surprise: he had procured for himself some traitorous intelligence in the town, and some of his grenadiers had already been introduced by a clever stratagem. Large bodies of troops had approached close to the town by various routes; and all was ready for the grand operation on the night of the 2d of February, 1702. Villeroy and his subordinates were of course much to blame for having suffered all the preparations for so grand a military operation to be brought to perfection up to the very moment of execution. The marshal was peacefully sleeping: he was awaked by volleys of musketry. He dressed and mounted in great haste; and the first thing he met in the streets was a squadron of Imperial cavalry, who made him prisoner, his captor being an Austrian officer named MacDonnell. Prince Eugene, with Count Stahremberg, Commerci, and seven thousand men, were already in the heart of the town, and occupying the great square. It was four o'clock on a February morning, when all this had been accomplished; and Prince Eugene thought the place already won, when the French troops only began to turn out of their beds, and dress. Alarm was soon given. The regiment des Vaisseaux and the two Irish regiments are the only corps mentioned by M. de Voltaire as having distinguished themselves in turning the fortune of that terrible morning; and as Voltaire is not usually favorable, nor even just to the Irish, it is well to transcribe first his narrative of the affair. "The Chevalier d'Entragues was to hold a review that day in the town of the regiment des Vaisseaux, of which he was colonel; and already the soldiers were assembling at four o'clock at one extremity of the town just as Prince Eugene was entering by the other. D'Entragues begins to run through the streets with the soldiers; resists such Germans as he encounters, and gives time to the rest of the garrison to hurry up. Officers and soldiers, pell-mell, some half-armed, others almost naked, with-

out direction, without order, fill the streets and public places. They fight in confusion, intrench themselves from street to street, from place to place. Two Irish regiments, who made part of the garrison, arrest the advance of the Imperialists. Never town was surprised with more skill, nor defended with so much valor. The garrison consisted of about five thousand men: Prince Eugene had not yet brought in more than four thousand. A large detachment of his army was to arrive by the Po bridge: the measures were well taken; but another chance deranged all. This bridge over the Po, insufficiently guarded by about a hundred French soldiers, was to have been seized by a body of German cuirassiers, who, at the moment Prince Eugene was entering the town, were commanded to go and take possession of it. For this purpose it was necessary that having first entered by the southern gate, they should instantly go outside of the city in a northern direction by the Po gate, and then hasten to the bridge. But in going thither the guide who led them was killed by a musket-ball fired from a window. The cuirassiers take one street for another. In this short interval, the Irish spring forward to the gate of the Po: they fight and repulse the cuirassiers. The Marquis de Praslin profits by the moment to cut down the bridge. The succor which the enemy counted on did not arrive, and the town was saved."* But the fighting was by no means over with the repulse of Count Merci's reinforcements: a furious combat raged all the morning in the streets; and Mahony and Burke had still much to do. At last the whole Imperialist force was finally repulsed; and the soldiers then got time to put on their jackets. Colonel Burke lost of his regiment seven officers and forty-two soldiers killed, and nine officers and fifty soldiers wounded. Dillon's regiment, commanded that day by Major Mahony, lost one officer and forty-nine soldiers killed, and twelve officers and seventy-nine soldiers wounded.

* Some of the Irish accounts of this achievement are too glowing, perhaps, as is natural. Even according to Voltaire's narration, the Irish soldiers really did every thing which he says was done at all; beat Prince Eugene's troops in the city itself, and saved the Po Gate from the other detachment under the Count Merci.

King Louis sent formal thanks to the two Irish regiments, and raised their pay from that day.

In the campaigns of 1703 the Irish had at least their full share of employment and of honor. Under Vendôme, they made their mark in Italy, on the fields of Vittoria, Luzzara, Cassano, and Calcinato. On the Rhine, they were still more distinguished; especially at Freidlingen and Spires, in which latter battle a splendid charge of Nugent's horse saved the fortune of the day. After this year the military fortune of France declined; but, whether in victory or defeat, the Brigade was still fighting by their side; nor is there any record of an Irish regiment having behaved badly on any field.

At the battle of Hochstet or Blenheim, in 1704, Marshal Tallard was defeated and taken prisoner by Marlborough and Eugene. The French and Bavarians lost 10,000 killed, 13,000 prisoners, and 90 pieces of cannon. Yet amid this monstrous disaster, Clare's dragoons were victorious over a portion of Eugene's famous cavalry, and took two standards. And in the battle of Ramillies, in 1706, where Villeroy was utterly routed, Clare's dragoons attempted to cover the wreck of the retreating French, broke through an English regiment, and followed them into the thronging van of the Allies. Mr. Forman states that they were generously assisted out of this predicament by an Italian regiment, and succeeded in carrying off the English colors they had taken.

At the sad days of Oudenarde and Malplaquet, some of them were also present; but to the victories which brightened this time, so dark to France, the Brigade contributed materially. At the battle of Almanza (13th March, 1707,) several Irish regiments served under Berwick. In the early part of the day the Portuguese and Spanish auxiliaries of England were broken, but the English and Dutch fought successfully for a long time; nor was it till repeatedly charged by the *élite* of Berwick's army, including the Irish, that they were forced to retreat. 3,000 killed, 10,000 prisoners, and 120 standards, attested the magnitude of the victory. It put King Philip on the throne of Spain. In the siege

of Barcelona, Dillon's regiment fought with great effect.

In their ranks was a boy of twelve years old; he was the son of a Galway gentleman, Mr. Lally or O'Lally, of Tulloch na Daly, and his uncle had sat in James's Parliament of 1689. This boy, so early trained, was afterwards the famous Count Lally de Tollendal, whose services in every part of the globe make his execution a stain upon the honor as well as upon the justice of Louis XVI. When Villars swept off the whole of Albemarle's battalions at Denain, in 1712, the Irish were in his van.

The treaty of Utrecht and the dismissal of Marlborough put an end to the war in Flanders, but still many of the Irish continued to serve in Italy and Germany, and thus fought at Parma, Guastalla, and Philipsburg.

It was not alone in the French service that our military exiles won renown. The O'Donnells, O'Neills, and O'Reillys, with the relics of their Ulster clans, preferred to fight under the Spanish flag: and in the war of the "Spanish Succession," Spain had five Irish regiments in her army; whose commanders were O'Reillys, O'Garas, Lacys, Wogans, and Lawlesses. For several generations a succession of Irish soldiers of rank and distinction were always to be found under the Spanish standard; and in that kingdom those who had been chiefs in their own land were always recognized as "grandees," the equals of the proudest nobles of Castile. Hence the many noble families of Irish race and name still to be found in Spain at this day. The Peninsular War, in the beginning of the present century, found a Blake generalissimo of the Spanish armies; while an O'Neill commanded the troops of Aragon; and O'Donnells and O'Reillys held high grades as general officers. All these true Irishmen were lost to their own country, and were forced to shed their blood for the stranger, while their kindred at home so much needed their counsels and their swords: but it was the settled policy of England, and the English colony, now and for long after, to make it impossible for men of spirit and ambition to live in Ireland, so that the remaining masses of abject people might be the more helpless in the hands of their enemies.

But it is time to turn away from those stirring scenes of glory on the continent, at least for the present, and look back upon the sombre picture presented by one unvarying record of misery and oppression at home.

CHAPTER VI.

1704—1714.

Enforcement of the Penal Laws—Making informers honorable—Pembroke lord-lieutenant—Union of England and Scotland—Means by which it was carried—Irish House of Lords in favor of an Union—Laws against meeting at Holy Wells—Catholics excluded from Juries—Wharton lord-lieutenant—Second Act to prevent growth of Popery—Rewards for "discoverers"—Jonathan Swift—Nature of his Irish Patriotism—Papists the "common enemy." The Dissenters—Colony of the Palatines—Disasters of the French, and Peace of Utrecht—The "Pretender."

During all the rest of the reign of Anne, the law for preventing the growth of Popery was as rigorously executed all over the island, as it was possible for such laws to be: and there was the keen personal interest of the Protestant inhabitants of every town and district, always excited and kept on the stretch to discover and inform upon such unfortunate Catholics as had contrived to remain in possession of some of those estates, leaseholds, or other interests which were now by law capable of being held by Protestants alone. Every Catholic suspected his Protestant neighbor of prying into his affairs and dealings for the purpose of plundering him. Every Protestant suspected his Catholic neighbor of concealing some property, or privately receiving the revenue of some trust, and thus keeping him, the Protestant, out of his own. Mutual hatred and distrust kept the two races apart; and there was no social intercourse or good neighborhood between them. Informers of course were busy, and well rewarded; yet there were many of the Catholic families who cheated their enemies out of their prey, by real or pretended conversions to the Established Church, or else by secret trusts vested legally in some friendly Protestant; who ran, however, very heavy risks by this kind proceeding.

For on the 17th of March, a few days after the passage of the Act of 1704, the

Commons passed unanimously a resolution, "that all magistrates and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put it in due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." Again, in June, 1705, they "resolved, that the saying or hearing of Mass, by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration, tended to advance the interest of the *Pretender*," although it was then very well known that the Irish Catholics were not thinking in the least of the Pretender, or of placing their hopes in a counter-revolution to bring in the Stuarts. This resolution, therefore, was simply intended to make Papists odious and to stimulate the zeal of informers, against those who said or heard Mass in any other manner, or under any other condition than those prescribed for registering "the pretended Popish priests." But as it was still difficult to induce men to discover and inform upon unoffending neighbors, and as in fact the trade of informer was held infamous by all fair-minded men, the Commons took care also to resolve *unanimously*, "that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honorable service to the Government." The informers being now, therefore, honorable by law, and taken under the special favor of the Government, gave such new and extensive development to their peculiar industry as made it for long after the most profitable branch of business in this impoverished country, and afforded some compensation for the ruin of the woollen manufacture and other honest trades.

The Earl of Pembroke, lord-lieutenant in the year 1706, made a speech to the Parliament, in which he endeavored to soothe the feelings of the Dissenters disabled by the Sacramental Test, and to combine all Protestants in a cordial union against the hated Papists. He recommended them to provide for the security of the realm against their foreign and domestic enemies—by which latter phrase he meant Catholics—and added "that he was commanded by her majesty to inform them that her majesty, considering the number of Papists in Ireland, would be glad of an expedient for the strengthening the interest of her Protestant subjects in that kingdom." Fear of the "common enemy"—the established parliamentary term to describe Catholics, was often urged as an inducement to mitigate the disabilities of Dissenters; and this controversy continued many years. The Established Church party was resolved not to relax any part of their code of exclusion; and had perfect confidence that the Dissenters, though pressed themselves by one portion of the penal code, would never, under any provocation, make common cause with Catholics. And this confidence was well-founded. The Dissenters preferred to endure exclusion by the Test, rather than weaken in any way the great Protestant interest; and the few representatives whom the Ulster Presbyterians had in the Commons never, in a single instance, gave a voice against any new rigor or penalty imposed upon the "common enemy."

It was in the year 1707 that the English Government at length accomplished its long desired project of an Union between England and Scotland. There was much indignant resistance against the measure by patriotic Scotsmen; and it needed much intrigue and no little bribery, judiciously distributed (as in Ireland ninety-three years later), to overcome the opposition. An English historian * gives this simple account of the matter: "Exclusive of the methods used to allay the popular resentment and the sacrifices made to national prejudice, other means were adopted to facilitate the final passing of the Act of Union. By the report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, delivered in some years after this time, it appears that the sum of twenty thousand pounds, *and upwards*, was remitted at the present juncture to Scotland, which was distributed so judiciously that the rage of opposition suddenly subsided; and the treaty, as originally framed, received, without any material alteration, the solemn sanction of the Scottish Parliament—the general question being carried by a majority of 110 votes." In vain the patriots fought against the influence of the Court. In vain did Fletcher of Saltoun earnestly declare in his place in Parliament, "that the country was *betrayed* by the Commissioners. In

* Belsham. History of Great Britain from the Revolution. Book V.

vain did Lord Belhaven, in a speech yet famous in Scotland, pathetically describe Caledonia as sitting in the midst of the Senate, looking indignantly around and covering herself with her royal robe, attending the fatal blow, breathing out with passionate emotion *Et tu quoque, mi fili!* The measure was carried, and Scotland became a province. How similar all this to the scenes enacted in our own country, almost a century later! But for the name of Lord Somers, the great engineer of the Scottish Union, we must substitute Castlereagh, make the bribery larger, and the intrigues darker.

It is worth noting that the Irish House of Lords, when the Union with Scotland was in agitation four years before, in 1703, addressed the queen in favor of a similar measure for Ireland. They now, in 1707, did so again, beseeching her majesty to extend the benefits of her royal protection equally over all her kingdoms. The House of Commons did not favor this proceeding; nor was it at that time regarded with complacency in England. Nothing further, therefore, was done upon the suggestion made by their lordships, who had probably got scent of bribery going on in Scotland, and naturally bethought them that they had a country to sell as well as other people. They were disappointed for that time; but many of their great-grandsons in 1800 derived benefit by the delay in concluding that transaction, and received a price for their services, twenty times more princely than what could have been commanded in the time of Lord Somers.

The agitation in Scotland arising from the Act of Union, although entirely confined to the Presbyterian people of that kingdom, furnished a new excuse for outrage upon Irish Catholics. There was in truth a plot, extending through the south-west of Scotland, for raising an army, inviting the "Pretender" (Anne's brother), and so getting rid of the Union by establishing again the dynasty of their ancient kings. On the first discovery of this project in 1808, forty-one Catholic gentlemen were at once arrested and imprisoned in Dublin Castle, without any charge against them whatsoever, but, as it appeared, only to provoke and humble them. It is indeed wonderful to read of the ingenious malignity with which occasions were sought out to torment harmless country people by interdicting their innocent recreations and simple, obscure devotions. In the County Meath, as in many other places in Ireland, is a holy well, named the "Well of St. John." From time immemorial, multitudes of infirm people, men, women, and children, had frequented this well, to perform penances and to pray for relief from their maladies. Those invalids who had been relieved of their infirmities at these holy wells, either by faith or by the use of cold water, frequently resorted, in the summer-time, to the same spot, with their friends and relations; so that there was sometimes a considerable concourse of people on the annual festival of the Patron Saint to whom the wells were dedicated. Such had been the origin of "Patrons" in Ireland. On these occasions the young and the old met together. A little fair was sometimes held, of toys or other articles of small value, and the day was passed by some in religious exercises, by others in harmless society and amusement. But amusement, or recreation, protection of saints, or benefit of prayers, was not presumed to exist for Catholics; and these innocent meetings were naturally assumed to have some connection with "bringing in the Pretender," and overthrowing the glorious Constitution in Church and State. They were, therefore, strictly forbidden by a statute of this reign,* which imposed a fine of ten shillings (and in default of payment, *whipping*) upon every person "who shall attend or be present at any pilgrimage, or meeting held at any holy well, or imputed holy well." The same act inflicts a fine of £20 (and imprisonment until payment) upon every person who shall build a booth, or sell ale, victuals, or other commodities at such pilgrimages or meetings. It further "requires all magistrates to demolish all crosses, pictures, and inscriptions that are anywhere publicly set up, and are the occasions of Popish superstitions"—that is, objects of reverence and respect to the Catholics. Thus, in Ireland, were made penal and suppressed those Patron fairs,

* 2d Anne, c. 6.

which indeed have been the origin of the most ancient and celebrated fairs of Europe, as those of Lyons, Frankfort, Leipzig, and many others.

One other enactment of 1708 will show what kind of chance Catholics had in courts of justice; and will bring us down to the period of the *second* Act "to prevent the further growth of Popery." This law enacted, "That from the first of Michaelmas Term, 1708, no Papist shall serve, or be returned to serve, on any grand-jury in the Queen's Bench, or before Justices of Assize, oyer and terminer, or gaol-delivery or Quarter Sessions, unless it appear to the court that a sufficient number of Protestants cannot then be had for the service: and in all trials of issues [that is, by petty juries] on any presentment, indictment, or information, or action on any statute, for any offence committed by Papists, in breach of such laws, the plaintiff or prosecutor may challenge any Papist returned as juror, and assign as a cause that he is a Papist, *which challenge shall be allowed.*" The spirit of this enactment, and the practice it introduced, have continued till the present moment; and at this very time, on trials for political offences, Catholics who have been summoned are usually challenged and set aside.

In May, 1709, Thomas Earl of Wharton being then lord-lieutenant, with Addison, of the Spectator, as secretary, there was introduced into the House of Commons a "Bill to explain and amend an Act intituled an Act to prevent the further growth of Popery." It was introduced by Mr. Sergeant Caulfield: was duly transmitted to England by Wharton, was approved at once, and on its return was passed, of course. Its intention was chiefly to close up any loophole of escape from the penalties of former statutes, and guard every possible access by which "Papists" might still attain to independence or a quiet life. Some, for example, had secretly purchased annuities—by this statute, therefore, a Papist is declared incapable of holding or enjoying an annuity for life. It had been found, also, that paternal authority or filial affection had prevented from its full operation that former act of 1704 which authorized a child, on conforming, to reduce his father to a tenant for life. Further encouragement to children seemed desirable: therefore by this new law, upon the conversion of the child of any Catholic, the chancellor was to compel the father to discover upon oath the full value of his estate, real and personal; and thereupon make an order for the independent support of such conforming child, and for securing to him, after his father's death, such share of the property as to the court should seem fit:—also to secure jointures to popish wives who should desert their husbands' faith. Thus distrust and discord and heartburning in every family were well provided for. One clause of the Act prohibits a Papist from teaching, as tutor or usher, even as assistant to a Protestant schoolmaster; and another offers a salary of £30 to such popish priests as should conform. But one thing was still wanting: it was known that, notwithstanding the previous banishment of Catholic archbishops, bishops, &c., there were still men in the kingdom exercising those functions, coming from France and from Spain and braving the terrible penalties of transportation and death, in order to keep up the indispensable connection of the Catholic flock with the Head of the Church. It was known that this was indeed an absolute necessity, at whatsoever risk; and that to pretend a toleration of Catholic worship while the hierarchy was banished, was as reasonable as to talk of tolerating Presbyterianism without Presbyterians, or courts without judges, or laws or juries. Therefore, this Act for "explaining and amending," assigned stated rewards to informers for the discovery of an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For such a prize the informer was to have £50: for discovering any monk or friar, or any secular clergyman not duly registered, £20: for discovering a popish school-teacher or tutor, £10. Any two justices are also empowered to summon before them any Papist over eighteen years, and examine him upon oath as to the time and place he last heard Mass, and the names of the parties present, as well as concerning the residence of any Papist priest or schoolmaster; and in case of the witness refusing to testify there was a penalty of £20, or twelve months' imprisonment. The informers were expected, after this, to be more dili-

gent and devoted than ever; and a proclamation of the same year ordering all registered priests to take the abjuration oath before the 25th of March, 1710, under the penalty of *præmunire*, gave additional stimulus and opportunity to the discoverers. The trade of "priest-hunting" now became a distinct branch of the profession; and many a venerable clergyman was dogged by these bloodhounds, through various disguises, and waylaid by night on his way to baptize or confirm or visit the dying. The captured clergy were sometimes brought in by batches of four and five; and the laws were rigorously put in force: if it was a first offence they were transported; but if any bishop who had once been transported was caught in Ireland again, he was hanged. Such is the main substance of the act for "explaining and amending," generally called the Second Act "to prevent the further growth of Popery." Lord Wharton, by commission, gave it the royal assent; and for the zeal he had shown in recommending and hastening the Act, the House of Commons voted his lordship an address, "gratefully acknowledging her majesty's most particular care of them in appointing his excellency their chief governor, and earnestly wishing his long continuance in the government," &c. His excellency desired the speaker to inform them "that he was extremely well pleased and satisfied." Than this Lord Wharton no more profligate politician, no more detestable man, had ever been sent over to rule in Ireland. It is true that the well-known character given of him by Dean Swift must be taken with some allowance; because Wharton was a Whig, had been a Dissenter, and was still favorable to relaxation of the code against Dissenters. These circumstances were quite enough to rouse all the furious ire of the Dean of St. Patrick's, and draw from him a torrent of his foulest abuse. Besides, if the dean was enraged against Lord Wharton, it certainly was not for his tyranny to the Catholics, but rather for his partiality to the Dissenters: whereby, indeed, as we shall see, Wharton soon got into great disfavor with that very Parliament which had lately praised him so highly.

Jonathan Swift had already lived many years in Ireland, first as Vicar of Kilroot near Carrickfergus, and afterwards (in 1699) as Rector of Agher and Rector of Laracor and Rathbeggan, in the diocese of Meath. He did not become Dean of St. Patrick's till 1713; nor much concern himself with Irish politics till several years later: but he was a country clergyman in Ireland during all the period of the enactment of the whole penal code, both in William's reign and in Anne's; he was himself witness to the ferocious execution of those laws, and the bitter suffering and humiliation of the Catholic people under them; yet neither then, nor at any later time, not even when in the full tide of his fame and popularity as a "patriot," did he ever breathe one syllable of remonstrance, or of censure against those laws. Swift is called an Irish patriot, and he was so, if zealous vindication of the claim of the English colony to rule the nation, and *to be* the nation, together with utter and acrimonious disdain of the great mass of the people and total indifference to their grievous wrongs, can constitute a patriot. But in truth the history of this extraordinary genius is a signal illustration of the position already stated—that in Ireland were two nations, and that to be a patriot for the one was to be a mortal enemy to the other. The period of Dean Swift's leadership in Irish (Colonial) politics had not yet arrived; and all his writings upon Irish affairs are dated after his appointment to the deanery: but it may be stated once for all, that this "Irish patriot" never once, in his voluminous works and correspondence, called himself an Irishman, but always an Englishman; that he sought preferment only in England, where he wished to live with the "wits" at Button's coffee-house; that when named to the Dublin deanery he quitted London with a heavy heart, to come over to his "exile in Ireland," over which he mourned in his letters as pathetically as Ovid exiled to Tomi; that he never, in all the numerous publications he issued on Irish affairs, gave one word or hint betraying the least consciousness or suspicion of any injustice being done to the Catholics; and lastly, that far from feeling any community of race or of interest with the Irish, we find him thus expressing himself in a letter to his friend Mr. Pope, in 1737: "Some of those who highly esteem

you are grieved to find you make no distinction between the English gentry of this kingdom and the savage old Irish (who are only the vulgar, and some gentlemen who live in the Irish parts of the kingdom), but the English colonies, who are three parts in four, are much more civilized than many counties in England," &c. Much will have to be said concerning Swift and his labors, a few years later in the narrative. For the present it is enough to point out that his furious denunciation of Lord Wharton and his administration in Ireland was by no means on account of that nobleman's urging on the bill for crushing Papists.

Lord Wharton had been brought up a Dissenter; though he had long ceased to regard any form of religion, or any tie of morality. He was, however, a Whig, and by party connections in England, was favorable to some relaxation of penal laws against the Irish Presbyterians. In his speech proroguing this Parliament of 1709, he said to the Houses that "he made no question but they understood too well the true interest of the Protestant religion in that kingdom not to endeavor to make *all Protestants* as easy as they could, who were willing to contribute what they could to defend the whole against the *common enemy*." But the majority of the Irish Commons belonged to the Tory party; and very soon dissensions and jealousies arose between them and the lord-lieutenant, on account of his obvious bias in favor of the Dissenters. The government of England also soon came into the hands of the Tory party through a series of intrigues regarding foreign politics, which are not necessary to be here detailed: and on the 7th Nov., 1811, the English Lords and Commons made a long address to the queen, complaining of Wharton for "having abused her majesty's name, in ordering *nolle prosequi* to stop proceedings against one Fleming and others for disturbing the peace of the town of Drogheda by setting up a meeting-house"—a thing not seen in Drogheda, they say, for many years. They further complained, in this Address, of Presbyterians, "for tyranny in threatening and ruining members who left them; in denying the common offices of Christianity; in printing and publishing that 'the Sacramental Test is only an engine to advance a State faction, and to debase religion to serve mean and unworthy purposes.'" They therefore recommended that her majesty should withdraw the yearly bounty of £1,200, then allowed to Dissenting Ministers—the small beginning of that *regium donum*, or royal bounty, which has been gradually much increased, to reconcile the Presbyterians somewhat to their disabilities under the Test law. During all the rest of this reign, and the three following, no representations on the part of the Dissenters of the injustice of this law, and no protestations of their loyalty to the English crown and House of Hanover, availed in the least to procure a relaxation of the odious Test. Their efforts in this direction only drew upon them, a few years later, the savage raillery of Swift, who maintained that the very Papists were quite as well entitled to relief as they.

It was in this year, 1809, that the scheme originated, of inducing Protestant foreigners to come to Ireland, and of offering them naturalization. Accordingly, on the request of certain lords and others of the council, eight hundred and seventy-one Protestant Palatine families from Germany were brought over, and the sum of £24,850 5s. 6d. appointed for their maintenance out of the revenue, on a resolution of the Commons "that it would much contribute to the security of the kingdom if the said Palatines were encouraged and settled therein." The German families actually were settled as tenants and laborers in various parts of the country. The scheme of the framers of this measure "seems to have been," says Dr. Curry, "to drive the Roman Catholic natives out of the kingdom, which effect it certainly produced in great numbers;" but the plan was not found to answer so far as the Germans themselves were concerned. They were neither zealous for the queen's service nor for the ascendency of the Anglican Church. It seems that only four, out of this great body, enlisted in her majesty's army, though she was then engaged in a war with France, the very power which had ravaged their Palatinate, and left them homeless. The lords, in an address to the queen in 1711, complain of "that load of debt which the bringing over numbers of useless and indigent Palatines had brought upon them." As for Dean Swift and the

Tories, the way in which the German immigration was regarded by them is apparent from a passage in the Dean's "History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne." He says, "By this Act, any foreigner who would take the oaths to the Government, and profess himself a Protestant, *of whatsoever denomination*, was immediately naturalized, and had all the advantages of an English-born subject, at the expense of a shilling. Most Protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church government, so that all the acquisitions by this Act would increase the number of Dissenters"—which in Dr. Swift's eyes was as bad as increasing the number of Papists. Accordingly, he indicates his opinion of the whole scheme a little lower down, where he says, "It appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the public was a loser by every individual amongst them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer for such an importation than a man can be fatter by a wen." The law for naturalization of Protestants was in fact soon repealed; though no measures were spared to drive the Catholics away. And even such of the Roman Catholic natives as were afterwards willing to return, were not permitted; for in 1713 the Commons ordered that "an address should be made to her majesty, to desire her that she would be pleased not to grant licenses to Papists to return into the kingdom."

It was even dangerous for them to attempt, or endeavor to hear, what passed in the House of Commons concerning themselves. For in the same year, an order was made there, "that the sergeant-at-arms should take into custody all Papists that were or should *presume* to come into the galleries."* The Palatines, or their descendants, still remain in Ireland. They generally "conformed;" not having any particular objection against any religion; but caring little for the Ascendency, or the Whig or Tory politics of the country, at least for a generation or two.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was lord-lieutenant after Wharton. The duke had deserted the Catholic Church, and, like other converts, was more bitter against the communion he had left than those who were born Protestants. He was also a Tory. The Irish Parliament was dissolved; and on a new election, the majority of the members were found to be Whigs. The short remainder of this reign, so far as affairs of State in Ireland are concerned, is quite barren of interest, the great affair being a quarrel of the House of Commons against Sir Constantine Phipps, the lord chancellor, because he was a noted Tory and close friend of the celebrated Doctor Sacheverell, the clergyman who preached the divine right of kings, and was therefore held an enemy to the "glorious Revolution," and friend of the "Pretender."

All these matters were quite unimportant to the great body of the nation. The Catholics were either emigrating to France, or else withdrawing themselves as much as possible from observation; some of them conforming and changing their names; others reduced to the most pitiful artifices in order to preserve the little patrimony that was left in their hands; but most of them sinking into the condition of tenants or laborers in the country (all profitable industry in the towns being prohibited to them); and it is from this time forward that thousands of the ancient gentry of the country, and even chiefs of powerful clans, stripped of their dignities and possessions, and too poor, or too old to emigrate, had to descend to the position of cottiers and serfs under the new possessors of the land, who hated and oppressed them, both as despoiled Irish and as proscribed Catholics; and who hate them quite as bitterly to the present hour.

In the mean time, the war of the Allies against France had been attended with many brilliant successes, under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Some of the most signal defeats ever sustained by the arms of France were inflicted by the duke, particularly Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. But on the Court revolution which displaced the Whigs, Marlborough was deprived of his command, and the Duke of Ormond sent out in his place. Shortly afterwards the Peace of Utrecht was signed (11th April, 1813), by which treaty France recognized the Protestant succession in England, and the "Pretender" was com-

* Commons Journ., Vol. III.

pelled to depart from that kingdom; the union of the two monarchies of France and Spain was provided against, though a French Bourbon remained on the throne of Spain; and to the great loss and humiliation of France, it was agreed that the harbor of Dunkirk should be demolished. This treaty gave repose for a time to the Irish soldiers abroad.

The last year of Anne, therefore, was a year of peace abroad, but of violent party strife and political conspiracy at home. All the world expected a struggle for the succession at the moment of the queen's death; and King James the Third, called in England "Pretender," was known to have a large party both in that country and in Scotland, ready to assert his hereditary right. The agitation extended to Ireland; but did not reach the Catholic population, which was quite indifferent to Stuart or Hanoverian. The queen died on the 1st of August, 1814, the last of the house of Stuart recognized as sovereign of England, and leaving behind her, as to her Irish administration, so black a record that it would have been strange indeed if the Irish nation had ever desired to see the face of a Stuart again. Yet it is probable that she was secretly a Catholic, like all her family: and it is certain that she was bitterly displeased at the "Protestant succession," now secured by law to the House of Hanover. It is needless here to enter into the controversy as to whether she was altogether a stranger to the plots for setting aside that succession, and bringing in her Catholic brother. She was known to be deeply grieved and provoked by the zeal of politicians, both in England and Ireland, who, desirous of gaining favor with the coming dynasty, endeavored to get an act of attainder passed against "the Pretender;" and a bill for that purpose in Ireland, which also offered a large reward for his apprehension, was only defeated by a hasty prorogation. Yet "the queen hated and despised the Pretender, to my knowledge," is the assertion of Swift in his "Remarks on Burnet's History." Perhaps she did: most sovereigns hate their heirs-apparent, even when these are their own sons; but there is abundant evidence that she hated the Elector of Hanover and his mother very much worse.

CHAPTER VII.

1714—1723.

George I.—James III.—Perils of Dean Swift—Tories dismissed—Ormond, Oxford, and Bolingbroke impeached—Insurrection in Scotland—Calm in Ireland—Arrests—Irish Parliament—"Loyalty" of the Catholics—"No Catholics exist in Ireland"—Priest-catchers—Bolton lord-lieutenant—Cause of Sherlock and Annesley—Conflict of jurisdiction—Declaratory Act establishing dependence of the Irish Parliament—Swift's pamphlet—State of the country—Grafton lord-lieutenant—Courage of the priests—Atrocious Bill.

THE succession of the Elector of Hanover had been in no real danger, notwithstanding the plotting of a few Jacobites in England; although the Whig party anxiously endeavored to represent the Tories as desirous of "bringing in the Pretender." The distinction, however, between Tories and Jacobites is important to be borne in mind; and a well-known letter of Dean Swift, who, being a Tory, had been accused of Jacobitism, is conclusive upon this point. In fact, although the English people and the English colony of Ireland were at that time nearly equally divided into Whigs and Tories, there were but few Jacobites save in Scotland and the northern counties of England. Accordingly, on the death of Anne, the Elector of Hanover was duly proclaimed in both islands by the title of King George the First. In Ireland, the proclamation was made by torchlight, and at midnight; and great efforts were made to produce the impression that there was imminent danger of a Jacobite insurrection "to bring in the Pretender." This affectation of alarm seems to have been intended to bring odium, not so much on the Catholics, as on the Tories: some arrests were made, and it was alleged that on one of the parties arrested letters were found written by Dr. Swift. The populace of Dublin must at that period have been violently Hanoverian; for Lord Orrery tells us that on the dean's return to Ireland after the proclamation of the new king, he dared hardly venture forth, and was pelted by mobs when he made his appearance. The bitterness and fury of party spirit at that day is curiously illustrated by the story of the outrages and insults which the dean had to encounter, even at the hands of persons

of rank and title. Lord Blaney attempted to drive over him on the public road; and Swift petitioned the legislature for protection to his life. He was advised by his physician, he said, to go often on horseback, on account of his health; "and there being no place in winter so convenient for riding as the strand towards Howth, your petitioner takes all opportunities that his business or the weather will permit, to take that road." Here he details the scene of Lord Blaney's attempting to overturn him and his horse, at the same time threatening his life with a loaded pistol, and prays protection accordingly. There is no doubt, however (without questioning the sincerity of the dean's zeal for the House of Hanover), that several of his most intimate friends, especially Lord Bolingbroke and Bishop Atterbury, were engaged in the plot, along with the Duke of Ormond, to prevent the succession of King George; and that the suspicions as to Swift's Jacobitism were at least plausible. Swift was excessively mortified, or rather irritated, by the popular manifestations against him. He was very covetous of influence and popularity, and his high, fierce spirit could ill brook the least demonstration of public reproach. He denounced the people of Dublin as a vile, abandoned race; but we hear no more of his Jacobitism, and not much of his Toryism, except that to the last hour of his life he hated and lampooned Dissenters.

Immediately after the accession of George I., all Tories were instantly dismissed from office, and the Government placed entirely in the hands of Whigs; which had been the very object of denouncing Tories as Jacobites. When the English Parliament met, articles of impeachment were quickly found against the Duke of Ormond, and the Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, for high treason, in having contributed to bring about the Peace of Utrecht by traitorous means, and with a view of changing the Protestant succession. Bolingbroke and Ormond avoided the trial on the impeachment by going to the continent, where they both offered their services to King James III. (or the Pretender), then holding a kind of court in Lorrain, having been exiled from France at the peace. The party which adhered to the exiled prince was in fact making urgent preparations for a rising both in Scotland and in England; and on the 15th of September, 1715, the Earl of Mar set up the standard of insurrection, proclaimed King James the Third at Castletown in Scotland, and quickly collected an army of ten thousand men. These forces were gathered from both Highlands and Lowlands, and consisted both of Catholics and Protestants. The Duke of Argyle, with his powerful clan of Campbells, was zealous for King George, and with other Highland tribes and some regular troops met the Earl of Mar at Sheriffmuir, where a bloody but indecisive battle took place. A portion of the Jacobite force, marched southward into England, were encountered at Preston, in Lancashire, by the King's troops, and, after a short fight, obliged to surrender at discretion. Mar still kept his banner displayed, until King James the Third in person landed at Peterhead, on the east coast of Scotland, in December; but very soon afterwards, on the approach of Argyle with a superior force, the enterprise was abandoned. The Prince and the Earl of Mar escaped by sea; the other leaders of the insurrection, both in England and in Scotland, were arrested, tried, and some of them executed. The rebellion was at an end, and from that day the exiled Prince may truly be termed, not James the Third, but the "Pretender."

This Scottish insurrection is of small moment to Irish history, save in so far as it furnished a pretext for fresh atrocities upon the unresisting people. There was no insurrection or disturbance whatever during all these events. We do not even hear of any Irish officer of distinction who came from the continent to join the Pretender's cause in Scotland; and the Earl of Mar, who afterwards published a narration in Paris, affirms that the Duke of Berwick, who was very popular with the Irish troops in France, had been urged to take the chief command of the movement, probably in order to draw some Irish regiments into it, but that "the Duke of Berwick positively refused to repair to Scotland," though he was half-brother to the Pretender. The insurrection of 1715 was therefore exclusively a Scottish and English affair. Some writers on this period of Irish history, who are en-

titled to respect,* have given the Irish Catholics the very doubtful praise of loyalty, for their extreme quietness and passiveness at this time. It is true that they cared not for the Stuart family; yet, considering the excessive and abject oppression under which they were then groaning, and the slender prospect they had of any mitigation of it, we may assume that any revolution which would overturn the actual order of things, and give them a chance of redeeming their nationality, would have been desirable. But they were disarmed, impoverished, and discouraged; could not own a musket, nor a sabre, nor a horse over five guineas' value; had no leaders at home, nor any possibility of organizing a combined movement; so closely were they watched, and held down with so iron a hand. If they took no part, therefore, in the insurrections of 1815 and of 1845, it may be said (in their favor, not to their dishonor) that it was on account of exhaustion and impotence, not on account of loyalty. If they had been capable, at that time, of attachment to the Protestant succession, and of "loyalty" to the House of Hanover, they would have been even more degraded than they actually were.

However, as the Pretender was a Catholic, and as the Irish Government knew that the oppressed Catholics of that country, if not always ready for insurrection, ought to have been so, numerous arrests were made during the Scottish insurrection. There were still some forlorn Catholic peers dwelling in their dismal country-seats, debarred from attending Parliament, endeavoring to attract no remark, and too happy if they could secretly keep in their stables a few horses for hunting. There were also still some landed gentlemen, though sadly stripped of their possessions, who tried to keep one another in countenance, and drank in private the health of King Louis, and the mole whose mole-hill killed William of Orange. It was desirable for the Government to take precautions against these sad relics of the once proud nation. Accordingly, the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, with a great number of untitled gentlemen, were suddenly seized upon and shut up in Dublin Castle, "on suspicion." They were released when the insurrection was over.

In the mean time the Irish Parliament met, and was opened by lords-justices. The Houses, especially the Commons, were filled with the most fiery zeal for the Protestant succession, and most desirous of ingratiating themselves with the new dynasty. They passed acts for recognizing the king's title—for the security of his person and government—for attainting the Pretender, and offering a reward of £50,000 for his apprehension. The Commons also presented an address to the new king, entreating his majesty, for the security of the Government and for the Protestant interest, to remove the Earl of Anglesea from all offices of honor and trust. Lord Anglesea was a member of the Council, and one of the vice-treasurers of the kingdom: he was a Tory, was suspected of being a Jacobite; and the reasons assigned in the address for removing him were, that he had caused or procured the disbanding of great part of the army in Ireland; and that he had connived at the enrolment of Irish Catholics for foreign service. "They had information," they said, "that many Irish Papists had been, and continued to be, shipped off from Dublin and other ports for the service of the Pretender." As usual, the main business of the Parliament was taking further precautions against the "common enemy," for which the Pretender's insurrection in Scotland served as a false pretence. The lords-justices, in their speech to this Parliament, bear complacent testimony to the calmness and tranquillity in which Ireland had remained during the troubles, which Mr. Plowden, with great simplicity, takes as a compliment to the "loyalty" of the Catholics—instead of being (what it was) a congratulation upon the Catholics being so effectually crushed and trodden down that they could not rise. This amiable writer cannot conceal his surprise at what he terms "the inconsistency of rendering solemn homage to the exemplary loyalty of the Irish nation in the most perilous crisis, and punishing

* Mr. Plowden, and Doctor Curry. They both wrote at a much later period; and both with a view of pointing out the folly of the Penal Code, as Irish Catholics had always, they said, been "loyal" to the House of Hanover.

them, at the same time, for a disposition to treachery, turbulence, and treason." Nay, he is still more astonished at finding that "this very speech, which bore such honorable testimony to the tried loyalty of the Irish Catholics, bespoke the disgraceful policy of keeping and treating them, notwithstanding, as a separate people—'We must recommend to you,' said the lords-justices, 'in the present conjuncture, such unanimity in your resolutions as may once more put an end to all other distinctions in Ireland than that of Protestant and Papist.'"

It may here be observed, once for all, to put an end to this delusion about Catholic loyalty in Ireland, that the Catholics would not have been permitted to be loyal, even if they had been base enough to desire it—that some abject attempts by some of them to testify their loyalty were repulsed, as will be hereafter seen—that when a viceroy or lord-justice speaks of "the nation," at the period in question, he means the Protestant nation exclusively—nay, that the *law* was, that no Catholics existed in Ireland at all. It was long a favorite fiction of Irish law,* "that all the effective inhabitants of Ireland are to be presumed to be Protestants—and that, therefore, the Catholics, their clergy, worship, &c., are not to be supposed to exist, save for reprehension and punishment." Indeed, in the time of George II., Lord-Chancellor Bowes declared from the bench, "that the law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic;" and Chief-Justice Robinson made a similar declaration.† It appears plain, then, that the "loyalty" of the Catholics towards the House of Hanover, if indeed there has ever been any such loyalty, could not have sprung up in their hearts in the reign of George I., or of George II.

No new enactments were made in this session of Parliament in aggravation of the Penal Code; but a resolution was passed recommending to magistrates the indispensable duty to put the existing laws into immediate and rigorous execution, and denouncing those who neglected to do so as "enemies of the Constitution;" no slight nor harmless imputation at that period, nor one which any magistrate would willingly incur. In fact, the penal laws against Catholics were put in force at this time, and during all the remainder of the reign of George I., with even more than the customary ferocity, as a design to bring in the Pretender was supposed to lurk in every Mass. In many places chapels were shut up, priests were dragged from their hiding-places, sometimes from the very altars, in the midst of divine service, hurried into the most loathsome dungeons, and from thence banished forever from their native country.* "To the credit of those times," however, observes Brenan, the ecclesiastical historian, "it must be remarked, that the description of miscreants usually termed *priest-catchers* were generally Jews who pretended to be converts to the Christian religion, and some of them assumed even the character of the priesthood, for the purpose of insinuating themselves more readily into the confidence of the clergy. The most notorious among them was a Portuguese Jew, named Gorzia (or Garcia). By means of this wretch seven priests had been apprehended in Dublin, and banished the kingdom. Of this number, two were Jesuits, one was a Dominican, one a Franciscan, and three were secular priests." These last were probably "unregistered" priests; or else had not taken the abjuration oath, which was then legally obligatory upon them all, under cruel penalties. Indeed, by means of the various statutes made against them, it may be affirmed generally that every priest in Ireland, whether regular or secular, was now liable to transportation and to death; because out of one thousand and eighty "registered" priests, only thirty-three ever took the oath of abjuration. The remainder stood firm, and set at defiance the terrors which surrounded them.†

Although the rebellion of the Presbyterians in Scotland was the sole pretence for this severity, and the very same law which banishes popish priests prohibits also Dissenters to accept of or act by a commission in the militia or array, yet so partial were the resolutions of that parliament, that, at the same time that they ordered the former

* See "Scully's State of the Penal Laws," p. 333.
† Ibid., p. 334.

* Curry's Review. Brenan's Eccl. Hist. of Ireland.
† Hibernia Dominicana.

to be rigorously prosecuted, they resolved, unanimously, "that any person who should commence a prosecution against any of the latter who had accepted, or should accept of a commission in the array or militia, was an enemy to King George and the Protestant interest." Thus of the only two main objects of the same law, its execution as to one of them was judged highly meritorious, and it was deemed equally culpable even to attempt it against the other; though the law itself makes no difference between them. Such was the justice and consistency of our legislators of that period.

In the year 1719, the Duke of Bolton being lord-lieutenant, occurred the famous case of Sherlock against Annesley, which provoked the Irish House of Lords into a faint and impotent assertion of their privileges, opened up once more the whole question between English dominion and Irish national pretensions, and ended in settling that question in favor of England; setting it, in fact, definitively at rest until the year 1782.

That cause was tried in the Irish Court of Exchequer, between Esther Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, in which the latter obtained a decree, which on an appeal to the Irish House of Lords was reversed. From this sentence Annesley appealed to the English House of Lords, who confirmed the judgment of the Irish Exchequer, and issued process to put him into possession of the litigated property. Esther Sherlock petitioned the Irish Lords against the usurped authority of England, and they, having taken the opinion of the judges, resolved that they would support their honor, jurisdiction, and privileges, by giving effectual relief to the petitioner. Sherlock was put into possession by the Sheriff of Kildare; an injunction issued from the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, pursuant to the decree of the English Lords, directing him to restore Annesley; the sheriff (let his name be honored!), Alexander Burrowes, refused obedience. He was protected in a contumacy which so nobly contrasts the wonted servility of the judges, by the Irish Lords, who addressed a powerful State paper to the throne, recapitulating the rights of Ireland, her independent parliament, and peculiar jurisdiction. They went further, for they sent the Irish barons to jail; but the king having the address of the Irish Lords laid before the English House, the latter reaffirmed their proceedings, and supplicated the throne to confer some mark of special favor on the servile judges, who, in relinquishing their jurisdiction, had betrayed the liberties of their country. An Act was at once passed in the English Parliament, enacting and declaring that the king, with the advice of the Lords and Commons of England, "hath had of right, and ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

"And be it further enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the same kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatever."

This Declaratory Act is the last of the statutes claiming such a jurisdiction. The Irish Parliament had to submit for the time; but the principles of Molyneux, soon after enforced with far greater power by Swift, worked in men's minds, and at last brought forth Flood and Grattan, and caused the army of the Volunteers to spring out of the earth. Once more, however, it should be borne in mind that this constitutional question was a question between Protestant England and her Protestant colony alone; and that the Catholic Irish nation had at that time no more favor or indulgence to hope for at the hands of a parliament in Dublin than of a parliament in London.

The Declaratory Act did not pass the English Parliament without opposition, especially in the Commons, where Mr. Pitt made himself conspicuous by his argument against it. It was finally carried by 140 votes against 88. The Duke of Leeds, in the Lords, made a powerful protest against the bill, but in vain.

In the same year, 1719, an act was passed in the Irish Parliament "for granting some

ease and indulgence to the Protestant Dissenters in the exercise of their religion." The Duke of Bolton, in his speech, was pleased to commend this act most warmly, as a step towards consolidating the Protestant interest against the common enemy. The duke earnestly pleads for the necessity of union: "in the words," he says, "of one of those excellent bills passed this day—I mean an union in interest and affection amongst *all* his majesty's subjects." The viceroy did not even feel it necessary to say "all his majesty's Protestant subjects," knowing that this would be understood; so firmly established was the State maxim, that the law knows not of the existence of an Irish Catholic.

The year 1820 is memorable for the publication of Dean Swift's first pamphlet on Irish affairs—his "*Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufacture.*" He had now been for seven years Dean of St. Patrick's: he had witnessed the enactment of many a penal law against Catholics: within hearing of his own deanery-house the Protestant mob, led on by *priest-catchers*, had dragged clergymen in their vestments out of obscure chapels amidst the lamentations of their helpless flocks, but he had never, in any of his numerous writings, uttered a syllable of remonstrance against this tyranny. It might be supposed that in this first of his Tracts relating to an Irish subject, and a subject, too, in which people of all religions were deeply interested, he might delicately convey some hint that neither the manufacturing nor any other material interest of a country could be promoted or developed while the great mass of its people were held in degrading slavery, disquieted in their property, and outraged in their persons by the extraordinary laws which he saw in operation around him. But not one word of all this does he write. He was well enough aware, however, of the growing misery and destitution of the country people; and says in this tract, "Whoever travels this country, and observes the face of nature, or the faces, and habits, and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where either law, religion, or common humanity is professed."

Again: "I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords, who, by unmeasurable screwing and racking their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable people to a worse condition than the peasants in France, or the vassals in Germany and Poland; so that the whole species of what we call substantial farmers will, in a very few years, be utterly at an end."

It is very singular, also, that although he justly attributes the decay of manufactures to the greedy commercial policy of England in suppressing the woollen trade and other branches of industry—and although, at the moment he wrote, all the island was ringing with the Sherlock-and-Annesley case and the Declaratory Act, this future author of the Drapier's Letters never thinks of suggesting that laws for governing Ireland should be made in Ireland, in order that the English monopolists might no longer have the power of ruining our country by their own laws. It seems the time was not yet ripe for such a pretension on the part of Irish patriots; though, that the dean very well knew the nature of the grievances he complains of, is evident from his savage sarcasm about the fate of Arachne. Ireland was becoming covered with herds of sheep, to produce wool for the English market, while English laws prevented its manufacture at home.

"The fable, in Ovid, of Arachne and Pallas, is to this purpose: The goddess had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin, very famous for spinning and weaving: they both met upon a trial of skill; and Pallas finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her rival down, turned her into a spider, enjoining her to spin and weave forever, out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass. I confess that, from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess, on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence; which, however, is fully executed upon us by England, with further additions of rigor and severity, for the greatest part of our bowels and vitals is extracted without allowing us the liberty of spinning and weaving them."

Swift had not yet ventured to take the leading part which he soon after bore in Irish politics; nor did he ever take any

part in them with a broadly national aim. He lived at that time very much with his friends Sheridan and Doctor Delany; and his friends, as well as himself, wished to be considered Englishmen.*

The Catholic people remained all these years perfectly quiet and subdued. In them, all national aspiration seemed dead; so that the numerous enterprises projected all over Europe in favor of the Pretender, never counted upon them. One of these enterprises was undertaken by the Spaniards, under the auspices of Cardinal Alberoni; and the Duke of Ormond was placed in command of a Spanish squadron, to effect a landing somewhere in the British Islands. The Irish Catholics remained quite unmoved: they were, in the words of Mr. Plowden, "sternly loyal." It would be more accurate to say they were utterly prostrate, hopeless, and indifferent; and if they had been otherwise, the name of the Duke of Ormond would have been enough to repel them from any cause in which he was to be a leader.

The Duke of Grafton, as lord-lieutenant, prorogued the session of Parliament, and in his speech was pleased particularly to recommend to them to keep a watchful eye upon the Papists; "since I have reason to believe," says he, "that the number of popish priests is daily increasing in this kingdom, and already far exceeds what by the indulgence of the law is allowed." The members of Parliament, in times of recess, and when they were at their country-seats, must have followed the viceroy's exhortation, and kept a watchful eye upon the Papists; for the horror and alarm of the Protestant interest became more violent than ever before; and when Parliament assembled, in 1723, it was in an excellent frame of mind to do battle with the common enemy. The Duke of Grafton, on meeting Parliament, recommended several new laws—"particularly for preventing more effectually the eluding of those in being against popish priests," and the members had generally brought to town shocking tales illustrating the audacity of those outlawed ecclesiastics, in celebrating their worship, sometimes even in the open day. It was full time, they said, to take decisive measures.

And in truth the ardent zeal and constancy, utterly unknown to fear, of the Irish Catholic priests during that whole century, are as admirable in the eyes of all just and impartial men as they were abominable and monstrous in the eyes of the Protestant interest. They often had to traverse the sea between Ireland and France, in fishing smacks, and disguised as fishermen, carrying communications to or from Rome, required by the laws of their church, though they knew that on their return, if discovered, the penalty was the penalty of high treason, that is death. When in Ireland, they had often to lurk in caves, and make fatiguing journeys, never sure that the priest-hunters were not on their trail; yet all this they braved with a courage which, in any other cause, would have been reckless desperation. The English colonists could not comprehend such chivalrous devotion at all; and could devise no other theory to account for it than that these priests must be continually plotting with foreign Catholics to overthrow the Protestant interest and plunder *them* of their newly-gotten estates. This was the secret terror that always urged them upon fresh atrocities.

Accordingly, a series of resolutions was agreed upon and reported by the Commons; that Popery had increased, partly owing to the many shifts and devices the priests had for evading the laws, partly owing to the neglect of magistrates in not searching them out and punishing them—that "it is highly prejudicial to the Protestant interest that any person married to a popish wife should bear any office or employment under his majesty." This measure was thought needful, inasmuch as some magistrates, having married Catholics, were observed to be remiss in taking informations against their wives' confessors, knowing that they would have no peace in their houses afterwards. The resolutions further recommended, that

* In remonstrating with Mr. Pope on "having made no distinction in his letters between the English gentry of this kingdom and the savage old Irish," Swift adds, "Dr. Delany came to visit me three days ago on purpose to complain of those passages of your letters." Delany was the son of a convert; and though of pure Irish breed, at once took rank, in his own opinion, as an Englishman. There have always been many Englishmen of this species in Ireland.

no *convert* (to the Established Church) should be capable of any office, nor practise as a solicitor or attorney for seven years after his conversion, nor "unless he brings a certificate of having received the sacrament thrice in every year during the said term;" further, that all converts should duly enroll their certificates of conversion in the proper office. On the basis of these resolutions a bill was prepared; and the language and behavior of Parliament on this occasion seems to have been even more vindictive and atrocious than had ever been witnessed before, even in an Irish legislature. One of the most zealous promoters of this bill, in a labored speech, informed the House, that of all countries wherein the reformed religion prevailed, Sweden was observed to be most free from those irreconcilable enemies to all Protestant governments, the Catholic priests; and that this happy exemption, so needful to the Protestant interest, was obtained by a wholesome practice which prevailed in that fortunate land, namely, the practice of *castrating* all popish priests who were found there. A clause to this effect was introduced into the new bill.* It passed both Houses, and was presented on the 15th of November to the Duke of Grafton, with an earnest request that his Grace "would recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his majesty." His Grace was pleased to return this answer: "I have so much at heart a matter which I recommended to the consideration of Parliament, at the beginning of this session, that the House of Commons may depend upon a due regard, on my part, to what is desired." With the Duke's recommendation the bill was, as usual, forwarded to England. No objection to it had occurred either to his Grace, or to any peer or commoner in Ireland; but an Irish agent in France presented a memorial on the subject to the Duke of Orleans, then regent. The two nations were at peace, and Cardinal Fleury, French prime minister, had considerable influence with Mr. Walpole. A strong representation was made by order of Fleury against the new bill.* As it has never suited British policy that its measures in Ireland should become the subject of discussion and notoriety amongst the civilized nations of the continent (where English reputation for liberality has to be maintained); the Council disapproved the bill; and this was the first occasion on which any penal law against Catholics met with such an obstacle in England. Some writers on Irish history have been inclined to carry this failure of so atrocious a bill to the credit of human nature; and Mr. Plowden, after narrating the French interposition, says, with his usual amiable credulity, "but surely it needed no Gallic interference," &c.

At any rate, the bill was lost. The dependence of Ireland upon the crown of England saved the Catholics for once from at least one ignominious outrage. But there were already laws enough in existence to satisfy, it might be thought, the most sanguinary Protestantism.

His Grace the lord-lieutenant, in his speech to that Parliament, at the close of the session, in order to console them for the loss of their favorite bill, gave them to understand, "that it miscarried merely by its not having been brought into the House before the session was so far advanced." And after earnestly recommending to them, in their several stations, the care and preservation of the public peace, he added, "that, in his opinion, that would be greatly promoted by the vigorous execution of the laws against popish priests; and that he would contribute his part towards the prevention of that growing evil, by giving proper directions that such persons only should be put into the commissions of the peace as had *distinguished* themselves by their steady adherence to the *Protestant interest*."

Everybody knew what that meant — increased vigilance in hunting down clergymen, and in discovering and appropriating the property of laymen; nor is there any reason to think that his Grace's exhortations were addressed to unwilling ears.

* Curry's Review. Plowden.

* Brenan, Eccl. Hist. Plowden. Curry.

CHAPTER VIII.

1723–1727.

Swift and Wood's Copper — Drapier's Letters — Claim of Independence — Primate Boulter — Swift popular with the Catholics — His feeling towards Catholics — Desolation of the Country — Rack-rents — Absenteeism — Great Distress — Swift's modest Proposal — Death of George I.

While the Irish Parliament was so earnestly engaged in their measures against popish priests, Dean Swift, who had lived in great quiet for three or four years, writing Gulliver's Travels in the country, suddenly plunged impetuously into the tumult of Irish politics. His indignation was inflamed to the highest pitch — not by the ferocity of the legislature against Catholics, but by Wood's copper halfpence. The country, he thought, was on the verge of ruin, not by reason of the tempest of intolerance, rapacity, fraud, and cruelty, which raged over it on every side, but by reason of a certain copper coinage to the amount of £108,000, for which one William Wood had taken the contract and received the patent. Here was the crying grievance of Ireland.

It is necessary that the history of this transaction should be taken out of the domain of rhetoric, and established upon a basis of fact. A great scarcity and need of copper money was felt in Ireland; and this is not denied by the dean. William Wood, whom Swift always calls "hardwareman and bankrupt," but who was, in fact, a large proprietor, and owner or renter of several extensive iron works in England,* proposed to contract for the supply needed, and his proposal was accepted. The national, or rather colonial, jealousy was at once inflamed; and already, long before Dean Swift's first letter on the subject, the two Houses had voted addresses to the crown, accusing the patentee of fraud, affirming that the terms of the patent had been infringed as to the quality of the coin, and that its circulation would be highly prejudicial to the revenue and commerce of the country. The Commons, with great exaggeration, declared that even had the terms of the patent been complied with, the nation would have suffered a loss of at least 150 per cent.; and indeed the whole clamor rested on partial or ignorant misrepresentation. Wood's coin was as good as any other copper coinage of that day; and the assertion of its opponents (repeated by Swift), that the intrinsic was no more than one-eighth of the nominal value of the metal, must be taken with great caution. If this assertion had even been true, the matter would have been of little consequence, because when coinage descends below gold and silver, it comes to be only a kind of counters for the convenience of exchange, deriving its value from the sanction of the government which issues it; and being receivable in payment of taxes, it has for all its purposes the whole value which it denotes on its face.* From the specimens, however, of Wood's halfpence preserved in the British Museum, and *fac-similes* of which are given in some editions of Swift's works, it is clear that the coins were of a goodly size, and with a fair impression; and by an assay made at the mint, under Sir Isaac Newton and his two associates, it was proved that in weight and in fineness these coins rather exceeded than fell short of the conditions of the patent.† However, the clamor was so violent, that "the collectors of the king's customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost everybody else," says Swift in his first letter of "M. B. Drapier." So that the crusade against Wood and his halfpence was already in full progress before the dean wrote a word on the subject.

It is observable further, that this matter concerning Wood and his coinage did not really touch the great question of Irish national independence, or the insolent claim of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland; because the matter of coining money belongs to the royal prerogative; and not one man of the English colony in Ireland, not Swift himself, pretended to question the

* Coxe. Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

* The present base coinage of cent and three-cent pieces in the United States is an example of this. It is intrinsically of no value at all, being composed of the vilest of metal; yet it answers all the purposes of small change, without injury to anybody.

† Report of the Committee of the Privy Council. Swift replied that Wood must have furnished the committee with coins specially made for examination; which is quite possible.

authority of the King of England. In short, no more trifling occasion ever produced so brilliant and memorable a result. It seemed to be but an occasion, no matter how silly, that Swift wanted. Any peg would do to hang his essays upon; and he used the affair of Wood, as Rabelais had used the legend of Gargantua and Pantagruel, to introduce under cover of much senseless ribaldry, the gravest opinions on politics and government. Early in 1724 appeared the first letter, written in the character of a Dublin shopkeeper. It was soon followed by six others, besides letters to William Wood himself, "Observations on the Report of the Lords of the Council," "Letter to the whole People of Ireland," and many ballads and songs which were calculated for the Dublin ballad-singers. These productions were remarkable not only for their fierce sarcasm and denunciation directed against Wood himself, but for the constantly insinuated, and sometimes plainly expressed, assertion of the national right of Ireland (namely, of the English colony in Ireland) to manage her own affairs. This, in fact, was always in his mind. "For my own part," observes M. B. Drapier, "who am but one man, of obscure origin, I do solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death rather than submit to receive this accursed coin, or any other that is liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by *a law of my own country;* and if that shall even happen, I will transport myself into some foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people." Indeed, while he seems to be directing all the torrent of his indignation against the unlucky hardwareman, he very plainly personifies in him the relentless domination of England, and really labors to excite, not personal wrath against Wood, but patriotic resentment against the British Government. A very admirable example, both of his style of denunciation, and of his exquisite art in insinuating his leading idea amidst a perfect deluge of witty ribaldry, is seen in this excellent passage: "I am very sensible," says the worthy Drapier, "that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen; but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All my assistance was some informations from an eminent person, whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few by endeavoring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage. I was in the case of David, who could not move in the armor of Saul; and therefore chose to attack this uncircumcised Philistine (Wood I mean) with a sling and a stone. And I may say, for Wood's honor, as well as my own, that he resembles Goliah in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose. For Goliah had a helmet of brass on his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was 5000 shekels of brass; and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. In short, he was like Mr. Wood, all over brass, and he defied the armies of the living God. Goliah's conditions of combat were likewise the same with those of Mr. Wood: if he prevail against us, *then shall we be his servants;* but if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition. He shall never be a servant of mine, for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop."

But in the fourth letter of "M. B. Drapier," Dean Swift disclosed and developed without reserve his real sentiments, which, he says, "have often swelled in my breast," on the absolute right of the Irish nation (that is, of the English colony there) to govern itself independently of the English Parliament. On this point he thoroughly adopts and maintains the whole doctrine of Mr. Molyneux ("an English gentleman born here"), and denounces the usurpation of the London Parliament in assuming to bind Ireland by their laws. The proof that Swift, in affirming the rights of the Irish nation, meant only the English colony, is seen clearly enough in a passage of this very letter.

"One great merit I am sure we have which those of English birth can have no pretence to—that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England, for which we have been rewarded with a worse climate—the privilege of being governed by

laws to which we do not consent—a ruined trade—a house of peers without jurisdiction —almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's halfpence." Rising and warming as he proceeds, he at length fairly declares, "In this point we have nothing to do with English ministers, and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance or to enforce it, for the report of the committee has given me a surfeit. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you, and to let you see that by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England."

For printing this letter, Harding, the printer, was prosecuted; but when the indictment against him was sent up to the Dublin grand-jury, every man of them had in his hand a copy of another letter, entitled "Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury," &c., which it seems they took to heart, for they threw out the bill. A proclamation was then issued from the Castle offering a reward for discovery of the author, and signed by Lord Carteret, then viceroy. Everybody knew the author; but public spirit in Dublin was then so high and inflamed that the government could not venture to arrest the Dean. On the very day the proclamation was issued, he publicly taunted Carteret at the *levée* with thus persecuting a poor, honest tradesman, as he called "the Drapier;" adding, "I suppose your lordship expects a statue in copper for this service you have done to Wood." In short, the cause of the halfpence was utterly lost: nobody would take them or touch them; the English government had to withdraw the patent; William Wood turned his old copper to some other use in the hardware line; but received from the English Government a compensation in the shape of a pension of three thousand pounds for eight years.*

From this time the Dean was the most popular man in Ireland; he became the idol of the shopkeepers and tradespeople. The Drapier was a sign over hundreds of shops; the Drapier was an honored toast at all merry-makings; and precisely as he grew in popularity in Ireland, he became a more intolerable thorn in the side of the king's servants in that country, and especially of Primate Boulter. Boulter was appointed Primate in this very year, and one of the earliest letters published in his elaborate correspondence shows the extreme uneasiness with which that devoted servant of the English interest and doer of "the king's business" regarded the spirit aroused by the common resentment of all the people of all religions and races against the copper of Wood. He says in this letter: "I find by my own and others' inquiries that the people of every religion, country, and party here, are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a very unhappy influence on the state of this nation, by bringing on intimacies between Papists and Jacobites and the Whigs, who before had no correspondence with them: so that 'tis questionable whether, if there were occasion, justices of the peace could be found who would be strict in disarming Papists." For the next eighteen years this Primate Boulter was the real governor of Ireland. Thirteen times in that period he was one of the lords justices, and as he had the full confidence of Walpole, and was fully imbued with that minister's well-known principle (the principle, namely, that all could be done by intrigue and corruption), we find him really dictating to successive viceroys of Ireland, and also warning the English Government from time to time who were the persons in Ireland that deserved encouragement and employment as the "king's servants," and who they were that merited reprobation as the "king's enemies," who obstructed him in doing the king's business. It is needless to observe that he became instantly a bitter enemy to Dean Swift, and more than once cautioned the ministry against whatever representations might come from that quarter.*

Whether Swift so intended or not, he became, in fact, highly popular with the Catholics of the kingdom. Not that he ever spoke of them without disdain and aversion.

* Coxe, Life of Walpole.

* Letter dated 10th Feb., 1725, from the Primate to Duke of Newcastle.

"The Popish priests," says he, "are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors." (*Letter concerning Sacramental Test.*) In short, whenever he does allude to them at all, it is always with a view of intimating that he has no appeal to make to *them*, not regarding them as a part of the nation. In the famous prosecuted letter itself—although it is addressed "To the Whole People of Ireland"—he takes occasion thus to repel one of the assertions of Wood: "That *the Papists* have entered into an association against his coin, although it be notoriously known that *they* never once offered to stir in the matter." In his address, then, to the "Whole People," he speaks of the Papists as "they." But notwithstanding this, Catholic farmers had wool and grain to sell; they also had their daily traffic, and if the introduction of that perilous copper was to be so fatal to the Protestants, it could not be good for them. Moreover, the bold assertion of Ireland's right to independence pleased them well. They knew, it is true, that they were not for the present considered as active citizens; yet being five to one,* they also felt that if the heavy pressure of British domination were once taken off, they or their children could not fail to assert for themselves a recognized place in a new Irish nation. Up to the present date, the Irish Catholic freeholders voted at elections to Parliament (though their suffrage was cramped by oaths, and they could only vote for a Protestant candidate), and they could still make their weight felt in the scale either of Whig or Tory, either in favor of the king's servants or the king's enemies, as Dr. Boulter called them respectively. No wonder, therefore, that the primate began to view with great alarm a community of feeling arising between the Catholics and either of the Protestant parties, and he soon cast about for a remedy, and found one.

Dean Swift was never openly attacked by the primate, but he had been for some years subjected to the spy-system, which is always so essential an arm of English government in Ireland, and had found it necessary to use great precautions in securing his manuscripts, as well as his ordinary letters, from the vigilant espionage of the government.* When Wood's patent was withdrawn, and all apprehensions were over concerning the halfpennies, he was desirous to withdraw for a while from the capital and from the neighborhood of Dr. Boulter's detectives, and went to the quiet retreat of Quilca, in the County Cavan, where his friend Dr. Sheridan had a house. Here he finished "Gulliver," which had been suspended for a while, and prepared it for the press; enjoying, by the shore of Lough Ramor, the conversation of Stella, and the "blessings of a country life," which he describes to be

> "Far from our debtors,
> No Dublin letters,
> Not seen by your betters."

The next year Swift went to England, but before he went Primate Boulter wrote to Sir Robert Walpole a letter which well illustrates the vigilance of that prelate in the king's service, and also the estimation in which he held Dr. Swift. He says, "The general report is that Dean Swift designs for England in a little time, and we do not question his endeavors to misrepresent his majesty's friends here wherever he finds an opportunity. But he is so well known, as well as the disturbances he has been the fomenter of in this kingdom, that we are under no fear of his being able to disserve any of his majesty's faithful servants by any thing that is known to come from him; but we could wish some eye were had to what shall be attempted on your side the water."

No further political event of much consequence occurred in Ireland during the short remainder of the reign of George I. All accounts of that period represent the country as sinking lower in misery and distress. Swift's graphic tracts and letters give a painfully vivid picture of the desolation of the rural districts. He laments often the wanton and utter destruction of timber, which had left bare and hungry-looking great regions that had but lately waved with ancient woods. New proprietors, under the various

* Primate Boulter writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "There are probably in this kingdom five Papists at least to one Protestant." This was in the year 1727.

* Roscoe's Life of Swift; Sir Walter Scott's Life.

confiscations, had always felt, in those times of revolutions, that their possessions were held by a precarious tenure; there might at any moment be a new confiscation, or a new resumption; therefore, as the woods would bring in their value at once they were felled remorselessly, and often sold at a mere trifle for the sake of getting ready money. It has been already seen that "the commissioners of confiscated estates" in King William's time* speak of this destruction of the forests as a grievous loss to the nation. They estimate that on one estate in Kerry trees to the value of £20,000 had been cut down or destroyed; on another estate £27,000 worth;" and in some cases they say, "Those on whom the confiscated estates have been bestowed, or their agents, have been so greedy to seize upon the most trifling profits that large trees have been cut down and sold for sixpence each." The consequence of all this wanton waste was soon lamentably observable in the nakedness of this once well-wooded island, where in Dean Swift's time it would have been impossible, as he tells us, to find timber either for ship-building or for the houses of the people.

The condition of the farmers and laboring people was extremely hard in the latter years of this reign. As Catholics were subjected to severe restrictions if they lived in trading and manufacturing towns, their only resource was to become tenants for short terms, or at will, to an alien and hostile race of landlords, and this at most oppressive rents. "Another great calamity," says Swift,† "is the exorbitant raising of the rent of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent; leases granted but for a small term of years; tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised on the expiration of their lease proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus it is that honest industry is restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; and it is well if he can cover his family with a coarse homespun frieze." Another of the evils complained of by the Dean is the prevalence of absenteeism, which carried over to England, according to his estimate, half a million sterling of Irish money *per annum*, with no return. Another still was the propensity of proprietors to turn great tracts of land into sheep pastures, which, of course, drove away tenants, increased the wretched competition for farms, and still more increased rents. It was this which made Swift exclaim, with his bitter humor, "Ajax was mad when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies; but we shall never be sober till we are of the same way of thinking." To all these miseries must be added the decay of trade and commerce, caused directly by the jealous and greedy commercial policy of England; and this grievance pressed quite as heavily upon the Protestant as on the Catholic.

So uniform has been the system of English rule in Ireland, that the description of it given a century and a half ago fits with great accuracy and with even heavier aggravations at this day. The absentee rents are now ten times as great in amount as they were then; and although the prohibition against exporting woollen cloth is now no longer in force, yet its effect has been perpetuated so thoroughly that the Irish do not now, as they did then, even manufacture woollen cloth for home consumption. In the year 1723 a petition was presented to Parliament from the woollen drapers, clothiers and weavers of Dublin, setting forth the decay and almost destruction of their industry, the sore distress and privations of thousands of families that had once lived comfortably by prosecuting these trades, and asking for inquiry and relief. But an Irish Parliament, absolutely controlled by an English Privy Council, was quite incapable of applying any remedy; so the affairs of trade had fallen from bad to worse, until at the close of this reign there was imminent danger of a destructive famine, that scourge which foreign domination has made so familiar to Ireland. It was in 1729 that Swift wrote and published his "Modest Proposal" for relieving the miseries of the people by cooking and

* See their report at the end of MacGeoghegan's History.

†"The present miserable state of Ireland."

eating the children of the poor—a piece of the fiercest sarcasm, steeped in all the concentrated bitterness of his soul; which, however—so grave is the irony—has been sometimes taken by foreign writers as a serious project of relief.

King George died on the 11th of June, 1727, just after settling the preliminaries of a peace with the Emperor and Spain, which was shortly afterwards signed at Seville (but to the exclusion of the Emperor) by the ministers of France, England and Spain. Thus our exiles on the continent were deprived for a time of the pleasure of meeting their hereditary enemies on the field. But further opportunities were happily to arise for them.

CHAPTER IX.

1727-1741.

Lord Carteret lord-lieutenant—Primate Boulter ruler of Ireland—His policy—Catholic Address—Not noticed—Papists deprived of elective franchise—Insolence of the "Ascendency"—Famine—Emigration — Dorset lord-lieutenant — Agitation of Dissenters — Sacramental Test—Swift's virulence against the Dissenters—Boulter's policy to extirpate Papists—Rage against the Catholics—Debates on money bills — "Patriot Party" — Duke of Devonshire lord-lieutenant — Corruption — Another famine—Berkeley—English commercial policy in Ireland.

The accession of George II. occasioned no great excitement in Ireland. Lord Carteret was continued as lord-lieutenant, but the corrupt and domineering churchman, Primate Boulter, a fit instrument of the odious minister, Sir Robert Walpole, still directed the course of government, and always to the same end—the depression and discouragement of the Patriot party, as the assertors of Irish legislative independence began to be termed, the complete establishment of English sovereignty, and the eternal division of Irish and English, of Catholic and Protestant.

The new king had acquired a reputation for a certain degree of liberality and tolerance, as indeed the first George also had before becoming king of England; because, in the electoral dominions in Germany, the Catholic religion was freely tolerated, and not subjected to the savage penalties and humiliating oaths which made that worship almost impossible in Ireland. The Irish Catholics, therefore, when the young king mounted the throne, conceived certain delusive hopes of a relaxation in the Penal Code. They were still smarting under the lash of the Popery laws, which had never yet been so cruelly laid on as during the reign of George the First; but as they remembered that the two last and severest of these laws were said to have been enacted as a punishment for their neglect in not having addressed Queen Anne on her coming to the throne, they were now induced to think they should avoid giving the like offence on the present auspicious occasion. An humble congratulatory address was therefore prepared, testifying unalterable loyalty and attachment to the king and to his royal house; and it met with the kind of reception which might have been expected. It was presented with all due respect to the lords justices at the Castle of Dublin, by Lord Delvin and other persons of the first quality among them; but so little notice was then taken either of their address or themselves, that it is not yet known whether it was ever transmitted to be laid before his majesty, as it was humbly desired it should be; or whether even an answer was returned by their excellencies that it should be so transmitted.

In other words, they and their abject "loyalty" were wholly ignored; and they received one additional lesson, if they still needed it, that they were to consider themselves not his majesty's subjects, but the "common enemy."

They were soon to have still another lesson. Primate Boulter, having observed with apprehension that the "Patriot" party was popular with the Catholics, and afraid of the results of this influence upon the next elections, took care to have a bill prepared, which was hurried through Parliament, for the entire disfranchisement of "Papists." Plowden and other writers affirm that the disfranchising clause was introduced into the bill by a kind of surprise or deception; but, however that may be, it passed both Houses and received the royal assent, enacting that "No Papist shall be entitled or admitted to

vote at the election of any member to serve in Parliament as a knight, citizen or burgess; or at the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate, any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."* The Catholics were by this law deprived of the very last vestige of civil right, and of the only poor means they possessed of making a friend or influencing any public measure. They remained utterly disfranchised for sixty-six years; and during all that period were as completely helpless as the beasts of the field.

Another transaction of this year may be considered as a lesson not only to the Catholics, but to the new king, supposing that they should dream of receiving some indulgence, or that he should imagine his German liberality would do for Ireland. In the year 1727 application had been made by certain Catholics to the late king for the reversal of some outlawries incurred by several "rebellious," and which had been most iniquitously obtained, and had actually reduced some of the most ancient, noble, and opulent Roman Catholic families of the kingdom, with their numerous descendants, to absolute beggary. The Commons then sitting, and justly apprehending from his majesty's supposed equity and commiseration, that such application might meet with some success, resolved upon a petition, wherein, among other things, they tell his majesty plainly, and even with a kind of menace, "that nothing could *enable them* to defend *his right and title* to his crown so *effectually* as the enjoyment of those estates, which have been the forfeitures of the rebellious Irish, and were then in the possession of his Protestant subjects; and therefore, that they were *fully assured* that he would discourage all applications or attempts that should be made in favor of such *traitors* or their descendants, so dangerous to the *Protestant interest* of this kingdom." This petition produced the wished-for effect. The king, in his answer, assured the Commons "that he would for the future discourage all such applications and attempts."

But the Commons, not content with this assurance, and still fearing that those Popish solicitors, who had been employed by the Catholics in their late unsuccessful attempt, might prevail upon their clients to renew their application at another more favorable juncture, brought in a bill absolutely disqualifying all Roman Catholics from practising as solicitors, the only branch of the law profession which they were then permitted to practise.

Lord Carteret, in proroguing that Parliament, took occasion to congratulate it upon the several excellent laws which it had passed, amongst others the law "for *regulation* of elections." At this date, then, the Catholics of Ireland may be said to disappear from history. But it was impossible to extinguish, or to keep down everywhere and forever, the Irish race. An historian, who certainly shows no anxiety to say any thing soothing or flattering of our countrymen, observes well:

"There were indeed Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition: but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland, at Versailles and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a marshal of France. Another became prime minister of Spain.* If he had staid in his native land he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who drank the glorious and immortal memory. In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George II. and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George III."†

Carteret's administration, apart from the oppression of the Catholics, or perhaps, in part, on account of that very oppression, is usually praised by English historians for its wisdom and humanity. He certainly promoted some few trifling measures tending to the improvement of trade; but nothing touching, or in the slightest degree trenching upon, the domain of English monopoly, still less upon the absolute sovereign powers of the English Parliament over Ireland and all things Irish. The primate, in fact, managed both the Irish Parliament and the Irish elections; besides taking great pains to fo-

* 1 Geo. II., chap. 9, sec. 7.

* Wall. † Macaulay's England.

ment quarrels and jealousies between Protestants and Protestants, between English and Irish, and even between the down-trodden Catholics. There had been differences of opinion amongst the latter on the policy of presenting their address of congratulation and loyalty; and the primate writes to Lord Carteret with great complacency on the 20th July: "I hear this day that the address yesterday presented by some Roman Catholics occasions great heats and divisions amongst those of that religion here;" which he intimates may produce a good effect. He had his agents in all the counties canvassing and intriguing for the king's friends; and previous to an election he once writes to assure the lord-lieutenant that "the elections will generally go well."* In short, by the disfranchisement of five-sixths of the people, by a judicious distribution of patronage and place amongst the rest, and by the ever-ready resource of the indefatigable primate, the Parliament had become perfectly manageable, and the "Patriot" party was effectually kept down. Swift has described the Irish Parliament at this time as being

> "Always firm in its vocation,
> For the Court, against the nation."

So that Lord Carteret's administration was naturally considered in England as quite a success.

But the famine that had been so greatly feared, now really visited the country with great severity, and slew its thousands for two years. No register, nor even approximate estimate of the amount of destruction of human life caused by this famine was made at the time, but in many counties people fed on weeds and garbage. Ireland was then importing corn, and it is mentioned, as a remarkable fact, that between two and three hundred thousand pounds worth of grain was imported in one year during the dearth. The famine returned a few years later, in 1741; and, in fact, famine may be said to have become an established institution of the country and constant or periodical agent of British government from this time forth. There now began a very considerable emigration to America and the West Indies, and this emigration was almost exclusively of Protestants from the North of Ireland. Primate Boulter, in one of his letters, complains of this circumstance, but takes care, at the same time, to libel the emigrating Dissenters, alleging that most of them were persons who, having contracted debts they could not or would not pay, were flying the country to avoid their creditors. He takes care not to tell his correspondent in England the true reasons of this movement: first, decline of trade and hunger and hardship; next, the oppression of the Test Act, and of the "Schism" Act, a new law which had been very lately extended to Ireland by the sole authority of the British Parliament. The migration of Protestant Dissenters from Ulster, which commenced in Lord Carteret's administration, afterwards took large proportions, and Pennsylvania, Western Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were in a great measure peopled by these "Scotch Irish," as they are called in the United States.

Carteret was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset, in 1731, but the change made no alteration in the even tenor of the Government, seeing that Primate Boulter was still really and effectively the viceroy of the country. The Catholics were now giving no trouble—too happy if they could avoid observation; but there arose a most vehement agitation on the part of the Dissenters. These Presbyterians had contributed powerfully to the subjugation of Ulster under King William; had fought at Derry and at Newtownbutler, as well as at the Boyne and Aughrim; were devoted adherents to the Protestant succession and the House of Hanover, and had always aided and applauded the enactment of penal laws against the "common enemy." Now, when the common enemy was put down under foot, never, it was hoped, to rise again, the Dissenters naturally enough thought they should be entitled to the privilege of sitting in Parliament and entering the municipal corporations without taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, which was contrary to their conscience, but was imposed on them by law. They even made a merit of not having made common cause with the Catholics, although joined

* Boulter's Correspondence.

with them in a common injury on the passage of the "Act to prevent the further growth of Popery;" they had preferred to endure disabilities and insults themselves rather than in any way embarrass the Government in its measures against the common enemy. For this base compliance they had their reward, and remained subject to the Test Act for three generations afterwards.

In their attempts to obtain a relaxation of this code during Dorset's administration, the Catholics found, of course, the sternest and most uncompromising opponent in the primate; but—what they had not perhaps expected—the most indefatigable, the most efficient, the most offensive and disdainful enemy they had, was the Dean of St. Patrick's. For once the primate and the dean were on the same side. It does not appear, indeed, that there was the least chance at that time of breaking down in favor of Dissenters the strong barriers that fenced round the interest of the Established Church on every side; but there was much discussion by political pamphlets, and for two years Swift poured forth in very powerful papers his horror of Puritans and scorn of Scotchmen. The most remarkable of these productions is that entitled "Reasons; humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland, for repealing the Sacramental Test *in favor of the Catholics.*" This, like his "Modest Proposal," is a master-piece of cold and biting irony; intended to show that the Dissenters could not urge a single plea in favor of their own emancipation which the very Papists could not bring forward with still greater force. The writer seems throughout to plead the cause of the Catholics, "called by their ill-willers Papists," with so much earnestness, that very intelligent Catholic writers, as Plowden, Lawless, Curry, and others, have quoted it as a serious argument on their behalf. Indeed, it is not wonderful if straightforward, unsophisticated minds that understand no joking on so grave a subject, have been sometimes mystified by passages like this:

"And whereas another author among our brethren, the Dissenters, has very justly complained that by this persecuting Test Act great numbers of true Protestants have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here branded with an incapacity for civil and military employment; we do affirm that the Catholics can bring many more instances of th same kind; some thousands of their religion have been forced by the Sacramental Test to retire into other countries rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing swords, sitting in Parliament, and getting that share of power and profit which belongs to them as fellow-Christians, whereof they are deprived merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follows, in the words of the same author, 'That if we [Catholics] are incapable of employment, we are punished for our dissent, that is, for our conscience,'" &c.

It gives us a singular idea of the narrowness of this "Irish patriot's" idea of patriotism, that he could conceive no more effectual way of casting odium and ridicule on the pretensions of Dissenters, than by showing that even the Papists themselves might plausibly urge similar pretensions; and although he was aware of the effect of these penal laws in driving both Catholics and Dissenters away from their native land, to carry their energy, their industry, and their resentments into foreign countries, he was yet earnestly in favor of retaining the whole system of penal laws unbroken against them both. The controversy soon died out, and was only occasionally and faintly renewed during the remainder of the century; but it is impossible to refrain from the expression of a regret that the sovereign genius of Swift could not raise him up to a loftier and more generous idea of patriotism for the country of his adoption—or, as he always called it, of his *exile*—than this narrow and intolerant exclusiveness, which would drive from their native land both Catholics and Protestants who could not take the sacrament as he administered it. He opposed English domination over Ireland, yet equally opposed the union of Irishmen to resist it. Therefore the verdict of history must forever be, that he was neither an English patriot nor an Irish one. As was said long afterwards of O'Connell, "he was a bad subject and a worse rebel." Yet the tone of independent

thought which rings through his inimitable essays, and the high and manly spirit with which he showed Irishmen how to confront unjust power, did not pass away; they penetrated the character of the whole English colony, and bore fruit long after that unquiet and haughty heart lay at rest in the aisle of St. Patrick's. *Ubi sæva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit.*

The disfranchised Catholics being now deprived of their last and only means of gaining the favor and indulgence of their neighboring magistrates, by promising to vote for their party (all parties being alike to the Catholics), were made to feel the full atrocity of the penal laws. It seems really to have been the design of Primate Boulter to wear down that population by ill-usage, to force them to fly the country, to get rid of them somehow altogether, so that the island might lie open to be wholly peopled by English Protestants.

Boulter was by no means the inventor of this policy; neither was he the last who acted upon it; but none ever pursued it with more diabolical malignity. If any clergyman desired to win the primate's favor, he forthwith preached furious and foaming sermons against the execrated Papists. If any pamphleteer desired to make himself conspicuous as a "king's servant," and so gain a profitable place, he set to work to prove that all Catholics are by nature and necessity murderers, perjurers, and adulterers. The resolutions passed so frequently in both Houses of Parliament, exhorting magistrates to be active in enforcing the laws against the common enemy, had sometimes been only partially effective, because the Catholics had a way of influencing country gentlemen to a certain extent. But now, under the primate's auspices, it was not intended that such resolutions should be a dead letter.

On the 9th of March, 1731, it was "Resolved unanimously that it is the indispensable duty of all magistrates and officers to put the laws made to prevent the further growth of Popery in Ireland in due execution." It was also at the same time resolved, *nem. con.* (being the end of the session), "that the members of that house, in their respective counties and stations, would use their utmost endeavors to put the several laws against Popery in due execution."

These frequent resolutions of the Commons, aided by inflammatory anniversary sermons and equally inflammatory pamphlets, occasionally preached and published, diffused such a spirit of rancor and animosity against Catholics, among their Protestant neighbors, as made the generality of them believe that the words Popery, rebellion, and massacre really signified the same thing, and thereby excited such real terrors in these latter as often brought the liberties and sometimes the lives of the former into imminent danger. The most shocking fables that had been invented concerning the Irish insurrection in 1641, and of the English gunpowder treason in 1605, were studiously revived and aggravated in these sermons and pamphlets, with a degree of virulence and exaggeration which surpassed the most extravagant fictions of romance or poetry, and possessed their uninformed, though often well-meaning, hearers and readers with lasting and general abhorrence of these people. The crimes, real or supposed, of Catholics dead more than a century before, were imputed, intentionally, to all those who survived them, however innocent, of the same religious persuasion.

Doctor Curry affirms that by all these means the popular passion was so fiercely incensed against Papists as to suggest to some Protestants the project of destroying them by massacre at once; and that "an ancient nobleman and privy councillor," whom the author, however, does not name, "in the year 1743, on the threatened invasion of England by the French, under the command of Marshal Saxe, openly declared in council 'that as the Papists had begun the massacre on them, about a hundred years before, so he thought it both reasonable and lawful, on their parts, to prevent them, at that dangerous juncture, by first falling upon them.'"

The same respectable author, who was a contemporary of the events he relates, states that "so entirely were some of the lower northern Dissenters possessed and influenced by this prevailing prepossession and rancor against Catholics, that in the same year, and

for the same declared purpose of prevention, a conspiracy was actually formed by some of the inhabitants of Lurgan to rise in the night-time and destroy all their neighbors of that denomination in their beds. But this inhuman purpose was also frustrated by an information of the honest Protestant publican in whose house the conspirators had met to settle the execution of their scheme, sworn before the Rev. Mr. Ford, a justice of the peace in that district, who received it with horror, and with difficulty put a stop to the intended massacre."*

The Irish House of Commons, during Lord Dorset's administration, was chiefly occupied by debates on money and finances. The latter years of Carteret's term had been much disquieted on account of an attempt, made by the king's servants, to get a vote of £274,000 to the crown. The country party resisted vigorously; and then began a series of acrimonious debates on monetary affairs, which "the Patriots" treated with a view to assert, as often and as strongly as possible, the right of the Irish Legislature to control at least the matter of Irish finances. In this first session, held in the Duke of Dorset's government, the question came up again under another form on the vote for the supplies. The national debt, on Lady Day, 1733, was £371,312 13s. 2d.,† and for the payment of the principal and interest the supplies were voted from session to session. A gross attempt was now made to grant the supplies, set aside to pay the debt and the interest, to the king and his successors forever.

This proposition was violently resisted by the Patriots, who asserted that it was unconstitutional to vote the sum for a longer period than from session to session. The Government, defeated in this attempt, sought to grant it for twenty-one years, and a warm debate ensued. Just as the division was about taking place, the Ministerialists and Patriots being nearly equal, Colonel Tottenham, an Oppositionist, entered. He was dressed in boots, contrary to the etiquette of the House, which prescribed full dress. His vote gave the majority to the Patriots, and the Government was defeated by *Tottenham in his boots.* This became one of the toasts of patriotism, and was given in all the social meetings.

But such triumphs of the country party were rare, and their effects were precarious. Every such event as this, however, stimulated and kept alive the aspiration after independent nationality; and the same Duke of Dorset, when he was in Ireland as viceroy for the second time, had an opportunity to verify and measure the progress of that national spirit.

In 1737 Dorset was recalled, and was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire, a nobleman of great wealth, who kept a splendid court in Dublin, and by the expenditures thereby occasioned made himself extremely popular amongst the tradesmen of that city.* In fact, the English Government and its crafty chief, Sir Robert Walpole, saw the necessity of counteracting the perilous doctrines of the "Patriots," by all the arts of seduction, by the charm of personal popularity, and especially by corruption—an art which, under Sir Robert Walpole, reached, both in England and in Ireland, a degree of high development, which it had never before attained in any country. As it was that minister's avowed maxim that "every man has his price," he saw no reason to except Irish patriots from that general law; and Primate Boulter was precisely the man to test its accuracy in practice. All the influence of the Government was now needed to overcome the resolute bearing of the Opposition upon the grand subject of "supplies." The Patriots were determined, if the Irish Parliament was to be politically subordinate to that of England, that they would at least endeavor to maintain its privilege of voting its own money. It is in these debates we first find amongst the Patriot party the names of Sir Edward O'Brien, of Clare, and his son, Sir Lucius O'Brien, an illustrious name then, both at home and abroad, destined to be more illustrious still before the close of that century, and to shine with a yet purer fame in the present age. Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Earl of Shannon, and Antony Malone, son of that Malone who had pleaded

* Curry's Historical Review. † Plowden.

* He also built Devonshire Quay, at his own expense, and presented it to the city.

along with Sir Toby Butler against the penal laws of Queen Anne's time, were also leading members of the Opposition.

In 1741 there was another dreadful famine. It is irksome to record, or to read the details of this chronic misery; but in the History of Ireland the gaunt spectre of Famine must be a prominent figure of the picture, while English connection continues. The learned and amiable Dr. George Berkeley was then Bishop of Cloyne. A season of starvation first, and then, in due rotation, a season of pestilence, thinned the people miserably; and the good bishop's sympathies were strongly moved. In a letter to Mr. Thomas Prior, of Dublin, he writes thus, under date the 19th May, 1741:—"The distresses of the sick and poor are endless. The havoc of mankind in the counties of Cork, Limerick, and some adjacent places, hath been incredible. The nation, probably, will not recover this loss in a century. The other day I heard one from the county of Limerick say that whole villages were entirely dispeopled. About two months since I heard Sir Richard Cox say that five hundred were dead in the parish, though in a county, I believe, not very populous. It were to be wished people of condition were at their seats in the country during these calamitous times, which might provide relief and employment for the poor. Certainly, if these perish, the rich must be sufferers in the end."

It was while under the impression of these terrible scenes of suffering that Berkeley wrote his celebrated pamphlet, entitled "The Querist," which sets forth, under the form of questions, without answers, the bishop's views of the evils and requirements of his country; for Berkeley, unlike Swift, called himself *an Irishman*. Two or three of his queries will show the drift of the work. "Whether a great quantity of sheepwalk be not ruinous to a country, rendering it waste and thinly inhabited?" "Whether it be a crime to inquire how far we may do without foreign trade, and what would follow on such a supposition?" "Whether, if there were a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom, our natives might not, nevertheless, live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?" Such queries as these, though very cautiously expressed, showed plainly enough that the excellent bishop attributed all the evils of Ireland to the greedy commercial policy of England; and accordingly this pamphlet was quite enough to stop his promotion. The next year there was a vacancy for the primacy; and as Berkeley was the most learned and famous man in the Irish Church (Swift being then in his sad dotage), the friends of the Bishop of Cloyne naturally thought him entitled to the place, especially since Sir Robert Walpole owed him some compensation for having broken faith with him in the matter of his Bermuda missionary college. But Berkeley himself expected no such favors. He writes to Mr. Prior with a touching simplicity: "For myself, though his excellency the lord-lieutenant might have a better opinion of me than I deserved, yet it was not likely that he would make *an Irishman* primate." And assuredly, Berkeley was not the kind of man needed to "do the king's business" in Ireland. Dr. Hoadley was the person appointed, and was soon succeeded by the notorious George Stone.

It would require a large volume to detail the numberless and minutely elaborated measures by which the English Government has at all times contrived to regulate the trade and industry of Ireland in all their parts with a view to her own profit; a system whereby periodical famines are insured in an island endowed by nature with such boundless capacity for wealth. We have seen that both Swift and Berkeley attacked the extensive "sheepwalks." In those years, corn was brought from England to Ireland because it suited the interest of England then to discourage agriculture here, and to encourage sheep-farms, all her efforts being directed to secure the woollen trade to herself. Accordingly it was forbidden the Irish to export black cattle to England, and, therefore, sheep became the more profitable stock; but as the Irish could make nothing of the wool, they had to send it in the fleece, and thus Yorkshire was supplied with the raw material of its staple manufacture. But afterwards, when England had full possession of the woollen manufacture, and that of Ireland was utterly destroyed, it became apparent to the English, that the best use

they could make of Ireland would be to turn it into a general store farm for agricultural produce of all kinds. Anderson (*History of Commerce*) explains the matter thus: "Concerning these laws, many think them hurtful, and that it would be wiser to suffer the Irish to be employed in breeding and fattening their black cattle *for us*, than to turn their lands into sheepwalks as at present; in consequence of which, in spite of all the laws, they supply foreign nations with their wool."

It is observable that this English writer, when he says many think the laws regulating Irish commerce "hurtful," means hurtful to the English. Therefore, the system was afterwards so far changed, that England was willing to take any kind of agricultural produce from us, and to give us, in return, manufactured articles made either of our own or of foreign materials. So it has happened that Irishmen have been permitted ever since to sow, to reap, and to feed cattle *for them*, as Anderson recommended. But which of the systems bred more Irish famines we shall have other and too many opportunities of inquiring.

CHAPTER X.

1741—1745.

War on the Continent—Dr. Lucas—Primate Stone—Battle of Dettingen—Lally—Fontenoy—The Irish Brigade.

King George II., like his predecessor, felt much more personal interest in German politics and the "balance of power" on the Continent, than in any domestic affairs of the English nation. He had adhered to the "Pragmatic sanction," that favorite measure of the Austrian Emperor Charles VI., for securing the succession of the possessions of the House of Austria to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary. On the 20th of October, 1740, the Emperor Charles died, and all Europe was almost immediately plunged into general war. King Frederick, styled the Great, was then king of Prussia; and as the Austrian army and finances were then in great disorder, and he could expect no very serious opposition, he suddenly set up his claim to the Austrian duchy of Silesia, and marched an army into it, in pursuance of that usual policy of Prussia, which elaborately prepares and carefully conceals plans of aggression until the moment of putting them in execution, and then makes the stealthy spring of a tiger. France embraced the cause of the Elector of Bavaria and candidate for the imperial throne; sent an army into Germany under Marshal Broglie, and after some successes over the Austrians, caused the elector to be proclaimed emperor at Prague. In April, 1741, King George II. delivered a speech to both Houses of his Parliament, informing them that the Queen of Hungary had made a requisition for the aid of England in asserting her title to the throne, pursuant to the Pragmatic sanction; and thereupon he demanded war supplies. Some honest and uncorrupted members of Parliament protested against this new Continental war; but Sir Robert Walpole still ruled the country with almost absolute sway; and to hold his place he supported the policy of the king. So began that long and bloody war: a war in which Ireland had no concern, save in so far as it was an occasion for larger exactions from the Irish Parliament; and also gave to her exiled sons some further opportunities of meeting their enemies in battle.

It was in 1741 that the famous Dr. Lucas first appeared in the political arena. He was a man of great energy and honesty; fully imbued with the opinions of Swift on the rights and wrongs of his country, that is of the English colony. He was even more offensively intolerant than Swift towards the Catholics; but within the sacred limits of the "Protestant interest" he supported the principles of freedom; and if he fell very far short of his great model in genius, he perhaps equalled him in courage. Charles Lucas was born in 1713, and his family was of the farming class in Clare county. He established himself as an apothecary in Dublin, where he was elected a member of the Common Council. He there found abuses to correct. The appointment of aldermen had been a privilege usurped by the board of aldermen, while the right appertained to the whole corporate body. Having agitated this subject for a while, he

grew bolder with his increasing popularity, and published some political tracts on the sovereign right of the Irish Parliament. This attracted attention and excited alarm; for, "to make any man popular in Ireland," as the primate bitterly remarks, "it is only necessary to set up the Irish against the English interest." Henceforward Dr. Lucas pursued, in his own way, an active career of patriotism, as he understood patriotism; and the reader will hear of him again.

In 1742 the primacy of the Irish Church being vacant, by the death of Dr. Boulter, Hoadley was first appointed to the See of Armagh, but was soon after succeeded by that extraordinary prelate, George Stone, bishop of Derry. It had long been Sir Robert Walpole's policy to govern Ireland mainly through the chief of the Irish Established Church, and Stone was a man altogether after his own heart. He was English by birth, and the son of a keeper of a jail; was never remarkable for learning, and his character was the worst possible; but he had qualities which, in the minister's judgment, peculiarly fitted him to hold that wealthy and powerful see—that is to say, he would scruple at no corruption, would revolt at no infamy, to gain adherents "for the court against the nation;" and would make it the single aim of his life to maintain the English interest in Ireland; and this not only by careful distribution of the immense patronage of Government, but by still baser acts of seduction. Memoirs and satires of that time have made but too notorious the mysteries of his house near Dublin, where wine in profusion and bevies of beautiful harlots baited the trap to catch the light youth of the metropolis. Primate Stone was a very handsome man, of very dignified presence and demeanor; and with such a man for lord-justice and privy councillor, the Duke of Dorset was able to prevent any dangerous assertion of independence during his viceroyalty. There were, however, continual debates over the question of supplies, the rapidly increased expenses of the public establishments, and the notorious corruption practised by Government.

So long as the common interest of the Protestants was kept secure against the mass of the people, all was well; but during the Devonshire administration alarm was taken about that vital point, on account of a bill to reverse an attainder which Lord Clancarty had succeeded in having presented to the Irish Parliament during the preceding viceroyalty, and which there seemed to be some danger might be passed. The Clancarty estate, which would have been restored by this attainder, was valued at £60,000 *per annum;* and it was then in the hands of many new proprietors who had purchased under the confiscation titles, and who now, of course, besieged and threatened Parliament with their claims and outcries. It was also found that other persons, whose lands had been confiscated (unjustly as they said they were ready to prove), had instituted proceedings for the recovery of certain pieces of land or houses. In short, there were eighty-seven suits commenced; and the House felt that it was time to set at least that affair at rest. If Papists were to be allowed to disquiet Protestant possessors by alleging injustice and illegality in the proceedings by which they had been despoiled, it was clearly perceived that there would be an end of the Protestant interest, which, in fact, reposed upon injustice and illegality from the beginning. Therefore, a series of very violent resolutions was passed by the Commons, denouncing all these proceedings as a disturbance of the public weal, and declaring all those who instituted any such suits, or acted in them as lawyer or attorney, to be public enemies. It may be remembered that not only were Catholic barristers debarred from practice, but, by a late act, Catholic solicitors too; so that after these resolutions there could not be much chance of success in any lawsuit for a Catholic. Thus the Protestant interest was quieted for that time.

Meanwhile, war was raging over the Continent, and King George II., with his son, the Duke of Cumberland, had gone over to take command of the British and Hanoverian troops, operating on the French frontier, while Central Germany was fiercely debated between the Empress Queen, allied with England, and Frederick of Prussia, allied with France. The first considerable battle after the king took command was at Dettingen

the 27th of June, 1743. This place is on the Mein or Mayn river, and very near the city of Frankfort. The French were commanded by the *Maréchal de Noailles;* the allies by King George ostensibly, but really by the Earl of Stair. The day went against the French, and ended in almost a rout of their army, which would have become a total rout but for the exertions of the Count de Lally, then acting as *aide-major-general* to Noailles. The maréchal himself gives him this very high testimony: "He three several times rallied the army in its rout, and saved it in its retreat by his advice given to the council of war after the action."* As this celebrated soldier will reappear in the narrative, and especially on one far greater and more terrible day, it may be well to give some account of him. His father was Sir Gerard Lally (properly O'Mullally), of Tullindal; and had been one of the defenders of Limerick, and one of those who volunteered for France with Sarsfield. Sir Gerard became immediately an officer in the French service, and his son, the Count Lally, was born at Romans, in Dauphiné, when his father was there in garrison. He first mounted a trench at the siege of Barcelona, in Spain, when he was twelve years of age, but already a captain in Dillon's regiment. This was in 1714. We next hear of him planning a new descent upon some point of England or Scotland, in order to retrieve the fortunes of "the Pretender," and had actually a commission for this purpose from King James III. To conceal his plans, he announced that he was preparing to make a campaign as volunteer under his near relative Maréchal de Lascy (De Lacy), who then commanded the Russian army against the Turks. Cardinal Fleury induced him to lay aside every other design and to go to Russia, not in a military but in a civil capacity; in short, as a diplomatist with special mission. As this mission was to endeavor to detach Russia from English alliance, and so weaken England in the war, he gladly accepted, for the great object of Lally's life, to the very last, was to strike a mortal blow at England in any part of the earth or sea. He did not succeed in his Russian embassy, and left St. Petersburg in a fit of impatience, for which the cardinal rebuked him; then served under Noailles in the Netherlands, who particularly requested him to act as the chief of his staff. It is thus we find him at the disastrous battle of Dettingen; but for the repulse that day both Lally and the French were soon to have a choice revenge. After the battle, a regiment of Irish infantry was created for him, and attached to the Irish brigade. The brigade consisted now of seven regiments, and it saw much service that year and the next under the Count de Saxe, who took the various towns of Menin, Ypres, and Furnes, in the Netherlands, all which the Duke of Cumberland endeavored to prevent without avail, and without coming to a battle.

In this year, 1744, however, great preparation was made on both sides for a decisive campaign. The French army was increased in the Netherlands, and on the other side the English court had at length prevailed on the States-General of Holland to join the alliance against France. In September of that year, the allies, then in camp at Spire, were reinforced by 20,000 Dutch, who were time enough, unluckily for them, to take a share in the great and crowning battle of Fontenoy.

It might be supposed that the incidents of this famous battle have been sufficiently discussed and described to make them generally known; but, in fact, the plain truth of that affair (especially as it affects the Irish engaged) is very difficult to ascertain with precision, and for the very reason that there are so many accounts of it handed down to us by French, Irish, and English authorities, all with different national prejudices and predilections. Reading the usual English accounts of the battle, one is surprised to find in general no mention of Irishmen having been at Fontenoy at all; the English naturally dislike to acknowledge that they owed that mortal disaster in great part to the Irish exiles whom the faithlessness and oppression of their own Government had driven from their homes and filled with the most intense passion of vengeance: the French, with a sentiment of national pride equally natural, wish to appropriate to

* Letter of Maréchal de Noailles, quoted in Biog. Univ., art. *Lally.*

French soldiers, as far as possible, the honor of one of their proudest victories; but if we read certain enthusiastic Irish narratives of Fontenoy, we might be led to suppose that it was the Irish brigade alone which saved the French army and ruined the redoubtable column of English and Hanoverians. It is well, then, to endeavor to establish the simple facts by reference to such authorities as are beyond suspicion.

In the end of April, 1745, the Maréchal de Saxe, now famous for his successful sieges in the Netherlands, opened trenches before Tournay, on the Scheldt river, which, in this place, runs nearly from south to north. King Louis, with the young dauphin, "not to speak of mistresses, play-actors, and cookery-apparatus (in wagons innumerable) hastens to be there," says Carlyle.* Tournay was very strongly fortified, and defended by a Dutch garrison of nine thousand men, and Saxe appeared before it with an army of about seventy thousand men. The allies determined at all hazards to raise the siege, and King George's son, the Duke of Cumberland, hastened over from England to take command of the allied forces — English, Dutch, Hanoverian, and Austrian—destined for that service. Count Königseck commanded the Austrian quota, and the Prince of Waldeck the Dutch. The army was mustered near Brussels on the 4th of May, and thence set forth, sixty thousand strong, for Tournay, passing near the field of *Steinkirk*—a name remembered in the English army. On Sunday, the 9th of May (*new style*), the duke reached the village of Vazon, six or seven miles from Tournay, in a low, undulating country, with some wood and a few streams and peaceable villages. The ground which was to be the field of battle lies all between the Brussels road and the river Scheldt. Tournay lay to the north-west, closely beleaguered by the French, and the Maréchal de Saxe, aware of the approach of the allies, had thrown up some works, to bar their line of advance, with strong batteries in the villages of Antoine and Fontenoy, and on the edge of a small wood, called *Bois de Barri*, which spreads out towards the east, but narrows nearly to a point in the direction of Tournay. In these works, connected by redans and *abatis*, and mounted with probably a hundred guns, the Maréchal took his position with fifty-five thousand men, leaving part of his force around Tournay and in neighboring garrisons. Near the point of the wood is a redoubt called "redoubt of Eu," so called from the title of the Norman regiment which occupied it that day. On a hill a little farther within the French lines the king and the dauphin took their post.

And now Saxe only feared that the allies might not venture to assail him in so strong a place; and the old Austrian, Königseck, was strongly of opinion that the attempt ought not to be made; but the Duke of Cumberland and Waldeck, the Dutch commander, were of a different opinion, and, in short, it was determined to go in. Early in the morning of the 11th the dispositions were made. The Dutch and Austrians were on the enemy's left, opposite the French right, and destined to carry St. Antoine and its works; the English and Hanoverians in the centre, with their infantry in front and cavalry in the rear, close by the wood of Barri. The map contained in the "Memoirs of Maréchal Saxe" gives the disposition of the various corps on the French side; and we there find the place of the Irish brigade marked on the left of the French line, but not the extreme left, and nearly opposite the salient point of the wood of Barri. The brigade was not at its full strength; and we know not on what authority Mr. Davis* states that all the seven regiments were on the ground. There were probably four regiments; certainly three—Clare's, Dillon's, and Lally's—Lord Clare being in chief command. Neither Clare, nor Dillon, nor Lally was Irish by birth, but all were sons of Limerick exiles. Of their troops ranked that day under the green flag, probably not one had fought at Limerick fifty-four years before. They were either the sons of the original "Wild-geese," or Irishmen who had migrated since, to fly from the degradation of the

* Life of Frederick. Mr. Carlyle, who devotes many pages to a minute account of the battle of Fontenoy, does not seem to have been made aware, in the course of his reading, of the presence of any Irish troops at all on that field.

* Note to his splendid ballad of "Fontenoy."

penal laws, and seek revenge upon their country's enemies. Judging from the space which the brigade is made to occupy on the map, it appears likely that its effective force at Fontenoy did not exceed five thousand men, or the tenth part of the French army.

The various attacks ordered by the Duke of Cumberland on the several parts of the French line were made in due form, after some preliminary cannonading. None of them succeeded. The Dutch and Austrians were to have stormed St. Antoine, their right wing at the same time joining hands with the English and Hanoverians opposite Fontenoy. But they found the fire from Antoine too heavy, and, besides, a battery they were not aware of opened upon them from the opposite bank of the Scheldt, and cut them up so effectually that after two gallant assaults they were fain to retire to their original position. Of course the English have complained ever since that it was the Dutch and Austrians who lost them Fontenoy. In the mean time the English and Hanoverians were furiously attacking the village of Fontenoy itself, but had no better success. Before the attack a certain Brigadier-General Ingoldsby had been detached with a Highland regiment, "Semple's Highlanders," and some other force, to silence the redoubt of Eu, on the edge of the wood, which seriously incommoded the English right. Ingoldsby tried, but could not do it (on which account he underwent a court-martial in England afterwards). So the duke had to make his attack on Fontenoy with the guns of that redoubt hammering his right flank. The attack was made, however, and made with gallantry and persistency, three times, but completely repulsed each time with considerable loss. Nothing but repulse everywhere—right, left and centre; but now the Duke of Cumberland perceived that between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, with its redoubt of Eu, there was a passage practicable, though with great peril and loss from the cross-fire. "Sire," said Saxe to the king on the evening of that triumphant day, "I have one fault to reproach myself with—I ought to have put one more redoubt between the wood and Fontenoy; but I thought there was no general bold enough to hazard a passage in that place."* In fact, no general ought to have done so. However, as Carlyle describes this advance, "His Royal Highness blazes into resplendent *Platt-Deutsch* rage, what we may call spiritual white heat, a man *sans peur* at any rate, and pretty much *sans avis*—decides that he must and will be through those lines, if it please God; that he will not be repulsed at his part of the attack—not he, for one; but will plunge through by what gap there is (nine hundred yards Voltaire measures it), between Fontenoy and that redoubt, with its laggard Ingoldsby, and see what the French interior is like."† In fact, he did come through the lines, and saw the interior.

He retired for a space, rearranged his English and Hanoverians in three thin columns, which, in the advance, under heavy fire from both sides, were gradually crowded into one column of great depth, full sixteen thousand strong.‡ They had with them twelve field-pieces—six in front and six in the middle of their lines.§ The column had to pass through a kind of hollow, where they were somewhat sheltered from the fire on each flank, dragging their cannon by hand, and then mounted a rising ground, and found themselves nearly out of direct range from the guns both of Fontenoy and the redoubt of Eu—fairly in sight of the French position. In front of them, as it chanced, were four battalions of the *Gardes Françaises*, with two battalions of Swiss guards on their left, and two other French regiments on their right. The French officers seem to have been greatly surprised when they saw the English battery of cannon taking position on the summit of the rising ground. "English cannon!" they cried; "let us go and take them." They mounted the hill with their grenadiers, but were astonished to find an army in their front. A heavy discharge, both of artillery

* Voltaire. Louis XV. His account of the battle is in general very clear and precise; but Voltaire, both in this work and in his poem of Fontenoy, though he cannot altogether avoid all mention of the Irish troops, takes care to say as little about them as possible.

† Life of Frederick.

‡ Davis, both in his ballad and his note on this battle, by some unaccountable oversight, states it at six thousand.

§ Voltaire.

and musketry, made them quickly recoil with heavy loss. The English column continued to advance steadily, and the French guards, with the regiment of Courten, supported by other troops, having re-formed, came up to meet them. It is at this point that the ceremonious salutes are said to have passed between Lord Charles Hay, who commanded the advance of the English, and the Comte d'Auteroche, an officer of the French grenadiers—the former taking off his hat and politely requesting Messieurs of the French Guards to fire—the latter, also, with hat off, replying, "After you, Messieurs." D'Espagnac and Voltaire both record this piece of stage-courtesy. But Carlyle, though he says it is a pity, disturbs the course of history by means of "a small irrefragable document which has come to him," namely, an original letter from Lord Hay to his brother, of which this is an excerpt: "It was our regiment that attacked the French Guards; and when we came within twenty or thirty paces of them, I advanced before our regiment, drank to them (to the French), and told them that we were the English Guards, and hoped they would stand till we came quite up to them, and not swim the Scheldt, as they did the Mayn at Dettingen; upon which I immediately turned about to our own regiment, speeched them, and made them huzzah. An officer (d'Auteroche) came out of the ranks, and tried to make his men huzzah. However, there were not above three or four in their brigade that did," &c. In fact, it appears that the French, who, according to that chivalrous legend, "never fired first," did fire first on this occasion; but both *Gardes Françaises* and Swiss Guards were driven off the field with considerable slaughter. And still the English column advanced, with a terrible steadiness, pouring forth a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery, suffering grievously by repeated attacks, both in front and flank, but still closing up its gapped ranks, and showing a resolute face on both sides. There was some confusion in the French army, owing to the surprise at this most audacious advance, and the resistance at first was unconcerted and desultory. Regiment after regiment, both foot and horse, was hurled against the redoubtable column, but all were repulsed by an admirably sustained fire, which the French called *feu d'enfer*. Voltaire states that among the forces which made these ineffectual attacks were certain Irish battalions, and that it was in this charge that the Colonel Count Dillon was killed. And still the formidable column steadily and slowly advanced, calmly loading and firing, "as if on parade," says Voltaire, and were now full three hundred paces beyond the line of fire from Fontenoy and the redoubt of the wood, resolutely marching on towards the French headquarters. By this time Count Saxe found that his batteries at Fontenoy had used all their balls and were only answering the guns of the enemy with discharges of powder. He believed the battle to be lost, and sent two several times to entreat the king to cross the Scheldt, and get out of danger, which the king, however, steadily refused to do.

Military critics have said that at this crisis of the battle, if the English had been supported by cavalry, and due force of artillery, to complete the disorder of the French—or, if the Dutch, under Waldeck, had at that moment resolutely repeated their assault upon St. Antoine, the victory was to the Duke of Cumberland, and the whole French army must have been flung into the Scheldt river. Count Saxe was now in mortal anxiety, and thought the battle really lost, when the Duke de Richelieu rode up at full gallop and suggested a plan, which was happily adopted. It was the thought of that same Colonel Count de Lally, who has been heard of before at Dettingen.* In fact, this famous plan does not appear to have required any peculiar strategic genius to conceive, for it was neither more nor less than to open with a battery of cannon right in front of the advancing column, and then attack it simultaneously with all the reserves, including the king's household cavalry, and the Irish brigade, which still stood motionless near the western point of the wood of Barri, and now abreast of the English column on

* "It is said the Jacobite Irishman, Count Lally, of the Irish brigade, was prime author of this notion."—Carlyle. Frederick. This is the only indication in all Carlyle's labored account of the battle that he was aware even of the presence of one Irishman.

its right flank. There was also in the same quarter the French regiment of Normandie, and several other corps which had already been repulsed and broken in several ineffectual assaults on the impregnable column.* A French authority † informs us that "this last decisive charge was determined upon, in the very crisis of the day, in a conversation rapid and sharp as lightning between Richelieu, galloping from rank to rank, and Lally, who was out of patience at the thought that the devoted ardor of the Irish brigade was not to be made use of." He had his wish, and at the moment when the battery opened on the front of the column, the brigade had orders to assail its right flank and to go in with the bayonet.

The English mass was now stationary, but still unshaken, and never doubting to finish the business, but looking wistfully back for the cavalry, and longing for the Dutch. Suddenly four guns opened at short range straight into the head of their column: and at the same moment the Irish regiments plunged into their right flank with bayonets levelled and a hoarse roar that rose above all the din of battle. The words were in an unknown tongue; but if the English had understood it, they would have known that it meant "*Remember Limerick!*" That fierce charge broke the steady ranks, and made the vast column waver and reel. It was seconded by the regiment of Normandie with equal gallantry, while on the other flank the cavalry burst in impetuously, and the four guns in front were ploughing long lanes through the dense ranks. It was too much. The English resisted for a little with stubborn bravery, but at length tumbled into utter confusion and fled from the field, leaving it covered thickly with their own dead and their enemies'. They were not pursued far, for, once outside of the lines, their cavalry was enabled to cover their retreat. The allies lost nine thousand men, including two thousand prisoners, and the French five thousand. So the battle of Fontenoy was fought and won.*

It cost the Irish brigade dear. The gallant Dillon was killed, with one-fourth of the officers and one third of the rank and file; but the immediate consequences to France were immense—Tournay at once surrendered; Ghent, Oudenarde, Bruges, Dendermonde, Ostend, were taken in quick succession; and the English and their allies driven back behind the swamps and canals of Holland.

None of all the French victories in that age caused in Paris such a tumult of joy and exultation. In England there were lamentation, and wrath, and courts-martial; but not against the Duke of Cumberland, for the king's son could do no wrong. In Ireland, as the news came in, first, of the British defeat, and, then, gradually, of the

* The Marquis d'Argenson, minister of Foreign Affairs, was present in the battle, and immediately after wrote a narrative of it, which he addressed to M. de Voltaire, then "Historiographer to the King." He says: "A false *corps de reserve* was then brought up; it consisted of the same cavalry which had at first charged ineffectually, the household troops of the king, the carbineers of the French guards, who had not yet been engaged, and a body of Irish troops, which were excellent, especially when opposed to the English and Hanoverians."

† Biog. Univ. Lally.

* M. de Voltaire, though he gives a long account of this battle, and cannot avoid naming at least the Irish brigade, has not one word of praise for it. This is the more notable, as he had D'Argenson's Memoir before him, who speaks of them as proving themselves excellent troops, *especially against the English*. But Voltaire always grudges any credit to the Irish troops, and never speaks of them at all in his histories when he can possibly avoid it. D'Argenson himself was well known to be no friend of theirs, and would not have praised them on this occasion if their bravery had not attracted the notice of all. Indeed, in the same letter to Voltaire this courtier says very emphatically—"The truth, the positive fact, without flattery, is this—*the king gained the battle himself.*"

The services of the brigade, however, on that great day, were too notorious in the French army to be altogether concealed. The Memoir cited before from the *Biographie Universelle* says: "It is notorious how much the Irish brigade contributed to the victory by bursting at the point of the bayonet into the flank of the terrible English column, while Richelieu cannonaded it in front."

English historians scarce mention the brigade at all on this occasion; but Lord Mahon is a creditable exception. He says Count Saxe "drew together the household troops, the whole reserve, and every other man that could be mustered; but foremost of all were the gallant exiles of the Irish brigade." Voltaire, however, speaking of the troops who charged on the right flank, takes care to say "*Les Irlandais les secondent.*" But, perhaps, the best attestation to the services of the brigade was the imprecation on the Penal Code wrung from King George when he was told of the events of that day, "Cursed be the laws which deprive *me* of such subjects!"

glorious achievements of the brigade and the honors paid to Irish soldiers, a sudden but silent flush of triumph and of hope broke upon the oppressed race; and many a gloomy countenance brightened with a gleam of stern joy, in the thought that the long-mourned "Wild geese" would one day return, with freedom and vengeance in the flash of the bayonets of Fontenoy.

CHAPTER XI.

1745—1753.

Alarm in England—Expedition of Prince Charles Edward—"A Message of Peace to Ireland"—Viceroyalty of Chesterfield—Temporary Toleration of the Catholics—Berkeley—The Scottish Insurrection—Culloden—"Loyalty" of the Irish—Lucas and the Patriots—Debates on the Supplies—Boyle and Malone—Population of Ireland.

The battle of Fontenoy was an event in the history of Ireland—not only by the reflected glory of Irish heroism, but because disaster to England was followed, as usual, by a relaxation of the atrocities inflicted upon Irish Catholics, under the Penal Code. England, indeed, was in profound alarm, and not without cause, for, not only had the campaign in the Netherlands gone so decidedly against her, but almost immediately after it became known that preparations were on foot in France for a new invasion on behalf of Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender." The prince was now twenty-five years of age. He had been wasting away his youth at Rome, where his father, James III., then resided. In 1742 he was recalled to France, and some hopes were held out of giving him an armed force of French, Scotch, and Irish, to assert his father's rights to the crown of England. For three years he had waited impatiently for his opportunity; but the times were then so busy that nobody thought of him. It was the Cardinal de Tencin who one day advised him to wait no longer, but go with a few friends to some point in the north of Scotland. "Your presence alone," said the cardinal, "will create for you a party and an army; then France must send you succor." In short, the prince consulted with a few of his friends, chiefly Irish officers; an armed vessel of eighteen guns was placed at his disposal by an Irish merchant of Nantes, named Walsh; a French ship-of-war was ordered to escort him; and on the 12th of June, just one month after Fontenoy, he set sail with only seven attendants upon his adventurous errand. The seven who accompanied him were the Marquis of Tullibardine, brother to the Duke of Athol, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Colonel O'Sullivan ("who was appointed," says Voltaire, "*Maréchal des Logis* of the army not yet in being"), a Scotch officer named MacDonald, an Irish officer named Kelly, and an English one named Strickland. They landed on the bare shore of Moidart, in the highlands, where the prince was quickly joined by some of the Jacobite clans, the MacDonald, Lochiel, Cameron, and Fraser. The Dukes of Argyle and Queensberry, however, who controlled other powerful clans, kept aloof and prepared to take the part of the reigning king. King George was at this moment in Hanover; but the lords of his council of regency made the best arrangements possible for resistance in a country so nearly stripped of all its regular troops, and set a price upon the prince's head.

In this emergency it was necessary to think of Ireland, as it was considered certain that the prince must have had agents in that country to stir up its ancient Jacobite spirit; besides, it was known that the principal chiefs of the enterprise were officers of the Irish brigade, coming flushed from Fontenoy; and the Government thought it was not in the nature of things that there could be tranquillity in Ireland. There must surely be an arrangement either for stirring an insurrection in the island itself or for sending fighting men to Scotland. On the whole, it was judged needful, in this dangerous crisis of British affairs, to show some indulgence to the Irish, and, accordingly, in the month of September, just as Prince Charles Edward was leading his mountaineers into Edinburgh, an amiable viceroy was sent to Dublin, bearing what might be called a "message of peace to Ireland." This was the Earl of Chesterfield, who had a reputation for gallantry, accomplishments, and an easy disposition. What Lord Chesterfield's secret instructions were, we can

only judge by the course of his administration. He at once put a stop to the business of priest-hunting, and allowed the Catholic chapels in Dublin and elsewhere to be opened for service. On the 8th of October he met Parliament; and although in his speech on that occasion he recommended the Houses to turn their attention to the laws against Popery and consider whether they needed any amendment, yet this was expressed in a cold and rather equivocal manner, which greatly disgusted the fierce and gloomy bigots of the "Ascendency." He recommended no new penal laws, thinking probably there were quite enough already, and did not even introduce that traditional exhortation to the Houses—to exercise extreme vigilance in putting in force that Penal Code which they already had in such high perfection.

He soon made it evident, in short, that active persecution was to be suspended, although that indulgence was contrary to law; and those too zealous magistrates who had earned distinction by active prosecution of Papists under former viceroys found only discouragement and rebuke at the Castle. Chancellors, judges, and sheriffs were made to understand that if they would do the king's business aright this time, they must leave the "common enemy" in peace for the present. But Lord Chesterfield, immediately on coming over, employed many confidential agents, or, in short, spies, to find out what the Catholics were doing, thinking of, and talking about—whether there were any secret meetings—above all, whether there was any apparent diminution in the numbers of young men at fairs and other gatherings; in short, whether there was any migration to Scotland, or any uneasy movement of the people, as if in expectation of something coming.* Nothing of all this did he find, and, in truth, nothing of the kind existed. The people were perfectly tranquil, not much seeming even to know or to care what was going on in Scotland, enjoying quietly their unwonted exemption from the actual lash of the penal laws, and even repairing to holy wells again without fear of fine and whipping. It is true the lash was still held over them, and they were soon to feel it; true, also, that they were still excluded from all rights and franchises as strictly as ever. Not one penal law was repealed or altered; but there was at least forbearance towards their worship and their clergy. They might see a venerable priest now walking, in daylight, even from his "registered" parish into another, to perform some rite or service of religion, without fear of informers, of handcuffs, and of transportation. Nay, bishops and vicars apostolic could venture to cross the sea, and ordain priests and confirm children, in a quiet way; and it was believed that not even a monk could frighten Lord Chesterfield, who, in fact, had lived for years in France, and respected a monk quite as much as a rector of the Establishment.

Having once satisfied himself that there was no insurrectionary movement in the country, and none likely to be, he was not to be moved from his tolerant course by any complaints or remonstrances. Far from yielding to the feigned alarm of those who solicited him to raise new regiments, he sent four battalions of the soldiers then in Ireland to reinforce the Duke of Cumberland. He discouraged jobs, kept down expenses, took his pleasure, and made himself exceedingly popular in his intercourse with Dublin society; and not having forgotten the precepts which he had given to his son, the old beau (he was now fifty-two) pretended, from habit, to be making love to the wives of men of all parties. When some savage Ascendency Protestant would come to him with tales of alarm, he usually turned the conversation into a tone of light badinage, which perplexed and baffled the man. One came to seriously put his lordship on his guard by acquainting him with the fact that his own coachman was in the habit of going to Mass. "Is it possible?" cried Chesterfield; "then I will take care the fellow shall not drive *me* there." A courtier burst into his apartment one morning, while he was sipping his chocolate in bed, with the start-

* Plowden. This worthy writer, as well as his predecessor, Dr. Curry, is very emphatic in establishing the "loyal" attitude of the Irish people upon this occasion. Dr. Curry takes pains to prove "that no Irish Catholic, lay or clerical, was any way engaged in the Scottish rebellion of 1815." It is probable that Sheridan, O'Sullivan, Kelly, and other French-Irish officers, who fought in Scotland, were Frenchmen by birth, like Lally, Dillon, and Clare.

ling intelligence that "the Papists were rising" in Connaught. "Ah!" he said, looking at his watch, "'tis nine o'clock; time for them to rise." There was evidently no dealing with such a viceroy as this, who showed such insensibility to the perils of Protestantism and the evil designs of the dangerous Papists. Indeed, he was seen to distinguish by his peculiar admiration a Papist beauty, Miss Ambrose, whom he declared to be the only "dangerous Papist" he had met in Ireland.

It was during this period of quietude and comparative relief that the excellent Bishop Berkeley, of Cloyne, wrote a pamphlet in the form of an address to the Roman Catholics of his diocese of Cloyne. He had evidently feared that the Irish Catholics were secretly engaged in a conspiracy to make an insurrection in aid of the Pretender; and writes in a kind and paternal manner, exhorting them to keep the peace and attend quietly to their own industry, though, indeed, the bishop is evidently at a loss for arguments which he can urge upon this proscribed, disfranchised race, why they *should* take their lot quietly and be loyal to a Government that does not recognize their existence.

In the meanwhile, Prince Charles Edward, with his highlanders, had won the battle of Preston-pans, near Edinburgh (2d of October), and a few days after that victory arrived a French and a Spanish ship, bringing money and a supply of Irish officers, who, having served in France and Spain, were capable of disciplining his rude troops.* He marched south-westward, took and garrisoned Carlisle, advanced through Lancashire, where a body of three hundred English joined his standard, and thence as far as Derby, within thirty leagues of London. Report, which exaggerates every thing, represented his army as amounting to thirty thousand men, and all Lancashire as having declared in his favor. The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended; the shops were closed for a day or two; and Dutch and Hessian troops were brought over in a great hurry from the Continent. The Franco-Irish soldiers in the service of France now became violently excited and impatient. They imagined that a descent upon England, in the neighborhood of Plymouth, would be quite practicable, as the passage is so short from Calais or Boulogne. The plan was to cross by night with ten thousand men and some cannon. Once disembarked, a great part of England would rise to join them, and they could easily form a junction with the prince, probably near London. The officers, of whom the most active in this business was Lally, demanded, as leader of the expedition, the Duke de Richelieu, who had fought with them at Fontenoy. They urged their point so earnestly that at length permission was granted. But the expedition never took place on any thing like the scale on which it was projected. M. de Voltaire, in describing the preparations, for once departs from his usual rule so far as to praise an Irishman. He says: "Lally, who has since then been a lieutenant-general, and who died so tragic a death, was the soul of the enterprise. The writer of this history, who long worked along with him, can affirm that he has never seen a man more full of zeal, and that there needed nothing to the enterprise but possibility. It was impossible to go to sea in face of the English squadrons; and the attempt was regarded in London as absurd."*

In fact, only a handful of troops was actually sent; and those troops were not Irish, but Scotch. Lord Drummond, brother of the Duke of Perth, an officer in the French service, set forth in one vessel, by way of the German Sea, and arrived safely at Montrose with three companies of the *Royal Ecossais*, a Scottish regiment in French service. But before this small reinforcement arrived, the

* Voltaire.

* Any attempt of any kind is always regarded in London as absurd; and Voltaire was always too ready to adopt the view of English affairs which the English chose to give. He never wished for the success of the Stuarts; considered the House of Hanover a blessing to England, and did not care for Ireland at all. The reasons why he disliked the Irish were, first, that they were good Catholics, and, next, that the Irish in France were not very modest in asserting their pretensions and demanding recognition of their services. It was Voltaire's correspondent, D'Argenson, when minister, that said once to King Louis, "Those Irish troops give more trouble than all the rest of your majesty's army." "My enemies say so," answered the king.

army of the Prince had already retired from the centre of England; it had been diminished and weakened by various causes, the principal of which were jealousies of highland chiefs against one another, and of lowland lairds against them all, together with a general lack of discipline, and ere long a lack of provisions also. The Jacobite force made the best of its way back to Scotland, and soon after (January 28, 1746), utterly defeated an English force at Falkirk. This was the last of its successes. The Duke of Cumberland was now marching into Scotland with a considerable army, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 10th of February. Prince Charles Edward was obliged to raise the siege of Stirling Castle. The winter was severe, and subsistence was scarce. His last resource was now in the northern highlands, where there was still a force on foot, watching the seaports to receive the supplies which might still be sent from France; but most of the vessels destined to that service were captured by English cruisers. Three companies of the Irish regiment of Fitzjames arrived safely, and were received by the highlanders with acclamations of joy—the women running down to meet them and leading the officers' horses by the bridles. Still the prince was now hard pressed by the English; he retired to Inverness, which he made his headquarters; and on the 23d of April he learned that the duke, steadily advancing through the mountains, had crossed the river Spay, and felt that a decisive battle was now imminent. On the 27th the two armies were in presence at Culloden—the prince with five thousand men or less, the duke with ten thousand, well supplied with both cavalry and artillery. The English were by this time accustomed to the highland manner of fighting, which had so intimidated them at first, and with such superiority of numbers and equipments the event could scarcely be doubtful. The prince's small army was totally defeated, with a loss of nine hundred killed and three hundred and twenty prisoners. The prince himself made his way into the mountains, accompanied by his faithful friends, Sheridan and O'Sullivan; and his adventures, concealments, and ultimate escape are sufficiently well known. This was the last struggle of the Stuarts, and their cause was now lost utterly and forever. There were still, from time to time, plots, and even attempts by the Scottish Jacobites to make at least some commencement of a new insurrection, but all in vain. Ever after Jacobitism existed only in songs and toasts, sung and pledged in private society; and many a house in Edinburgh and glen in the highlands is yet made to ring with those plaintive or warlike lyrics. So long as the prince lived, the health of Prince Charlie was often drunk, or, "The King over the Water;" but he died in Florence in 1788, without legitimate posterity, and the cause of the ancient family sank definitively into the domain of sentimental associations and romantic souvenirs.

Almost at the very moment of the battle of Culloden the conciliatory Earl of Chesterfield was recalled from Ireland. His work was done, and done well. "England," says Plowden, with more than his usual point and force, "England was out of danger, and Ireland could securely be put again under its former *régime*." After a short interregnum, under three lords-justices, the Earl of Harrington was appointed lord-lieutenant on the 13th of September.

There was certainly no excuse for bringing the Irish back under the unmitigated terrors of the penal laws, on account of any manifestation of turbulence, or of a design "to bring in the Pretender" during the last insurrection. On this point the most hostile authorities agree, and, although we do not take credit for the fact as a proof of "loyalty" to the House of Hanover, the fact itself is indisputable. One remarkable witness is worth hearing on this question. In the year 1762, upon a debate in the House of Lords about the expediency of raising five regiments of these Catholics, for the service of the King of Portugal, Doctor Stone (then primate), in answer to some commonplace objections against the good faith and loyalty of these people, which were revived with virulence on that occasion, declared publicly, in the House of Lords, that "in the year 1747, after that rebellion was entirely suppressed, happening to be in England, he had an opportunity of perusing all the papers of the rebels, and their correspondents, which

were seized in the custody of Murray, the Pretender's secretary; and that, after having spent much time and taken great pains in examining them (not without some share of the then common suspicion, that there might be some private understanding and intercourse between them and the Irish Catholics), he could not discover the least trace, hint, or intimation of such intercourse or correspondence in them; or of any of the latter's favoring, abetting, or having been so much as made acquainted with the designs or proceedings of these rebels. And what," he said, "he wondered at most of all was, that in all his researches, he had not met with any passage in any of these papers, from which he could infer that either their Holy Father the Pope, or any of his cardinals, bishops, or other dignitaries of that church, or any of the Irish clergy, had, either, directly or indirectly, encouraged, aided, or approved of, the commencing or carrying on of that rebellion."

Another, and still more singular attestation to the same fact is in Chief-Justice Marlay's address to the Dublin Grand-Jury, after the suppression of the Scottish insurrection. "When posterity read . . . that Ireland, where much the greatest part of the inhabitants profess a religion which sometimes has authorized, or at least justified rebellion, not only preserved peace at home, but contributed to restore it amongst his subjects of Great Britain, will they not believe that the people of Ireland were actuated by something more than their duty and allegiance? Will they not be convinced that they were animated by a generous sense of gratitude and zeal for their great benefactor, and fully sensible of the happiness of being blessed by living under the protection of a monarch, who, like the glorious King William," &c. Thus, if Irish Catholics of the present day are willing to plume themselves, as some Catholic writers have done, upon the unshaken loyalty of their ancestors in 1745, there is no doubt that they are fully entitled to all the credit which can come to them from that circumstance.

Under Lord Harrington's administration the debates on money bills formed the chief subject of public interest, and the only field on which Irish "patriotism" and the champions of English domination tried their strength. It was also becoming a matter more and more important to the English Government, because, notwithstanding the discouragements of trade and the distresses of the country people, Ireland had now a surplus revenue to dispose of, and the Patriots naturally supposed this to be fairly applicable to public works within the island. Primate Stone, however, who was now in possession of all the influence of Boulter, and imbued with the same thoroughly British principles, contended that all the surplus revenue of Ireland, as a dependent kingdom, belonged of right to the Crown. The Patriot party were led chiefly by two men—Henry Boyle, the Speaker of the House, and the Prime Sergeant Antony Malone—the former an ambitious and intriguing politician, the latter an eloquent debater and most able constitutional lawyer. Outside of the House the patriotic spirit of the people—that is, the Protestant people—was inflamed by the writings of Dr. Charles Lucas, who had now, from petty corporation politics, risen to the height of the great argument of national independence. But it soon appeared that the Irish House of Commons was not yet prepared for the reception of such bold doctrines. Lucas and his writings were made the subject of a resolution in the House of Commons; he was but faintly defended by his own partisans, and the resolution passed, declaring him as "an enemy to his country," even for asserting the rightful independence of that very Parliament which proscribed him. This event befell in 1749; a reward was offered for the apprehension of Lucas, and he fled from the kingdom. As usual in such cases, the persecution directed against him attracted more attention to his writings and bred more sympathy with his principles; so that when he returned a few years after, he became for a time the most popular man in the kingdom. To international questions thus narrowed down to the mere right of voting or withholding money, it was impossible to give any high constitutional interest, and, in fact, during this administration not a single step in advance was gained by the "Patriot" party. The struggle for power and influence between Primate Stone and Speaker Boyle "was no more," says Mac

Nevin, "than the struggle of two ambitious and powerful men for their own ends."

In 1751 Lord Harrington was recalled. The Duke of Dorset, for the second time, came to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, and the question of Irish parliamentary control over the revenues of the country came at last to a crisis, and received a solution very little to the comfort of the Patriots. In the last session under Harrington's viceroyalty, as there was a considerable surplus in the Irish Exchequer, the House of Commons determined to apply it towards the discharge of the national debt. A bill had been accordingly prepared and transmitted to England with this view, to which was affixed the preamble: "Whereas, on the 25th of March last a considerable balance remained in the hands of the vice-treasurers or receivers-general of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your majesty's service, and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be conveniently spared should be paid, agreeably to your majesty's most gracious intention, in discharge of part of the national debt," &c. On the transmission of this bill to London (Mr. Pelham being then prime minister), it was urged by the warm partisans of prerogative in the council that the Commons of Ireland had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take into consideration the propriety of such appropriation, without the previous consent of the crown formally declared. When the Duke of Dorset came over, and opened the session of 1751, he informed the two Houses that he was commanded by the king to acquaint them that his majesty, ever thoughtful of the welfare and happiness of his subjects, would graciously *consent* and recommend it to them that such part of the money then remaining in his treasury, as should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. "Consent" involved a principle, and the Commons took fire at the word. They framed the bill, appropriating £120,000 for the purpose already stated, and omitted in its preamble all mention of the consent. But ministers returned it with an alteration in the preamble signifying the consent and containing the indispensable word. And the House, unwilling to drive the matter to extremities, passed the bill without further notice. Thus was established a precedent for the King of England consenting to the Irish Parliament voting their own money. So far had the differences proceeded, when Mr. Pelham died, and the Duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him as prime minister, zealous to uphold the prerogative, to improve upon the precedent, and to repeat the lesson just given to the aspiring colonists of Ireland, sent positive directions to Dorset, in opening the session of 1753, to repeat the expression of his majesty's gracious consent in mentioning the application of surplus revenue. The House, in their Address, not only again omitted all reference to that gracious consent, but even the former expressions of grateful acknowledgment; and the bill of supplies was actually transmitted to England without the usual complimentary preamble. The ministers of the crown in England, in their great wisdom, thought fit to supply it thus: "And your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would *consent*," and so forth.

When the bill came over thus amended there was much excitement both in Parliament and in society. Malone was learned and convincing. Boyle, by his extensive influence and connections in Parliament, powerfully seconded, or rather led, the opposition. And, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the king's servants to do the king's business, the spirit of independence was sufficiently roused to cause the entire defeat of the amended bill, though only by a majority of five votes. The Commons wished to appropriate the money—the king consented, and insisted upon consenting; and then the Commons would not appropriate it at all, because the king consented. The defeat of the bill was considered as a victory of Patriotism, and was celebrated with universal rejoicings—even the Catholics joining in the general joy, for they felt instinctively that it was the weight of English predominance which kept them in their degraded position, and necessarily sympathized with every struggle against that. Yet, after all, this spirited conduct of the Commons was but

an impotent protest; for the public service was now left wholly unprovided for, the circulation of money almost ceased, trade and business suffered, and a clamor soon arose, not more against the Government than against the Patriots. Thus the Court party had its revenge. The lord-lieutenant took the whole surplus revenue out of the treasury by virtue of a "royal letter"; so the king, after all, not only consented to the act, but did the act wholly himself; and Speaker Boyle was removed from his seat at the Privy Council, and Malone's patent of precedence as prime sergeant was annulled. The viceroy and the primate took care to put some mark of royal displeasure upon every one who had voted down the Supply Bill; and it may be doubted whether the English interest did not gain a more decisive victory by thus trampling with impunity upon all constitutional forms, than if the Irish Parliament had quietly submitted to the servile form prescribed to it. There was no visible remedy; the mob of Dublin might hoot the viceroy when his coach appeared in the streets; they could threaten and mob the primate or Hutchinson, or others who were conspicuous in asserting the obnoxious royal prerogative; yet they had no alternative but to submit. In the discussion of this question we might repeat the words of Swift when speaking of the case of Molyneux: "The love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed, the arguments on *both* sides were invincible. For, in reason, all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery; but, in fact, eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt."

Up to this period we have invariably found the struggles of the colony to take rank as a nation—of its Parliament to assert its independence—successfully resisted and triumphantly crushed down. The assertion of the jurisdiction of the Irish lords in the case of "Sherlock and Annesley" was instantly followed by the Declaratory Act, which enacted that the Irish lords had no jurisdiction at all. The more anxiously our Irish Parliament affirmed its sovereign right, the more systematically were acts passed by the English Parliament to bind Ireland. And now the attempted vindication by the Irish Legislature of its right to vote, or not vote, its own money, was only the occasion of a high-handed royal outrage, trampling upon every pretence of constitutional law; and Irish "Patriots," if unanswerable in their arguments, were impotent to make them good in fact; for "the arguments on *both* sides were invincible." It is, in truth, impossible to avoid assent to the conclusions of Lord Clare (not O'Brien, King James's Lord Clare, but Fitzgibbon, King George's Lord Clare), in his often-quoted speech fifty years later, in so far as he demonstrated the anomalous and untenable relation between the two Parliaments of England and of Ireland. This English Protestant colony in Ireland, which aspired to be a nation, amounted to something under half a million of souls in 1754.* It was out of the question that it should be united on a footing of equality with its potent mother country, by "the golden link of the crown," because the wearer of that crown was sure to be guided in his policy by English ministers, in accordance with English interests; and as the army was the king's army, he could always enforce that policy. The fatal weakness of the colony was, that it would not amalgamate with the mass of the Irish people, so as to form a true nation, but set up the vain pretension to hold down a whole disfranchised people with one hand, and defy all England with the other.

Still the colonists were multiplying and growing rich; and happily for them, England was on the eve of disaster and humiliation; and a quarter of a century later a gracious opportunity was to arise which gave them real independence for at least a few years.

* We take the estimate of the entire population for that year from the tables in Thom's official Almanac and Directory. For 1754 it is estimated at 2,372,634 men, women, and children. At the rate of five Catholics to one Protestant (which is Dr. Boulter's estimate), the *active* part of the population was under half a million. The rest was assumed by law not to exist in the world.

CHAPTER XII.

1753—1760.

Unpopularity of the Duke of Dorset—Earl of Kildare—His Address—Patriots in power—Pension List—Duke of Bedford lord-lieutenant—Case of Saul—Catholic meeting in Dublin—Commencement of Catholic agitation—Address of the Catholics received—First recognition of the Catholics as subjects—Lucasian mobs—Project of Union—Thurot's expedition—Death of George II.—Population—Distress of the country—Operation of the Penal Laws—The Geoghegans—Catholic Petition—Berkeley's "Querist."

After these high-handed measures of the English ministry, of which Dorset was but the instrument, he became intolerable to the people of Dublin, as well as his son, Lord George Sackville, the primate, and every one professing "to do the king's business in Ireland." The duke, even before being recalled, found it necessary to go over to England, partly to avoid the odium of the Irish, but chiefly to take care of his interests and those of his family at the court. The colonial patriotism ran high; the mob of Dublin became "Lucasian." The primate durst not appear on the streets; and the manner was then first introduced of expressing, by toasts, at private supper parties, some stirring patriotic sentiment or keen invective against the administration, in terse language, which would pass from mouth to mouth, and thence get into the newspapers. One of these toasts was, "May all Secretary-Bashaws and lordly high-priests be kept to their tackle, the sword and the Bible." Another was, "May the importation of *Ganymedes* into Ireland be discontinued," which was an allusion to unnamable vices attributed to Primate Stone.

However, the chief interest of the struggle between court and country was now, for the moment, transferred to the cabinets and antechambers of ministers at London. The Earl of Kildare, afterwards Duke of Leinster, a high-spirited nobleman, as became his Geraldine blood, was moved with indignation at the late proceedings in his country; for the Geraldines had always considered themselves Irish, and long before these Cromwellian and Williamite colonists had appeared in the island his ancestors were not only Irish and chiefs of Clan-Geralt, but were even reproached as being actually more Irish than the Irish. Of course, the family had long ago "conformed," like most of the O'Briens and De Burghos, and many other ancient tribes of French and Irish stock; otherwise the earl could not have sat in Parliament, nor taken the bold step which so much astonished British courtiers at this period. He went over to London, had an audience of the king, and presented him with his own hand an address of remonstrance from himself against the whole course of the Irish Government under Lord Dorset. This document spoke very plainly to the king; told him "his loyal kingdom of Ireland wore a face of discontent;" that this discontent proceeded not from faction, but from the malfeasance of ministers; it complained of the odious duumvirate of the primate and the viceroy; compared the latter with Strafford, the former with Laud and Wolsey, and especially exposed the insolent behavior of Dorset's son, Lord George Sackville, in mischievously meddling with all the public affairs of the kingdom.

Ministers were surprised at what they considered the boldness of this proceeding. The Earl of Holderness writes to the Irish Chancellor Jocelyn, "My good lord chancellor—I am not a little concerned that the noble Earl of Kildare should take so bold a step as he may repent hereafter. * * He was but ill received, and very coolly dismissed, as, indeed, the presumption well merited; for why should his majesty receive any remonstrances concerning his kingdom or government, but from the proper ministers, or through the usual channels, namely, both Houses of Parliament? I desire my compliments may attend his grace, my lord primate, and wish him success in all laudable endeavors for *poor Ireland*." But, in fact, although the earl's address was spoken of generally as an act of temerity "which nothing but the extreme mildness of government could allow to remain unpunished," yet it appears he felt extremely easy about these hints of danger to himself. If it be true that he was "coolly dismissed" from the royal audience, yet the government of Ireland was very quickly modelled upon his views, or almost placed

substantially in his hands. Dorset was soon recalled, and was succeeded by the Lord Hartington, a personal and political ally of Kildare. Mr. Plowden alleges, and the result seems to confirm it, that this viceroy came over to Ireland leagued by a secret treaty with the Patriot party, through the intermediation of Lord Kildare, and in especial had a clear understanding with Boyle and Malone. Stone was removed from the privy council; Boyle was made Earl of Shannon, and entered the Upper House, accepting at the same time a pension of £2,000 for thirty-one years. Ponsonby was elected Speaker in his place. The system of the English Court was now to buy up the Patriots with place and patronage. Even Malone was promised the succession to Boyle as Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the public, and his own respectable family, raised such an outcry against this that he was ashamed to accept it, and declined. Boyle continued nominal chancellor, and Malone condescended to receive the profits of the place. We hear but little more of any trouble given to English rule by this band of Irish Patriots, and the bitter reflection of Thomas MacNevin upon the whole transaction seems well justified. "Despotism, without corruption, was not considered as a fit exemplar of government, and the matter for the present terminated by a title and a pension conferred on the greatest Patriot of the day. Henry Boyle bore about the blushing honors of his public virtue, emblazoned on the coronet of the Earl of Shannon. The primate did not fare so well; he was removed from the privy council. The rest of the Patriots found comfortable retreats in various lucrative offices, and the most substantial compliments were paid to those who were noisiest in their patriotism and fiercest in their opposition."

In 1756 the lord-lieutenant, now Duke of Devonshire, after having thus gratified the "Patriots," returned to England in delicate health—leaving as lords-justices, Jocelyn, lord chancellor, and the Earls of Kildare and Bessborough.

It is painful to be obliged to admit that the transferrence of the power and patronage of the Irish Government into the hands of the Patriots was not productive of any whole-some effect whatsoever—neither in favor of the Catholic masses (for the Patriots were their mortal enemies), nor in favor of public virtue and morality, for nobody demands to be bought at so high a price as a patriot. Accordingly, we soon find the whole attention of Parliament and of the country absorbed by inquiries into the enormously increased pension list upon the Irish Establishment. In March, 1756, some member (unpensioned) of the Commons, introduced a bill to vacate the seats of such members of the House of Commons as should accept any pension or civil office of profit from the Crown. It was voted down by a vote of eighty-five to fifty-nine—a fatal and ominous warning to the nation. On the day when that measure was debated, a return of pensions was brought in and read. Many of the first names in Ireland appear upon the shameful list; many foreigners or Englishmen; few or no meritorious servants of the state. The Countess of Yarmouth stood upon that return for £4,000; Mr. Bellingham Boyle, a near relative of the illustrious "Patriot," for £800 "during pleasure" (that is, so long as he should make himself generally useful), and the Patriot himself, now Earl of Shannon, closed up the list with his pension of £2,000 a year.

Although the bill to vacate the seats of pensioners was lost, the revelations of prevailing corruption were so gross that certain other members of Parliament, not yet pensioned, again returned to the charge upon this popular grievance. A series of resolutions was, in fact, reported by the committee on public accounts, not, indeed, making personal and ungracious reference to the private concerns of members of Parliament, but stating in general terms that the pension list had become altogether too enormous; that it had been increased since the 23d of March, 1755—that is, within one year—by no less than £28,103 *per annum;* that these pensions were lavished upon *foreigners*, and upon people not resident in Ireland; and that all this was a loss and injury to the nation and to his majesty's service. Upon these resolutions, which did not touch too closely the Patriots' own private arrangements, there was a patriotic struggle, and even a patriotic triumph. The resolutions

were passed, and were presented by Speaker Ponsonby to the viceroy, with the usual request that they should be transmitted to the king. He only replied that the matter was of too high a nature for him to promise at once that he would forward such resolutions. Thereupon the Speaker returned to the House and reported his reception. It was determined to make a stand, and next day a motion was made that all orders not yet proceeded on should be adjourned, the House not having yet received any answer from the lord-lieutenant as to the transmission of their resolutions. This, of course, meant that they would vote no supplies until they should be satisfied on that point. The motion to adjourn every thing was carried, by a strict party vote—those in favor of the resolutions voting for the adjournment, and those opposed to them voting against it. The lord-lieutenant immediately sent a message that he would transmit the resolutions without delay. Thus a small patriotic victory was gained without any one being injured, for nothing whatsoever came of these resolutions.

In September, 1757, the Duke of Bedford came over as lord-lieutenant—specially instructed by Mr. Pitt to go upon the conciliatory policy. He was to employ all softening and healing arts of government. In fact, it is to the Duke of Bedford's administration we are to go back for the commencement of that well-known Whig policy, of making use of the Patriotic Irish party, and even of the Catholics themselves, in support of the Whig party in England. There had been lately a considerable aggravation of the sufferings of the Catholics under the penal laws; the gentleness and forbearance exercised towards them during Chesterfield's viceroyalty had no longer a sufficient reason and motive; the halcyon days of connivance and extra-legal toleration were over, and the Catholics were once more under the full pressure of the laws "for preventing the growth of Popery."

A remarkable example of this low condition of the Catholics occurred the year following. A young Catholic girl named O'Toole was importuned by some of her friends to conform to the Established Church; to avoid this persecution, she took refuge in the house of another friend and relative, a Catholic merchant in Dublin, named Saul. Legal proceedings were at once taken against Mr. Saul, in the name of a Protestant connection of the young lady. Of course, the trial went against Saul; and on this occasion he was assured from the bench that Papists had no rights, inasmuch as "the law did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom; *nor could they so much as breathe there without the connivance of Government.*" And the court was right, for such was actually the "Law," or what passed for law in Ireland at that time.

On the arrival of the Duke of Bedford there had even been prepared, by some members of Parliament, the "heads of a bill" for a new and more stringent penal law regulating the registration of priests, and intended to put an effectual end, by dreadful penalties, to the regular course of hierarchical church government, which had, up to that time, been carried on regularly, though clandestinely and against the law. The menace of this new law and the late proceedings respecting Mr. Saul, caused a good deal of agitation and excitement among the Catholics, and the leading people of that religion in Dublin even ventured to hold small meetings in an obscure manner, to consult on the best way of meeting the fresh atrocities which were now threatened. In these preliminary meetings two factions at once developed themselves; the long period of unacquaintance with all political and civil life had rendered the Catholic people almost incapable of efficient organization and co-operation; and so they divided forthwith into two parties—the one led by Lord Trimbleston, the other by Dr. Fitzsimon. At length certain of the more rational and moderate leaders of the Catholics, Charles O'Conor, of Belanagar; Dr. Curry, author of the *Historical Review of the Civil Wars;* Mr. Wyse, a Waterford merchant, together with Lords Fingal, Taaffe, and Delvin, originated a new movement by a meeting in Dublin, which established the first "Catholic Committee," and commenced that career of "agitation" which has since been carried to such great lengths. The first performances of this Catholic Committee have been, and will always be, very variously appreciated by Irish-

men, in accordance with their different ideas as to the policy and duty of a nation held in so degrading a bondage. It became known, during the administration of Lord Bedford, that the Jacobites in France were preparing another expedition for a descent somewhere on the British coast, or Ireland; and on the 29th of October, 1759, the lord-lieutenant delivered a message to Parliament, in which he stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt, written by the king's express command, informing him that France was preparing a new invasion, and desiring him to exhort the Irish people to show on this occasion their tried loyalty and attachment to the House of Hanover. Immediately an address, testifying the most devoted "loyalty," was prepared by the Catholic Committee. It was written by Charles O'Conor, and signed by three hundred of the most respectable Catholic inhabitants of Dublin. But here a difficulty arose; Catholics were not citizens, nor subjects; they were not supposed to exist at all; other attempts they had made to testify their "loyalty" had been repulsed with the most insolent disdain; and they knew well they were exposing themselves to another humiliation of the same kind on the present occasion. However, two bold Papists undertook to present the address to Ponsonby, Speaker of the House of Commons. These were Antony McDermott and John Crump. They waited on the Speaker and read him the loyal manifesto. Mr. Ponsonby, a Whig and a "Patriot," took the document, laid it on the table, said not one word, and bowed the delegates out. There were a few days of agitated suspense; and then, on the 10th of December, the lord-lieutenant sent a gracious answer. He did more; he caused his answer to be printed in the Dublin Gazette, thereby officially recognizing the existence (though humble) of persons calling themselves Catholics in Ireland. The Speaker then sent for the two gentlemen who had presented the address, and ordered Mr. McDermott to read it to the House. Mr. McDermott read it, and then thanked the Speaker, in the name of the Irish Catholics, for his condescension. Mr. Ponsonby most graciously replied "that he counted it a favor to be put in the way of serving so respectable a body as the gentlemen who had signed that address." The Catholics, then, for the first time since the Treaty of Limerick, were publicly and officially admitted to be in a species of existence. Here was a triumph!

In fact, this recognition of Irish Catholics as a part of the King of England's subjects was a kind of admission of that body over the threshold of the temple of civil and constitutional freedom. We may feel indignant at the extreme humility of the proceedings of the committee, and lament that the low condition of our countrymen at that time left them no alternative but that of professing a hypocritical "loyalty" to their oppressors; for the only other alternative was secret organization to prepare an insurrection for the total extirpation of the English colony in Ireland, and, carefully disarmed as the Catholics were, they doubtless felt this to be an impossible project. Yet, for the honor of human nature, it is necessary to state the fact that this profession of loyalty to a king of England was in reality insincere. Hypocrisy, in such a case, is less disgraceful than would have been a genuine canine attachment to the hand that smote and to the foot that kicked.

The real object of the conciliatory policy which the Duke of Bedford was instructed to pursue towards the Catholics was not only to give additional strength to the Whig party in England, but also to prepare the way for a legislative union between the two countries; in other words, a complete absorption and extinguishment of the shadowy nationality of Ireland in the more real and potent nationality of her "sister country," and even so early as the time of Bedford's administration the English ministry had begun to count upon the Catholics as an *anti-Irish* element which might be used to crush the rising aspirations of colonial nationality. Rumors began to be current in Dublin that a project was on foot to destroy the Irish Parliament and effect a union with Great Britain, similar to that which had been made with Scotland; and the people of the metropolis became violently excited. On the 3d of December, in this year (1759), the mob rose and surrounded the Houses of

Parliament with loud outcries. When any member was seen arriving they stopped him, and obliged him to swear that he would oppose a union. The lord chancellor and some of the bishops were hustled and maltreated, and one member of the privy council was flung into the Liffey. The tumult became so dangerous that at length Mr. Speaker Ponsonby, and Mr. Rigby, the secretary, were obliged to make their appearance in the portico of the House, and solemnly assure the people that no union was in contemplation, and that, if such a measure were proposed, they would resist it to the last extremity. The riot, however, was not suppressed without military aid, and, for the first time, zealous patriotic Protestants of the English colony were ridden down by the king's troops. The anti-union demonstration was essentially and exclusively Protestant, and the Catholics of Dublin made haste to clear themselves of all complicity in it. An inquiry was instituted in Parliament to ascertain who were the authors and promoters of the disturbance; and on that occasion, as some of the very persons guilty in that respect did, by their interest in both Houses, endeavor to fix the odium of it on the obnoxious Papists (to which conscious untruth and calumny the war then carrying on against France gave some kind of color), the Catholics thought it high time publicly to vindicate their characters from that and every other vile suspicion of disloyalty, by an address to his grace the lord-lieutenant, testifying their warmest gratitude for the lenity they experienced under his majesty's Government, and their readiness to concur with the faithfulest and most zealous of his majesty's other subjects, in opposing, by every means in their power, all, both foreign and domestic, enemies.*

On the same occasion Prime Sergeant Stannard, of the "Patriot" party, a gentleman of high honor and probity, in his speech in the House of Commons, contrasting the riotous conduct of the Lucasians (as they were then called after their chief), with the quiet and dutiful behavior of the Roman Catholics, in that and other dangerous conjunctures, gave the following testimony in favor of these latter: "We have lived amicably and in harmony among ourselves, and without any material party distinctions, for several years past, till within these few months; and during the late wicked rebellion in Scotland, we had the comfort and satisfaction to see that all was quiet here. And to the honor of the Roman Catholics be it remembered, that not a man of them moved tongue, pen, or sword, upon the then or the present occasion; and I am glad to find that they have a grateful and proper sense of the mildness and moderation of our Government. For my part, while they behave with duty and allegiance to the present establishment, I shall hold them as men in equal esteem with others in every point but one; and while their private opinion interferes not with public tranquillity, I think their industry and allegiance ought to be encouraged."

It deserves remark, then, that on this first occasion when a project of legislative union was really entertained by an English ministry, the "Patriot" party, which opposed it, was wholly and exclusively of the Protestant colony, and that the Catholics of Ireland were totally indifferent; and, indeed, they could not rationally be otherwise, as it was quite impossible for them to feel an attachment to a national legislature in which they were not represented, and for whose members they could not even cast a vote.

The French naval expedition was in preparation at the ports of Brest and Dunkirk, and the enthusiastic Franco-Irish officers did not doubt that if it could once land in Ireland, and obtain a first success, the whole Catholic nation would rise to support it. The anticipation would have been realized, if the two squadrons could have united, and then entered a southern or western port. But now, as in other instances, the fortune of war and weather on the sea befriended England. The Brest squadron was a powerful one, and was placed under command of Admiral Conflans; that fitted out at Dunkirk was intrusted to Thurot, who had gained distinction as commander of a privateer, sweeping the Channel and German Ocean of British commerce. In the year 1759, our excellent and conscientious historian, Plowden, was a boy, and in com-

*Curry's Review.

pany with some other Catholic boys, was on board a vessel bound for France, to obtain the education which was by law debarred them at home. Their ship was chased, boarded and captured, between Ostend and Dunkirk, by a French vessel of war, which turned out to be no other than Thurot's ship, the Belle Isle, commanded by that redoubtable sea-rover. The boys, along with the rest of the crew, were carried as prisoners to Flushing, where they remained some weeks, guarded on board the Belle Isle while she was undergoing repairs. Plowden describes here a desperate mutiny of the wild crew of the Belle Isle, which, however, was fiercely suppressed by the officers—Thurot himself killing two of the ringleaders and cutting off the cheek of another. The young prisoners were shortly after exchanged.

This rude but gallant seaman was placed in command of the squadron of five ships then being fitted out at Dunkirk, to cooperate with Conflans. In the autumn of 1759 they both sailed; their rendezvous was to be in the Irish Sea. Conflans was encountered by the English Hawke and entirely defeated, while Thurot, after long cruising around the islands, and wintering in Norway, at last, in February, 1760, entered Lough Foyle with only three of his five vessels. One had been lost, and one had been sent back to France. He did not think fit to come up to Derry, which he probably imagined to be a stronger place than it really was, but coasted round the shores of Antrim, and suddenly appeared before Carrickfergus Castle, on Belfast Lough, upon the 21st of February. He summoned the castle to surrender; it was defended by a small garrison, commanded by a Colonel Jennings; and on Jennings' refusal to capitulate, the cannonade began. The peaceable Protestant citizens of Belfast could now, from their own streets, see the flash and hear the roar of the guns. They did not yet know the force of the invading squadron, and for a time believed that here were at last the French "bringing in the Pretender," overthrowing the "Ascendency," and taking back the forfeited estates. After a gallant resistance, the castle and town of Carrickfergus were taken, but with the loss of a considerable number of French soldiers, and Clobert, the brigadier-general of their land force, was wounded. The French kept possession of the town and castle for five days, and levied some contributions in Carrickfergus of such things as they needed after their long cruise. The town of Belfast contained at that time less than nine thousand inhabitants, but it was a prosperous trading place, and entirely Protestant. Alarm was instantly sent out through the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, the most populous Protestant districts of the island, and within this interval of five days two thousand two hundred and twenty volunteers were thronging towards Belfast, badly armed, indeed, and not disciplined at all, but zealous for the "Ascendency" and the House of Hanover. Thurot had little more than five hundred soldiers left, besides his sailors; he knew also that English men-of-war would very soon appear at the mouth of Belfast Lough; therefore he did not venture upon Belfast, especially as there was no sign of a Catholic rising anywhere to support him. He re-embarked on the 26th, and was encountered in the Irish Sea by three English ships of superior force. He gave battle, and fought with the utmost desperation; but at last his three vessels were captured, after Thurot himself was killed, with three hundred of his men. His shattered ships were towed into a port of the Isle of Man. Testimonies to the humanity and gallantry of this brave officer are freely accorded by his enemies.

King George the Second died this year, after a long and eventful reign. His personal character and dispositions were wholly immaterial to the course of events in this kingdom. Although his English subjects disliked him as a German, to Ireland he was a thorough Englishman—bound by his policy, as well as compelled by his advisers, to maintain the "English Interest," in opposition to that of Ireland. And this point was successfully and triumphantly carried, at every period of his reign, sometimes by strengthening the Court party, sometimes by buying up the "Patriots." There had been (over and above the usual suffering from poverty) two *famines;* also a considerable emigration of Presbyterians from the northern counties, to escape from the pay-

ment of tithes and from the disabilities created by the Test Act. The population of the island remained nearly stationary during the whole reign. In 1726 it was 2,309,106, and in 1754 it was 2,372,634—an increase of little more than sixty thousand in twenty-eight years.* The manufacture of woollen cloth had almost disappeared, but in the eastern part of Ulster the linen trade had taken a considerable extension.

It is impossible to exaggerate, and hard to conceive in all its horror, the misery and degradation of the Catholic people, throughout this whole period, although active persecution ceased during the year of the battle of Fontenoy and the Scottish insurrection. On the whole, this was the era of priest-hunting, of "discoveries," and of an universal plunder of such property as remained in the hands of Catholics. In this pitiful struggle the wild humor of the race would sometimes break out; and often desperate deeds were done by beggared men. The story of two of the Geoghegans, of Meath, is so characteristic of the time as to deserve a place here. It is related by the author of "The Irish Abroad and at Home;" a very desultory and chaotic, but generally both authentic and entertaining, work.

"Seventy or eighty years ago, there resided in Soho Square, London, an Irish Roman Catholic gentleman, known among his friends as 'Geoghegan, of London.' Pretending to be, or being really, alarmed, lest a relative (Mr. Geoghegan, of Jamestown) should conform to the Protestant religion, and possess himself of a considerable property, situate in Westmeath, he resolved upon a proceeding to which the reader will attach any epithet it may seem to warrant.

"He repaired to Dublin, reported himself to the necessary authorities, and professed in all its required legal forms, the Protestant religion on a Sunday, sold his estates on Monday, and relapsed into Popery on Tuesday.

"He did not effect these changes unostentatiously; for 'He saw no reason for *mauvaise honte*,' as he called it. He expressed admiration of the same principle of convenient apostasy, which governed Henri IV.'s acceptance of the French crown. 'Paris vaut bien une messe,' said that gay, chivalrous, but somewhat unscrupulous monarch. Thus, when asked the motive of his abjuration of Catholicism, Geoghegan replied: 'I would rather trust my soul to God for a day, than my property to the fiend forever.'

"This somewhat impious speech was in keeping with his conduct at Christ-Church when he made his religious profession: the sacramental wine being presented to him, he drank off the entire contents of the cup. The officiating clergyman rebuked his indecorum. 'You need not grudge it me,' said the neophyte: 'it's the dearest glass of wine I ever drank.'

"In the afternoon of the same day he entered the Globe Coffee Room, Essex Street, then frequented by the most respectable of the citizens of Dublin. The room was crowded. Putting his hand to his sword, and throwing a glance of defiance around, Geoghegan said,

"'I have read my recantation to-day, and any man who says I did right is a rascal.'

"A Protestant with whom he was conversing the moment before he left home to read his recantation, said to him: 'For all your assumed Protestantism, Geoghegan, you will die a Papist.'

"'Fi donc, mon ami!' replied he. 'That is the *last* thing of which I am capable.'

"One more specimen of the operation of the penal laws may be given.

"Mr. Geoghegan had a relative, Mr. Kedagh Geoghegan, of Donower, in the county of Westmeath, who, though remaining faithful to the creed of his forefathers, enjoyed the esteem and respect of the Protestant resident gentry of his county. Notwithstanding that his profession of the Roman Catholic religion precluded his performing the functions of a grand juror, he attended the assizes at Mullingar regularly, in common with other gentlemen of Westmeath, and dined with the grand jurors.

"On one of those occasions, a Mr. Stepney, a man of considerable fortune in the county, approached him and remarked: 'Geoghegan, that is a capital team to your carriage. I have rarely seen four finer horses—nor bet-

* There was no census taken in either of those years. The estimates of the population given in Thom's Directory are founded upon such returns, parochial registers, and the like, as were accessible.

ter matched. Here, Geoghegan, are twenty pounds,' tendering him a sum of money in gold. 'You understand me. They are mine.' And he moved towards the door, apparently with the intention of taking possession of his purchase. The horses, not yet detached from Mr. Geoghegan's carriage, were still in the yard of the inn close by.

"'Hold, Stepney!' said Geoghegan. 'Wait one moment. I shall not be absent more than that time.' He then quitted the room abruptly, and was seen running in great haste towards the inn at which he always put up.

There was something in the scene which had just occurred which shocked the feelings of the witnesses of it, and something in the manner of Geoghegan, that produced among them a dead silence and a conviction that it was not to end there. Not a word was yet spoken, when the reports of four pistol shots struck their ears, and in a few seconds afterwards Geoghegan was perceived coming from the direction of the inn, laden with fire-arms. He mounted to the room in which the party were assembled, holding by their barrels a brace of pistols in each hand. Walking directly up to Stepney, he said: 'Stepney, you cannot have the horses for which you bid just now.'

"'I can, and will have them.'

"'You can't. I have shot them; and Stepney, unless you be as great a coward as you are a scoundrel, I will do my best to shoot you. Here, choose your weapon, and take your ground. Gentlemen, open if you please and see fair play.'

"He then advanced upon Stepney, offering him the choice of either pair of pistols. Stepney, however, declined the combat and quitted the room, leaving Geoghegan the object of the unanimous condolements of the rest of the party, and overwhelmed with their expressions of sympathy and of regret for the perversion of the law of which Mr. Stepney had just sought to render him the object.

"In tendering twenty pounds for horses that were worth twenty times that sum, Stepney was only availing himself of one of the enactments of the Penal Code, which forbade a Papist the possession of a horse of greater value than five pounds.

"Notwithstanding this incident, old Kedagh Geoghegan continued to visit Mullingar during the assizes for many years afterwards; but to avoid a similar outrage, and to keep in recollection the cruel nature of the Popery laws, his cattle thenceforward consisted of four oxen."

Another and a graver illustration of the general condition of the Catholics is the "Petition and Remonstrance" addressed to King George II. by some members of that body. It is found at length in Dr. Curry's excellent collection, and although it presents no new facts in addition to those already mentioned in the narration, it is interesting as an example of the tone and attitude which Catholics then thought it necessary to assume in addressing their master.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition and Remonstrance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:—We your majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to lay at your majesty's feet this humble remonstrance of some of those grievances and restraints under which we have long labored without murmuring or complaint; and we presume to make this submissive application, from a sense of your Majesty's great and universal clemency, of your gracious and merciful regard to tender consciences, and from a consciousness of our own loyalty, affection, and gratitude to your majesty's person and government, as duties incumbent upon us, which it is our unalterable resolution to pay in all events during the remainder of our lives.

And we are the more emboldened to present this our humble remonstrance, because it appeareth unto us, that the laws by which such grievances are occasioned, and such penalties inflicted upon us, have taken rise rather from private views of expediency and self-interest, or from mistaken jealousies and mistrusts, than from any truly public-spirited motives; inasmuch as they seemed to have infringed certain privileges, rights, and immunities, which had been freely and solemnly granted, together with a promise of further favor and indulgence to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, upon the most valuable

considerations. For we most humbly offer to your majesty's just and generous consideration, that on the 3d day of October, 1691, the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of this kingdom, under the late King James, entered into articles of capitulation at Limerick, whereby, among other things, it was stipulated and agreed, that "the Roman Catholics of Ireland should enjoy such privilege in the exercise of their religion as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II. and that their majesties as soon as their affairs would permit them, would summon a parliament in Ireland, and endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular, as might preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion." Whereupon these noblemen and gentlemen laid down their arms, and immediately submitted to their majesties' government; at the same time that they had offers of powerful assistance from France, which might, if accepted, have greatly obstructed the success of their majesties' arms in the war then carrying on abroad against that kingdom.

And although these articles were duly ratified and confirmed, first by the commander-in-chief of their majesties' forces in Ireland in conjunction with the then lords justices thereof, and afterwards by an act of the Irish parliament, in the ninth year of his majesty King William's reign, by which they became the public faith of the nation, plighted and engaged to these people in as full, firm, and solemn manner, as ever public faith was plighted to any people; yet so far were the Roman Catholics of Ireland from receiving the just benefit thereof; so far from seeing any steps taken, or means used in the Irish parliament, to procure them such promised security, as might preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion, that, on the contrary, several laws have been since enacted in that parliament, by which the exercise of their religion is made penal, and themselves and their heirs forever have forfeited those rights, immunities, and titles to their estates and properties, which in the reign of King Charles II. they were by law entitled to, and enjoyed in common with the rest of their fellow-subjects.

And such is the evil tendency of these laws to create jealousy and disgust between parents and their children, and especially to stifle in the breasts of the latter those pious sentiments of filial duty and obedience which reason dictates, good policy requires, and which the Almighty so strictly enjoins, that in virtue of them, a son, however undutiful or profligate in other respects, shall merely by the merit of conforming to the established religion, not only deprive the Roman Catholic father of that free and full possession of his estate, that power to mortgage or otherwise dispose of it, as the exigencies of his affairs may require, but also shall himself have full liberty to mortgage, sell, or otherwise alienate that estate from his family forever; a liberty most gracious sovereign, the frequent use of which has entailed poverty and despair on some of the most ancient and opulent families in this kingdom, and brought many a parent's gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

And although very few estates at present remain in the hands of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and therefore little or no matter appears to be left for these laws to operate upon, nevertheless, we are so far from being secure in the possession of personal property, so far from being preserved from any disturbance on account of our religion, even in that respect, that new and forced constructions have been of late years put upon these laws (for we cannot think that such constructions were ever originally intended), by which, on the sole account of our religion, we are in many cases, stripped of that personal property by discoverers and informers; a set of men, most gracious sovereign, once generally and justly despised amongst us, but of late grown into some repute, by the increase of their numbers, and by the frequency, encouragement, and success of their practices.

These and many other cruel restrictions (such as no Christian people under heaven but ourselves are made liable to) are and have long been greatly detrimental, not only to us in particular, but also to the commerce, culture, and every other improvement of this kingdom in general; and what is surely a melancholy consideration, are chiefly beneficial to the discoverers and informers

before mentioned; who under color of these laws, plunder indiscriminately, parents, brethren, kinsmen, and friends, in despite of all the ties of blood, of affection and confidence, in breach of the divine laws, of all former human laws, enacted in this or perhaps in any other kingdom, for the security of property, since the creation of the world.

The necessity of continuing laws in their full force for so great a number of years, which are attended with such shameful and pernicious consequences, ought, we humbly conceive, to be extremely manifest, pressing, and permanent; but so far is this from being the case with respect to these disqualifying laws, that even the pretended grounds for those jealousies and mistrusts, which are said to have given birth to them, have long since disappeared; it being a well-known and undeniable truth, that your majesty's distressed, but faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, have neither the inclination nor the power to disturb your majesty's government; nor can (we humbly presume) that only pretext now left for continuing them in force, viz. their tendency to make proselytes to the established religion, in any degree justify the manifold severities and injuries occasioned by them. For, alas! most gracious sovereign, there is but too much reason to believe, that proselytes so made are, for the most part, such in appearance only in order to become in reality, what all sincere Christians condemn and detest, undutiful children, unnatural brethren, or perfidious friends; and we submit it to your majesty's great wisdom and goodness, whether motives so repugnant to the public interest, and to all social, moral, and religious duties, are fit to be confided in or longer encouraged.

And because we are sensible, most gracious sovereign, that our professions of loyalty have been often cruelly misrepresented, even by those who were thoroughly acquainted with the candor and uprightness of our dealings in all other respects, we must humbly offer it to your princely and generous consideration, that we rest not the proof of our sincerity in such professions or words, but on things known and attested by all the world, on our dutiful, peaceable, and submissive behavior under such pressures, for more than half a century; a conduct, may it please your majesty, that clearly evinces the reality of that religious principle, which withholds us from sacrificing conscience or honor to any worldly interest whatever; since rather than violate either by hypocritical professions, we have all our lives, patiently suffered so many restrictions and losses in our temporal concerns; and we most submissively beseech your majesty to look down on such trials of our integrity, not only as a proof of our sincerity in this declaration, but also as an earnest and surety of our future good behavior; and to give us leave to indulge the pleasing hope, that the continuance of that behavior, enforced by our religious principles, and of your majesty's great and inherent goodness towards us, which it will be the business of our lives to endeavor to merit, may at length be the happy means of our deliverance from some part of that burden, which we have so long and so patiently endured.

That this act of truly royal commiseration, beneficence and justice, may be added to your majesty's many other heroic virtues, and that such our deliverance may be one of those distinguished blessings of your reign, which shall transmit its memory to the love, gratitude, and veneration of our latest posterity, is the humble prayer of, &c.

This very humble petition was never presented to the king. It was communicated, says Dr. Curry, "to the Right Reverend Dr. Stone, and was approved of by his Grace, and by as many of his discerning and confidential friends as he thought proper to show it to, as he himself assured Lord Taaffe." But in this case also, the Catholics themselves did not agree as to the proper steps to be taken; and the death of the Primate, shortly after, seems to have put an end to all proceedings upon it. This odious Primate, in the last years of his life, became quite friendly to the Catholics. The "English interests" in Ireland needed some support against the "Patriots," who set up the dangerous pretension to vindicate the national independence of the colony; and the Government already began to rely upon the Catholics as a means and agent of perpetuating British domination.

As for the condition of the country people, it continued to be very miserable. A few of the queries contained in Bishop Berkeley's "Querist" will sufficiently describe their case. He asks:—

"Whether there be upon earth any Christian or civilized people so beggarly, wretched, and destitute, as the common Irish?"—"Whether, nevertheless, there is any other people whose wants may be more easily supplied from home?"—"Whether, if there was a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom, our natives might not nevertheless live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?"—"Whether a foreigner could imagine that one-half of the people were starving, in a country which sent out such plenty of provisions?"—"Whether it is possible the country should be well improved while our beef is exported and our laborers live upon potatoes?"—"Whether trade be not then on a right foot when foreign commodities are imported only in exchange for domestic superfluities?"—"Whether the quantities of beef, butter, wool, and leather exported from this island can be reckoned the superfluities of a country, where there are so many natives naked and famished?" From these queries it is evident enough that the good and just-minded bishop traced the wretchedness of his countrymen to its true cause, namely, the settled determination of England to regulate all the industry of Ireland for her own use and profit: which indeed has continued to be the one great plague of the country from that day to this.

CHAPTER XIII.

1760—1762.

George III.—Speech from the Throne—"Toleration"—France and England in India—Lally's Campaign there—State of Ireland—The Revenue—Distress of Trade—Distress in the Country—Oppression of the Farmers—Whiteboys—Riots—"A Popish Conspiracy"—Steel-Boys and Oak-Boys—Emigration from Ulster—Halifax, Viceroy—Flood and the Patriots—Extravagance and Corruption—Agitation for Septennial Parliaments.

KING GEORGE THE THIRD mounted the throne of England in October, 1760, at twenty-two years of age. He was grandson to the late king, being the son of the Prince of Wales, Frederick Louis, whom the old king very cordially hated. The mother of George III. was a German princess of the House of Saxe Gotha—a family which has since cost dear to the three kingdoms; and a year after his accession, he married another German princess, of the House of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. But the new king himself was born in England; a circumstance which greatly rejoiced the English of that day. He had been educated for a time in the choicest Whig principles by his father; and as an English historian informs us, "great and incessant pains were taken to infuse into the mind of 'the Second Hope of Britain' just and elevated sentiments of government and of civil and religious liberty."* But after the death of Prince Frederick Louis, his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, gave quite a new direction to the education of her son; and under the guidance of the afterwards celebrated Lord Bute, brought him up in the highest and choicest doctrines of Toryism and Prerogative. He certainly profited by both those systems of tuition, and united in his conduct upon the throne all the corruption and cant of Whiggery with whatever is most coarsely tyrannical, dogged, blind, and imperious in Toryism.

When he came to the throne and met Parliament for the first time, Mr. Pitt was still prime minister; and we accordingly find the Whiggish element to prevail in the

* In an occasional Address, or Prologue, spoken by Prince George, on acting a part in the tragedy of Cato, performed at Leicester House about the year 1749, he was instructed thus to express himself,—

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"The poet's labors elevate the mind,
Teach our young hearts with generous fire to burn,
And feel the virtuous sentiments we learn.
T'attain those glorious ends, what play so fit
As that where all the powers of human wit
Combine to dignify great Cato's name,
To deck his tomb and consecrate his fame?
Where LIBERTY—O name for ever dear!
Breathes forth in every line, and bids us fear
Nor pains nor death to guard our sacred laws,
But bravely perish in our country's cause.
Should this superior to my years be thought,
Know 'tis the first great lesson I was taught."

Liberty, in the language of that day, meant the Protestant interest, and Protestant ascendency in Church and State.

famous royal speech delivered on that occasion. His first words took the heart of the nation by storm:—"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton." But one can well imagine what bitter reflections passed through the mind of an educated Irish Catholic, like Charles O'Conor, or Curry, as he read the remaining sentences of the discourse. "The civil and religious rights" said the king, "of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of the crown." It was his inviolable resolution, he said, "to adhere to and strengthen this excellent Constitution in Church and State." "It was his fixed purpose" he declared, "to countenance and encourage the practice of *true* religion and virtue"—which fixed purpose of course bound him to discourage and to punish all false religions. Finally he exclaimed to his Parliament: "The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From you the *Protestant Interest* hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency. * * * In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign—that happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects afford me the most agreeable prospect." His Majesty also was pleased to say "that he would maintain *the toleration* inviolable."

The "toleration" here spoken of, in so far as it included Irish Papists, meant simple *connivance* at Catholic worship, so long as that was practised very quietly, in obscure places. It did not mean exemption or relief from any one of the disabilities or penalties which had abolished the civil existence of Catholics; it did not mean that they could be educated, either at home or abroad; nor that they could possess arms, or horses, or farms on a longer lease than thirty-one years; nor that they could sit in Parliament, or municipal councils, or parish vestries, or in any way participate in the voting away of their own money. It did not mean that their clergy could receive orders in Ireland, or go abroad to receive them without incurring the penalty of transportation, and, if they returned, death:—nor that Catholics could practise law or medicine, or sit on juries, or be guardians to their own children, or lend money on mortgage (if they earned any money), or go to a foreign country, or have any of the rights of human beings in their own. By the connivance of the government, they were permitted to breathe, and to go to mass, and to do almost nothing else, except live by their labor and pay taxes and penal fines. Such is the precise limitation of that "toleration," which King George said would be inviolably maintained: and it was inviolably maintained during the first thirty-three years of this reign with certain trifling alleviations which are to be mentioned in their proper place.

The accession of King George III. took place at an auspicious and prosperous time, for England, though not for Ireland. The war was proceeding favorably to Great Britain in all parts of the earth and sea; and it was in this year 1760 and the following year that the great struggle between France and England for the colonial empire of India came to a crisis and was decided against France, and therefore disastrously for Ireland. The war in India would not here much concern us but for its connection with the sad fate of Count Lally. He was now a lieutenant-general in the French armies, and M. de Voltaire informs us that it was his well-known hatred of the English which caused him to be selected for the honor of commanding the force which was to encounter them on the coast of Coromandel. His regiment, that had fought at Fontenoy, was with him; and one of the officers who held high command under him was the Chevalier Geoghegan.* He found every thing in disarray at Pondicherry, the capital of the French possessions; very insufficient forces, but little provisions, and no money at all. Voltaire says: "Notwithstanding the gloomy views he took of every thing, he had at first some happy success. He took from the English the fort St. David, some leagues from Pondicherry and razed its walls in April, 1758." The same year he besieged Madras, took the "black town," but failed before the fortress. His own correspondence, which is in part given to us by Voltaire, attributes

* Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*

this failure to monstrous peculation and waste in the department for supplying the army. Indeed he seems to have very soon come to the conclusion that nothing effectual could be done; that he was abandoned to his fate, and that the French power in Hindostan was doomed. Nothing can exceed the passionate outbursts of his grief and indignation in some of these letters. "Hell," he says "has vomited me out upon this land of iniquity; and I am only awaiting, like Jonah, for the whale that is to swallow me." Among his other troubles, the troops mutinied, and the revolt was appeased with much trouble. Then continues Voltaire, "the general led them into the province of Arcot, to recover the fortress of Vandavachi, of which the English had possessed themselves after two ineffectual attempts; in one of which they had been completely defeated by the Chevalier Geoghegan. Lally ventured to attack them with inferior forces, and would have conquered them if he had been duly seconded. As it was he only gained in that expedition the honor of having given a new proof of the determined courage which formed his leading characteristic." This is the battle known to the English by the name of "Wandewash."

At length Lally was obliged to collect all his troops in Pondicherry, resolved to defend it to the last extremity; it was blockaded at once by land and sea. Here, again, every thing seemed to irritate his impetuous temper; he insulted the governor, and all the council, and threatened to harness them to his provision wagons, if they did not provide horses. "I had rather," he exclaims in one letter, "go and command Caffres, than stay in this Sodom, which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, for want of fire from heaven." The siege was long, and the defence desperate. Just at the moment that King George III. ascended the throne, this gallant and impetuous Count Lally was holding his post with obstinate valor against an English fleet and army. But the people in Pondicherry were dying in the streets of hunger, and the council of the city was crying out to Lally to surrender. On the 16th of January, 1761, he was unhappily obliged to yield; and so the French lost India in the east almost on the same day that they lost Canada in the west, by the surrender of Montreal. There was a delirium of joy in England, and the heart of the Irish nation sank low.*

Even the English colony in Ireland, though it sympathized with British successes, to which, indeed, it contributed more than its share both in men and in money (meaning the earnings of the subject nation as well as its own), yet had no reason, on the accession of this king, to congratulate itself on its happy and prosperous condition. In truth the island had been well drained of its revenues to meet the increased military expenses of Great Britain; and it had become necessary within the past year (1759) to raise a loan of £150,000, on debentures at four per cent. transferable, in order to pay the increasing arrears on the public establishments. Certain duties were granted to provide for the payment of the interest; and this may be considered as the beginning of the funded debt of Ireland. But in the beginning of 1760, the king having again considerably augmented his military forces, Ireland was required to raise another loan of £300,000, and a vote of credit passed the Commons for this object, but at five per cent. Then, as it was found that the first loan of £150,000 was not coming in at four per cent., an additional *one* per cent. was offered for that. Thus, when George III. came to the throne, the revenues of Ireland were considerably embarrassed and oppressed. Mr. Hely Hutchinson, a good authority on this point, in his work on the "commercial restrictions of Ireland," states, indeed, that "all Irishmen" felt they ought to sustain the efforts of Great Britain in that crisis, but that the statesmen

* Unfortunate Lally had made many enemies, chiefly by his furious temper. They were powerful in France, while he was comparatively a stranger, though born in the country. They accused him of misconduct, tyranny, exactions, *betraying* the interests of the king. At length the outcry against him became so strong, that he was arrested, confined in the Bastile, kept there for fifteen months without any specific charge, then brought to trial and kept on trial two years; finally, condemned and executed. Voltaire, who has uniformly praised Lally, defends him in his *Louis XV.;* and afterwards generously vindicated his memory, and aided his son to procure the decree of the parliament rehabilitating the name of this brave and "murdered" man. Louis XV. himself, after the death of Lally, exclaimed:—"They have assassinated him."

of the latter country always expected too much; and while they looked upon the great prosperity and wealth of their own country, had not sufficient consideration for the poverty of Ireland. Two or three sentences taken from this book (the Commercial Restrictions) give a clear idea of the financial condition of the island. "The revenue had decreased in 1755, fell lower in 1756, and still lower in 1757. In the last year the vaunted prosperity of Ireland was changed into misery and distress, the lower classes of the people wanted food." Again—"The public expenses were greatly increased; the pensions on the civil-list, at Lady-day, 1759, amounted to £55,497; there was at the same time a great augmentation of military expense. Six new regiments and a troop were raised in a very short space of time." From all these causes the author states that the payment out of the treasury in little more than one year was £703,957. "The effects," he continues, "of these exactions were immediately and severely felt by the kingdom. These loans could not be supplied by a poor country without draining the bankers of their cash; three of the principal houses (Clements, Dawsons, and Mitchell) among them, stopped payment; the three remaining banks in Dublin discounted no paper, and in fact did no business. Public and private credit that had been drooping since the year 1754, had now fallen prostrate. At a general meeting of the merchants of Dublin in April, 1760, with several members of the House of Commons, the inability of the former to carry on business was universally acknowledged," &c.

The scarcity of money now employed in trade or improvements, together with the laws which made it impossible for Catholics to exercise any lucrative industry in corporate towns, caused more and more of the people to be dependent upon agriculture and sheep-farming alone. But the lot of these poor agriculturists was hard, for the landed proprietors under whom they had to live, were an alien and hostile race, having no sympathy with the humble people around them. This lamentable circumstance is peculiar to Ireland. Neither in England nor in Scotland was the case of the peasantry ever rendered bitterer than poverty makes it at any rate, by differences of race and of religion. In Ireland they found themselves face to face, not two classes, but two nations; of which the one had substantially the power of life and death over the other. When we add to this that one of these two nations had despoiled the other of those very lands which the plundered race were now glad to cultivate as rackrented tenants; and also that the dominant nation felt bound to hate the other, both as "rebels" who needed only the opportunity to rise and cut their masters' throats, and as Papists who clung to the "damnable idolatry" of the mass, we can easily understand the difficulty of the "landlord and tenant question" in Ireland. We have now, in fact, arrived at the era of the "Whiteboy" organization, which was itself the legitimate offspring of the Rapparees, and which in its turn has given birth to "Ribbonism," to the "Terry Alts," and finally to the "Fenians." The principle and meaning of all these various forms of secret Irish organization has been the same at all times, namely, the instinct of resistance to legal oppression by illegal combinations among the oppressed. And this has been inevitable, and far from blamable, under the circumstances of the country. All the laws were made not for, but against the great mass of the people; the courts of justice were entirely in the possession of the oppressors; the proscribed race saw only mortal enemies on the bench, enemies in the jury-box, enemies everywhere all around, and were continually made to feel that law and justice were not for them. This of course, in times of distress threw them back upon the only resource of desperate men, conspiracy, intimidation, and vengeance.

We have seen by the statements of Mr. J. Hely Hutchinson, that in the last year of King George II. "the lower classes of the people wanted food." The financial distress soon made matters still worse, and almost immediately after the accession of the new king, the whole island began to be startled by formidable rumors of disturbances and tumults in the south. The immediate cause of the first breaking out of these disorders was that many landlords in Munster began to inclose commons, on which their rackrented tenants had, up to that time, enjoyed the right of commonage as some compensa-

tion for the extreme severity of the terms on which they held their farms. The inclosure of these commons took away from them the only means they had of lightening their burden and making their hard tenure supportable. In Waterford, in Cork, and in Tipperary, angry crowds assembled, tore down the inclosures, and sometimes maltreated the workmen employed in putting them up. The aggrieved peasantry soon combined their operations, associated together by secret oaths, and these confederates began to be known as Whiteboys. A second cause for the discontents, which soon swelled the society of Whiteboys, was the cruel exactions of the tithe proctors—persons who farmed the tithes of a parish rector, and then screwed the utmost farthing out of the parishioners, often selling out their crops. their stocks, even their beds, to make up the subsidy for clergymen whose ministrations they never attended. Resistance, therefore, to tithes, and the occasional amputation of a tithe proctor's ears, formed a large part of the proceedings of the Whiteboys.*

The riots of these few forlorn men, were soon construed into a general Popish conspiracy against the Government; because, indeed, the greatest part of them were Papists, at least in name; although it was well known that several Protestant gentlemen and magistrates of considerable influence in that province, did all along, for their own private ends, connive at if not foment these tumults, and although we were assured by authority, "that the authors of these riots consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people." This was officially published in the *London Gazette*.

This authentic declaration was grounded on the report which had been made to Government by persons of admitted loyalty and eminence in the law, sent down and commissioned some time before to inquire upon the spot into the real causes and circumstances of these riots; which report was afterwards confirmed by the going judges of assize, and by the dying protestations of the first five of these unhappy men, who were executed in 1762 at Waterford, for having been present at the burning down of a cabin, upon the information of one of their associates, who was the very person that with his own hand set fire to it. These men immediately before their execution, publicly declared and took God to witness, "that in all these tumults it never did enter into their thoughts to do any thing against the Government."

A considerable force of regular troops was sent to the south; some savage military execution done; which was again followed by fresh outrages; and the disorder continued unabated for several years.

About the same time when Whiteboys first began to be heard of, various other secret societies sprang up in Ulster. These associations called themselves variously Hearts-of-Steel, Oak-Boys, and Peep-of-Day Boys: but their members were all Protestants; and their grievances and objects were in part connected with landlord oppression and clerical exaction, partly with the alleged injustice of the employers of manufacturing labor. These latter disturbances were soon over, because first the grievances were not so deep-seated, and next because the parties on the two sides being mainly of the same race and religion, the enmity and exasperation were never so fierce, and were far more easily appeased. While all these last-named

* See Dr. Curry's Review. He was a contemporary. See also Arthur Young's "Tour in Ireland." Young was one of the most observant of travellers, and has examined this whole subject in a very fair spirit. He thus speaks of the state of the people under their landlords:—"The execution of the law lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where *manners* are in conspiracy against *law*, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? They know their situation too well to think of it; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

"The colors of this picture are not charged. To assert that all these cases are common, would be an exaggeration; but to say that an unfeeling landlord will do all this with impunity, is to keep strictly to truth; and what is liberty but a farce and a jest, if its blessings are received as the favor of kindness and humanity, instead of being the inheritance of RIGHT!"—*Young's Tour, Dub. Edit.*, vol. ii., pp. 40, 41.

conspiracies speedily disappeared, Whiteboyism remained, and under one form or another must remain till English domination in Ireland shall be abolished. The honest English tourist, Mr. Young, makes some reflections on these societies which show a most remarkable spirit of fairness, for an Englishman writing about Ireland:—

"Consequences have flowed from these oppressions which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of Whiteboys, Steel-Boys, Oak-Boys, Peep-of-Day-Boys, etc. But these various insurgents are not to be confounded, for they are very different. The proper distinction in the discontents of the people is into Protestant and Catholic. All but the Whiteboys are among the manufacturing Protestants in the north: the Whiteboys, Catholic laborers in the south. From the best intelligence I could gain, the riots of the manufacturers had no other foundation, but such variations in the manufacture as all fabrics experience, and which they had themselves known and submitted to before. The case, however, was different with the Whiteboys, who being laboring Catholics met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with a great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance; the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation; acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; this arose to such a height, that by one they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed by the following session marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of disease, which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as yourselves: put an end to that system of religious persecution which for seventy years has divided the kingdom against itself; in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection, perform them completely, and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals."

It will be seen in the sequel how little chance these indignant and well-meant remonstrances had of meeting with attention.

The troubles in Ulster, though they were quite unconnected with Whiteboyism—and though a Catholic would no more have been admitted into a Heart-of-Steel lodge than into a vestry meeting—were yet produced by hardship and oppression. The Presbyterians of the north were now, as well as the Catholics, suffering not only by the Test Act and the tithes, but also by the difficulty of earning an honest livelihood, owing to the scarcity of money and the heavy taxation to meet the demands of Government. Emigration to America, therefore, continued from the northern seaports; and many active and energetic families were every season seeking a new home beyond the Atlantic. It was now that the fathers of Andrew Jackson, of John C. Calhoun, of James Buchanan, and other eminent American statesmen, established themselves in various parts of the colonies. These exiles were the men who formed the "Pennsylvania Line" in the revolutionary war, and had the satisfaction of contributing powerfully to destroy in America that relentless British domination which had made their Irish homes untenable. While the exiled Catholics on the European continent were eager to encounter the English power upon any field, those other Protestant exiles in America were ardently engaged in the task of uprooting it in that hemisphere. Yet it is a strange and sad reflection, that although their cause and their grievances, while at home, where very similar, if not identical, they never could bring themselves to combine together *there* against their common enemy and oppressor. It must be stated, however, without hesitation, that this was exclusively the fault of the Protestant Dissenters. They hated Popery and Papists even more intensely than did the English colonists of the Anglican church: they had

submitted, almost gladly, to disabilities themselves, because they knew that the Catholics were subjected to still worse, and they were unwilling, by a too factious resistance on their own part, to embarrass a system of policy which they were assured was needful to the great cause of Protestant ascendency. They might suffer themselves, but they could not make common cause with the common enemy. For this mean compliance and perverse bigotry they had their reward: they were now flying in crowds from a fair and fertile land which they might have held and enjoyed forever, if they had united their cause with those who were enduring the same oppressions from the same tyrants.

This may be taken as completing the picture of the social and industrial condition of Ireland in the first year of the reign of George III. It is time to return to the political struggle of the English colony.

The Duke of Bedford, who had been on the whole nearly as popular a viceroy as Lord Chesterfield, was recalled in 1761, and succeeded by Lord Halifax. A new Parliament was summoned, as usual for the new reign, and on this occasion Dr. Lucas, who had returned from his exile, was returned as one of the members for Dublin city. Several other new members of great promise with "patriotic" aspirations, also came to this Parliament; amongst whom appeared, for the first time in public life, the celebrated Henry Flood, as member for Kilkenny. This eminent man took rank very soon as an Irish patriot, but at first his patriotism was strictly colonial, that is to say, all his care was for the English Protestant inhabitants of the island. And when the growing power and rising spirit of the colonists soon after aspired to and achieved a national independence, the nationality he asserted was still strictly and exclusively Protestant. Flood was the son of a former chief justice, and all his relatives and connections were of the highest Protestant ascendency. Yet, according to his own narrow ideas, it cannot be denied that Flood was a patriot: that is to say, a determined assertor of the sovereign right of the Irish Parliament against the domination of Great Britain. Two other members of the Patriot party appeared in that Parliament, Mr. Denis Daly and Mr. Hussey Burgh.

In January, 1762, Mr. Hamilton, secretary to Lord Halifax, communicated to the Commons the rupture with Spain. It is not essential to the history of Ireland to follow the course of English diplomatic and military proceedings on the Continent. All those transactions were decided on and prosecuted without the slightest reference to the interest either of the Irish nation or of the British colony; Ireland's only concern with England's wars being in the continual demands for money and men. Accordingly an immediate augmentation of five battalions was now required by Government, together with a vote of credit for raising another half-million sterling. An address was also presented by the Commons to the lord-lieutenant, to be by him transmitted to the crown, praying to have the salary of that official raised to £16,000 a year. Primate Stone was still influential in the Irish government, as well as the former "Patriot," but now pensioner and placeman, Boyle, earl of Shannon. The extravagance of Government in every department, the recklessness with which the people were loaded with taxation, and the immense system of bribery resorted to by the administration in order to break down opposition and purchase assured majorities in Parliament, convinced Lucas and his friends that there could be no beginning of redress or remedy for these evils until the Parliament should be made more immediately responsible to the people. In England "Septennial Parliaments" had been the law and the practice for some time, but in Ireland each Parliament was still elected for the life of the king. The agitation for this measure of septennial elections occupied the Patriotic party for several years.

CHAPTER XIV.

1762—1768.

Tory Ministry—Failures of the Patriots—Northumberland, Viceroy—Mr. Fitzgerald's speech on pension-list—Mr. Perry's address on same subject—Effort for mitigation of the Penal Laws—Mr. Mason's argument for allowing Papists to take mortgages—Rejected—Death of Stone and Earl of Shannon—Lord Hartford, Viceroy—Lucas and the Patriots—Their continued failures—Increase of National Debt—Townshend, Viceroy—New system—The "Undertakers"—Septennial Bill changed into Octennial—And passed—Joy of the People—Consequences of this measure—Ireland still "standing on her smaller end"—Newspapers of Dublin—Grattan.

The government of Lord Halifax ended with the session of 1762. This year is considered an eventful one in British annals. Mr. Pitt, and afterwards the Duke of Newcastle, retired from the administration, which came entirely into the hands of Lord Bute, a tory, as high and violent as it was possible to be, without absolute *Jacobitism;* whose administration showed that the thoroughgoing doctrines of prerogative were quite as congenial to the House of Hanover as ever they had been to the House of Stuart. On the retirement of Mr. Pitt, the merchants, traders, and citizens of Dublin, who had now become not only an opulent and influential body, but thoroughly imbued with the political theories of Lucas, their representative (who had lately returned from his exile and been returned for the city), presented a most grateful address to Mr. Pitt, expressive of their admiration of his principles, and sincere regret that the country was deprived of his services. The immediate effect of the change of administration upon the conduct of Parliament, demonstrates, however, the extent and depth of the corruption which had there penetrated so deep into the whole body politic of the English colony in Ireland. On the very first day of the last session (22d October, 1761) the Commons had ordered "that leave be given to bring in the heads of a bill to limit the duration of Parliaments" (the Septennial Bill), in imitation of the Septennial law of England. Dr. Lucas, Mr. Perry, and Mr. George Lowther, were ordered to report and bring up the bill. It was received, read, committed; amendments were proposed and accepted; in the course of December in that year, the heads of the bill being reported from the committee of the whole House, were finally agreed to. But before any further step was taken, Lord Bute and his tory ministry came in, and when a motion was made that the Speaker should attend the lord-lieutenant to give him the bill for transmission to London, in the usual form, the motion was lost by a vote of 108 against forty-three. This majority of sixty-five upon a question so reasonable, so necessary, and so constitutional, shows the rapid decline of the Patriotic interest in Ireland after the late changes; the reduction of which was very artfully effected by the two first of the lords justices, Primate Stone, the Earl of Shannon, and Mr. John Ponsonby, the Speaker. Thus was Mr. Lucas's first Patriotic bill lost, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the people out of doors. It is highly material to observe, that in proportion as Patriots fell off in Parliament, they sprang up out of it. This ministerial triumph was followed by no popular disturbance, but by deep and general disappointment. A meeting of the citizens of Dublin gave expression, calmly and temperately, to the feelings of the people, in a series of resolutions, one of which is worth transcribing, as illustrating the strictly *Protestant* character of all this patriotism. "Resolved, That the clandestine arts which are usually practised (and have been sometimes detected) in obstructing of bills tending to promote the Protestant interest, ought to make Protestants the more active in supporting the Septennial Bill; the rather, as no doubt can remain, that a septennial limitation of Parliaments, would render the generality of landlords assiduous in procuring Protestant tenants, and that the visible advantage accruing, would induce others to conform." His failure did not daunt the indefatigable Dr. Lucas. He presented the heads of bills for securing the freedom of Parliament, by ascertaining the qualifications of knights, citizens, and burgesses, and for vacating the seats of members, who would accept any lucrative office or employment from the crown, and of persons upon the establishment of Great Britain and Ireland. All these measures failed; the Court

party under Lord Bute was now supreme. But this Court party had adopted a different language. It was no longer called the *English interest*, for Primate Stone was too good a politician to keep up that offensive term, after he had so successfully brought over some of the leading Patriots to his side, who in supporting all the measures of the British cabinet, affected to do it, still as *Irish Patriots*. Among these Irish Patriots who had thus prudently sold themselves, and were zealous to give good value for their purchase-money, was Boyle, earl of Shannon.

The Earl of Halifax had been recalled, and was succeeded as lord-lieutenant by the Earl of Northumberland. The new viceroy opened a session of Parliament, in October, 1763, in a speech wherein he expressed, in the king's name, his majesty's just and gracious regard for a *dutiful and loyal people*, and congratulated them on the birth of a Prince of Wales. They would much rather have had their Septennial Bill.

The next efforts of the Patriots were directed against the pension list, which had grown to be an enormous evil and oppression; but the first motion for an address to the king on this subject, was negatived, on a division of 112 against seventy-three. So weak was now the Patriotic cause in the Commons. Pensions continued to be lavished with unchecked profusion. The debate, however, on this motion was warm and spirited. Mr. J. Fitzgerald took the lead on the Patriot side. He stated (and was not contradicted) that the pensions then charged upon the civil establishment of the kingdom amounted to no less than £72,000 per annum, besides the *French* and *military* pensions, and besides the sums paid for old and now unnecessary employments, and those paid in unnecessary additions to the salaries of others: that the pensions, therefore, exceeded the civil list above £42,000: that not only since the House in 1757 had voted the increase of pensions alarming, had they been yearly increased; but that in the time of a most expensive war, and when the country had willingly and cheerfully increased a very considerable national debt; and when the additional influence of the crown from the levying of new regiments might well have prevented the necessity of new pensionary gratifications. He then drew a piteous portrait of the country; not one-third peopled; two-thirds of the people unemployed, consequently indolent, wretched, and discontented; neither foreign trade, nor home consumption sufficient to distribute the conveniences of life among them with reasonable equality, or to pay any tax proportionable to their number. What new mode of taxation could be devised? Would they tax leather where no shoes were worn, or tallow where no candles were burned? They could not tax the roots of the earth and the water on which the wretched peasantry existed; they could tax no commodity that would not defeat itself, by working a prohibition. He then entered into the legal and constitutional rights of the crown over the public revenue, and strongly resisted the assumed right of charging the public revenue with private pensions. The crown, he contended, had a public and private revenue: the public it received as a trustee for the public; the private it received in its own right; the former arose out of temporary duties, and was appropriated by Parliament to specific public purposes, and was not left to the discretionary disposal of the crown. The latter did not in Ireland exceed £7,000 per annum, and the pensions amounting to £72,000 exceeded the fund, which could alone be charged with them by £65,000 per annum.

The Court party strenuously resisted these arguments, as an unconstitutional and indecent attack upon the prerogative; insisting that the regal dignity should be supported by a power to reward as well as to punish; that the king was not to hold a sword in one hand and a barren sceptre in the other; that the two great springs of all actions were hope and fear; and where fear only operated, love could have no place; with many other slavish phrases usual in such a case.

In this war against the pension list the most active member of the Commons was Mr. Perry, member for Limerick. He soon returned to the charge, and moved an address to the king—but with his usual want of success—remonstrating against the wasteful extravagance of the Government. The address was not adopted, but a few sentences of it contain facts worth recording.

"That the expense of the present military establishment amounts in two years to the sum of £980,955 19*s.* The civil establishment to £242,956 10*s.* 9*d.*; to which must be added at the most moderate computation £300,000 for extraordinary and contingent expenses of Government. That these sums added together amount to the sum of £1,523,912 9*s.* 9*d.* That to answer this expense, the whole revenue of this kingdom, the additional as well as hereditary duties, exclusive of the loan duties, which are but barely sufficient to pay the interest of £650,000, the present national debt, amount to the sum of £1,209,864 at a medium for fourteen years; so that the expense of the nation for these last two years must exceed its whole revenue in a sum of £314,248 9*s.* 9*d.*, which deficiency being added to the national debt, must leave this kingdom at the next meeting of Parliament near £1,000-000 in debt. * * * That the imports, exports, and home consumption of this kingdom are already taxed to the utmost they can bear. That any addition to these taxes, instead of increasing, must lessen the revenue. That nothing now remains to be taxed but our lands, which are already loaded with quit rents, crown rents, composition rents, and hearth money. That if the present establishments are to continue, the debt of the nation must constantly increase, and in the end prove the utter ruin of the kingdom."

All these reclamations against pensions and other wasteful or corrupt expenditures, proved utterly unavailing, and the evil went from bad to worse until the true remedy was discovered, in 1782.

But this year 1763 is remarkable for the first Parliamentary effort ever made in Ireland to mitigate, in a very small degree, the Penal Code against Catholics. They had been disabled, ever since Queen Anne's time, from taking landed security by way of mortgage on money lent. But this was found inconvenient, not only to them (which would have mattered nothing), but also to Protestants who wanted to borrow money. The Catholics, shut out from political power, had been industrious and thrifty: many of them were rich, but having no security at home, they had invested their money abroad, and thence had sometimes come the supplies for Jacobite invasions. On the 25th November, 1763, Mr. Mason rose in his place and reminded the House that in the last session of Parliament heads of a bill had been passed for empowering Papists to lend money on mortgages of real estate * and that the bill had been cushioned by the English Privy Council. He moved accordingly for leave to bring in another. Some of the arguments for and against this measure are very notable. Mr. Mason urged that money was always power, and that money which is placed in Protestant hands, upon mortgage, is power in favor of the State; the same money, in the hands of the Papists unlent, supposing the Papist to be an enemy to the State, was power against it. Besides money was not a local, but transitory property; a Papist, possessed only of money, had no local interest in the country, but a Papist mortgagee had; he would be engaged to support the Government in point of interest: his security for his money was good, while Government subsisted, and in the convulsion that always attends the subversion of Government, it would at least become doubtful; besides, the greater the advantages which the Papists receive under the present constitution, the more they must desire its continuance, and he would venture to say, that if the Papists were to be admitted to all the privileges of Protestant subjects, there would scarce be a practical Jacobite among them, whatever there might be in theory. "I should, therefore, be glad, that the bill should have another trial, and shall move for leave to bring in the heads of a bill, to empower Papists to lend money on the mortgage of land, and to sue for the same."

Mr. Le Hunte said, that he thought the bill proposed would eventually make Papists proprietors of great part of the landed interest of the kingdom, which would certainly extend their influence, and that it was dangerous trusting to the use they would make of it, upon a supposition that their interests would get the better of their prin-

* There is no entry of this former bill, referred to by Mr. Mason, on the journals of Parliament. Mr. Plowden "laments that those journals are so little to be relied upon when matters relating to the Catholics are the subject of entry."

ciples. That the act mentioned to have passed the last session, did not pass without a division, there being a majority of no more than twelve in its favor, and that it would not have passed at all, if it had not been for some artful management, it being brought in the very last day of session, when no more than sixty-two members were present. He, therefore, begged that the honorable gentleman would postpone his motion till Monday, as the House was then thin, and gentlemen would thus have time to consider the subject, which was of very great importance. He added, that as there was reason to suppose it to be the general sense of the House that such a bill should not pass, he thought it would be better that no heads of such bill should be brought in, as it was cruel to raise expectations which would probably be disappointed.

Mr. Mason consented to postpone his motion. Accordingly on the 3d of February, 1764, Mr. Mason presented to the House, according to order, heads of a bill to ascertain what securities might be taken by persons professing the Popish religion for money lent or to be lent by them, and also what remedies they might enforce.

The House rejected the bill: 138 for the rejection, and 53 against it. Another motion was then made to bring in a bill enabling Papists to take securities upon lands, but in such a manner that they could *never meddle with the possession thereof;* which was immediately negatived by a majority of 44. Yet this was a proposal for a very slight modification of the Penal Code on one single point; and on the express ground that such modification would be useful to the Protestants and would serve the Protestant interest. Its reception marks the stage of advance which principles of religious freedom had then reached.

In December, 1764, Primate Stone and the Earl of Shannon, both happily died. There was no hope of any mitigation in the system of corruption and oppression so long as that league between the English Primate and the purchased "Irish Patriot" subsisted.

The Earl of Hartford was appointed lord-lieutenant, and opened the session in 1765. In December of that year died at Rome, at an advanced age, the person variously termed King James III., the Pretender, the "King over the water." He had borne his misfortunes with great fortitude and equanimity; and sometimes went to pass the carnival at Venice. His death at last made no impression in Ireland, and was almost unknown there.

The Patriotic party in Parliament was now reduced to its very lowest ebb. It would be wearisome to detail all the motions uniformly defeated, for inquiries into the pension list, and into improper and corrupt appointments to the judicial bench. The Patriots tried another plan—an address to the lord-lieutenant, setting forth the miserable condition of the kingdom, asking for an account of the proceedings of the Privy Council which had cushioned their *Bill for better securing the Freedom of Parliament*, and asking for a return of the patents granted in reversion, etc. But the Court party moved, and carried, that in lieu of the words "the sense of their miserable condition," they should insert the words: "*their happy condition under his majesty's auspicious government.*"

Still, ever since the death of Stone and the Earl of Shannon, the party of independence was making some progress in Parliament. Lucas worked hard, and was well sustained by his constituents in Dublin. He made many converts to his Septennial Bill amongst the country gentlemen, and to purchase back some of these converts put the Government to considerable expense—which, it is true, they found means to charge to the people. A new bill was transmitted, through Lord Hartford, for limiting the duration of Parliaments, and again it was stopped by the English Privy Council. Another bill was introduced this session "to prevent the buying and selling of offices which concern the administration of justice, or the collection of His Majesty's revenue;" but it was voted down in the Commons and never even went to England.

In the mean time the national debt was steadily increasing.

In the year 1765 the revenue of Ireland, although considerably increased upon the whole receipt, still fell so far short of the the expenses of Government, that £100,000 was directed to be raised at four per cent.,

and the principal due upon the different loans was ordered to be consolidated into one sum, making in the whole £595,000 at five per cent. which remained due at Lady-day. The debt of the nation then amounted to £508,874 5*s.* 9½*d.* There was this year a great scarcity of grain, as likewise a general failure of potatoes, which was very severely felt by the lower ranks. The legislature found it necessary to interpose: they passed an act to stop the distilleries for a certain time (which consequently produced a decrease in the Excise), and also an act to prevent the exportation of corn; in both of which acts it is recited, that it was apprehended there was not sufficient corn in the kingdom for the food of the inhabitants until the harvest.

On this last act a new controversy arose. When the bill was sent to England, the Privy Council there inserted into it a dispensing power in favor of the crown:—the king might by his simple order in council permit the exportation of grain or flour, any thing in the act contained to the contrary notwithstanding. The Patriots vainly resisted this alteration: they alleged that even under the restrictions of Poyning's Law, the king had only power of assent or dissent; not a power of alteration, which from its nature imports a deliberative power that could not exist save in the Lords and Commons of Ireland. All resistance, however, was unavailing, and the bill was passed as altered.

Lord Hartford had not on this occasion asserted the prerogative and served the English interests so zealously as had been expected of him. Therefore he was recalled; and after a short *interregnum* under lords justices (for the last time), Lord Townshend was sent to Ireland, in October, 1767.

This nobleman was selected to introduce a very important change in the system of governing Ireland. In order to attempt the arduous task of supplanting the deep-rooted influence of the Irish oligarchy, it was requisite that the lord-lieutenant, to whom that power was to be transferred, should be endowed with those qualities that were most likely to ingratiate him with the Irish nation. The new lord-lieutenant excelled all his predecessors in that convivial ease, pleasantry, and humor, so highly prized by the Irish of every description. The majority which had been so dearly bought in the Commons, by those who had heretofore had the management of the *English interest*, was now found not altogether so tractable as it had heretofore been. There were three or four grandees who had such an influence in the House of Commons, that their coalition would, at any time, give them a clear majority upon any question. To gain these had been the chief anxiety of former governors: they were sure to bring over a proportionate number of dependants, and it had been the unguarded maxim to permit subordinate graces and favors to flow from or through the hands of these leaders.* Formerly these principals used to stipulate with each new lord-lieutenant, whose office was biennial and residence but for six months, upon what terms they would carry the king's business through the House: so that they might not improperly be called *undertakers*. They provided, that the disposal of all Court favors, whether places, pensions, or preferments, should pass through their hands, in order to keep their suite in an absolute state of dependence upon themselves. All applications were made by the leader, who claimed as a right the privilege of gratifying his friends in proportion to their numbers. Whenever such demands were not complied with, then were the measures of Government sure to be crossed and obstructed; and the session of Parliament became a constant struggle for power between the heads of parties, who used to force themselves into the office of lord justice according to the prevalence of their interest. This evil had been seen and lamented by Lord Chesterfield, and his resolution and preparatory steps for undermining it probably contributed not a little to his immediate recall, upon the cessation of the danger, which his wisdom was thought alone competent to avert.

This was the system which Lord Clare said, "The Government of England at length opened their eyes to the defects and dangers of: they shook the power of the aristocracy, but were unable to break it down."

*Phil. Surv., p. 57.

The primary object of Lord Townshend's administration was to break up the monopolizing system of this oligarchy. He in part succeeded, but by means ruinous to the country. The subalterns were not to be detached from their chiefs, but by similar though more powerful means than those by which they had enlisted under their banners. The streams of favor became not only multiplied, but enlarged. Every individual now looked up directly to the fountain head, and claimed and received more copious draughts. Thus, under color of destroying an overgrown aristocratic power, all parliamentary independence was completely destroyed by Government. The innovation naturally provoked the deserted few to resentment. They took refuge under the shelter of patriotism, and they inveighed with less effect against the venality of the system, merely because it had taken a new direction, and was somewhat enlarged. The bulk of the nation, and some, though very few of their representatives in Parliament, were earnest, firm, and implacable against it.

The arduous task which Lord Townshend had assumed was not to be effected by a *coup de main:* forces so engaged, so marshalled, and so commanding rather than commanded, as he found the Irish Parliament, were not to be dislodged by a sudden charge: regular, gradual, and cautious approaches were to be made: it was requisite that the chief governor should first be popular, and then powerful, before he could be efficient and successful. His lordship, therefore, to those convivial fascinations, to which Irish society was so sensible, superadded as many personal favors, as the fiscal stores could even promise to answer, which in a people of quick and warm sensibility creates a something very like momentary gratitude; and in order the more completely to seat himself in that effective power, which was requisite for his purpose, he judiciously fixed upon a favorite object of the wishes and attempts of the Patriots to sanction with his countenance and support.

This was the long-wished-for Septennial Bill.

Dr. Lucas had several times failed in his endeavors to procure a bill for limiting the duration of Parliament. Now, however, a Septennial Bill was transmitted, and was returned with an alteration in point of time, having been changed into an Octennial one. There appears to have been some unfair manœuvring in the British cabinet, in order by a side wind to deprive the Irish of that, which they dared not openly refuse them. At the same time a transmission was made of another popular bill for the independence of the judges, in which they had also inserted some alteration. It was expected that the violent tenaciousness of the Irish Commons for the privilege of not having their heads of bills altered by the English ministers, would have induced them to reject any bill, into which such an alteration had been introduced. In this the English cabinet was deceived: the Irish Commons waived the objection as to the limitation bill, in order to make sure at last of what they had so long tried in vain to procure, but objected on this very account to the judges' bill, which was transmitted at the same time with alterations: for although this latter bill had been particularly recommended in the speech of the lord-lieutenant, it was, on account of an alteration inserted in it in England, unanimously rejected.

No sooner was the Octennial Bill returned, than the Commons voted a respectful and grateful address to the throne, beseeching his majesty to accept their unfeigned and grateful acknowledgments for the condescension, so signally manifested to his subjects of that kingdom, in returning the bill for limiting the duration of Parliaments which they considered not only as a gracious mark of paternal benevolence, but as a wise result of royal deliberation. And when the royal assent had been given, the action was so grateful to the people, that they took the horses from the viceroy's coach, and drew him from the parliament house with the most enthusiastic raptures of applause and exultation. But his lordship's popularity did not last long. By diverting the channel of favor, or rather by dividing it into a multitude of little streams, the gentlemen of the House of Commons were taught to look up to him, not only as the source, but as the dispenser of every gratification. Not even a commission in the revenue, worth above

£40 a year, could be disposed of, without his approbation. Thus were the old undertakers given to understand, that there was another way of doing business than through them. It was not, however, without much violence on both sides, that he at length effected his purpose. The immediate sufferers did not fail to call this alteration in the system of governing, an innovation, which they artfully taught the people to resent as a national grievance.

It will be seen that although the Patriots had now gained their famous measure, not indeed as a Septennial, but at least as an Octennial Bill, which was to have been a panacea for all the evils of the State; its effects were far from answering their expectations. Extravagance and corruption still grew and spread under Lord Townshend's administration. Proprietors of boroughs found their property much enhanced in value, because there was a market for it every eight years. The reflections of Thomas McNevin on this subject are very just:—"Some doubts arose as to the benefits produced by this bill in the way designed by its framers; but no one doubted that the spirit discovered by the Patriot party in the House produced effects at the time and somewhat later, which cannot be overstated or overvalued. It may, indeed, be doubted whether any measure, however beneficial in itself, could in those days of venality and oppression, with a constitution so full of blemishes, and a spirit of intolerance influencing the best and ablest men of the day, such as Lucas for example, could be productive of any striking or permanent advantage. We must not be astonished then that the Octennial Bill was found incommensurate with the expectations of the Patriots, who might have looked for the reasons of this and similar disappointments in their own venality, intolerance, fickleness, and shortcomings, if they had chosen to reflect on themselves and their motives. The real advantages are to be found in the principles propounded and the spirit displayed in the debates.*

In short, no mere reforms in parliamentary elections or procedure could avail to create in this English colony, either a national spirit or national proportions, or to stay the corruption and venality so carefully organized by English governors for the express purpose of keeping it down, so long as the colony did not associate with itself the multitudinous masses of the Catholic people—so long as half a million had to hold down and coerce over two millions of disarmed and disfranchised people, and at the same time to contend with the insolence and rapacity of Great Britain. Nationality in Ireland was necessarily fated to be delusive and evanescent.

> "So long as Ireland did pretend,
> Like sugar-loaf turned upside down,
> To stand upon its smaller end."*

In the year 1767, the whole population of the island was estimated, or in part calculated, at 2,544,276, and of these less than half a million were Protestants of the two sects.

It must, however, be acknowledged that in this oppressive minority there began to be developed a very strong political vitality, chiefly owing to the strong personal interest which every one had in public affairs, and to the spread of political information, through newspapers and pamphlets, and the very able speeches which now began to give the Irish Parliament a just celebrity. Dr. Lucas conducted the *Freeman's Journal*, which was established very soon after the accession of George III. This journal was soon followed by another called the *Hibernian Journal*. Flood, Hussey, Burgh, Yelverton, and above all, Grattan, contributed to these papers. In the administration of Lord Townshend appeared the *Dublin Mercury*, a satirical sheet avowedly patronized by Government. It was intended to turn Patriots and Patriotism into ridicule: but the Government had not all the laughers on its side.

A witty warfare was carried on against Lord Townshend in a collection of letters on the affairs and history of Barataria, by which was intended Ireland. The letters of Posthumus and Pericles, and the dedication, were written by Henry Grattan, at the time of the publication a very young man. The principal papers, and all the history of Barataria, the latter being an account of Lord

* McNevin's History of the Volunteers.

* Moore. Memoir of Captain Rock.

Townshend's administration, his protest, and his prorogation, were the composition of Sir Hercules Langrishe. Two of his witticisms are still remembered, as being, in fact, short essays on the politics of Ireland. Riding in the park with the lord-lieutenant, his excellency complained of his predecessors having left it so damp and marshy; Sir Hercules observed, "they were too much engaged in *draining* the rest of the kingdom." Being asked where was the best and truest history of Ireland to be found? he answered: "In the continuation of *Rapin*."

CHAPTER XV.

1762—1767.

Reign of Terror in Munster—Murder of Father Sheehy—"Toleration," under the House of Hanover—Precarious condition of Catholic Clergy—Primates in hiding—Working of the Penal Laws—Testimony of Arthur Young.

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY with the parliamentary struggles for the Octennial Act, and for arresting, if possible, the public extravagance and corruption, there was going on in an obscure parish of Tipperary, one of those dark transactions which were so common in Ireland during all this century as to excite no attention, and leave scarcely a record—the judicial murder of Father Nicholas Sheehy. His story is a true and striking epitome of the history of the Catholic nation in those days, and the notoriety of the facts at the time, and the character of the principal victim, have caused the full details to be handed down to us, minutely and with the clearest evidence.

The bitter distresses of the people of Munster, occasioned by rack-rents, by the merciless exactions of the established clergy and their tithe-proctors, and by the inclosure of commons, had gone on increasing and growing more intense from the year 1760, until despair and misery drove the people into secret associations, and in 1762, as we have seen, the Whiteboys had in some places broken out into unconnected riots to pull down the fences that inclosed their commons, or to resist the collection of church-rates. These disturbances were greatly exaggerated in the reports made to Government by the neighboring Protestant proprietors, squires of the Cromwellian brood, who represented that wretched *Jacquerie* as nothing less than a Popish rebellion, instigated by France, supported by French money, and designed to bring in the Pretender.

The village of Clogheen lies in the valley between the Galtees and the range of Knockmaoldown, in Tipperary, near the borders of Waterford and of Cork counties. Its parish priest was the Reverend Nicholas Sheehy: he was of a good Irish family, and well educated, having, as usual at that period, gone to France—contrary to "law"—for the instruction denied him at home. On the Continent he had probably mingled much with the high-spirited Irish exiles, who made the name of Ireland famous in all the courts and camps of Europe, and on his perilous return (for that too was against the law), to engage in the labors of his still more perilous mission, his soul was stirred within him at the sight of the degradation and abject wretchedness of the once proud clans of the south. With a noble imprudence, which the moderate Dr. Curry terms "a quixotic cast of mind towards relieving all those within his district whom he fancied to be injured or oppressed;" he spoke out against some of the enormities which he daily witnessed. In the neighboring parish of Newcastle, where there were no Protestant parishioners, he had ventured to say that there should be no church-rates, and the people had refused to pay them. About the same time, the tithes of two Protestant clergymen in the vicinity of Ballyporeen, Messrs Foulkes and Sutton, were farmed to a tithe-proctor of the name of Dobbyn. This proctor forthwith instituted a new claim upon the Catholic people of his district, of five shillings for every marriage celebrated by a priest.* This new impost was resisted by the people, and as it fell heavily on the parishioners of Mr. Sheehy, he denounced it publicly; in fact he did not even conceal that he questioned altogether the divine right of a clergy to the tenth part of the

* These details and a great mass of others bearing on the case of Mr. Sheehy, are given by Dr. Madden in his First Series (United Irishmen). He has carefully sifted the whole of the proceedings, and thrown much light upon them.

produce of a half-starved people, of whose souls they had no cure. How these doctrines were relished by the Cromwellian magistrates and Anglican rectors in his neighborhood, may well be conceived. It was not to be tolerated that the Catholic people should begin to suppose that they had any rights. The legislation of the Ascendency had strictly provided that there should be no Catholic lawyers; it had also carefully prohibited education; nothing had been omitted to stifle within the hearts of the peasantry every sentiment of human dignity, and when they found that here was a man amongst the peasantry who could both read and write, and who could tell them how human beings lived in other lands, and what freedom and right were, it is not to be wondered at that his powerful neighbors resolved they would have his blood.

When in 1762, the troubles in the south were first supposed to call for military coercion, it was precisely in this village of Clogheen that the Marquis of Drogheda, commanding a considerable military force, fixed his headquarters. On that same night an assemblage of Whiteboys took place in the neighborhood, with the intention as was believed, of attacking the town, but a clergyman named Doyle, parish priest of Ardfinnan, on learning of their intention (as one of the informers states in his depositions), went amongst them and succeeded in preventing any offensive movement. His purpose, however, in so doing was as usual represented to be insidious.

From this time the Earl of Drogheda made several incursions into the adjacent country, "and great numbers of the insurgents," as we are informed by Sir Richard Musgrave, "were killed by his lordship's regiment, and French money was found in the pockets of some of them." We are not informed what the "insurgents" were doing when they were killed, nor in what this insurrection consisted, but we may here present the judgment of Edmund Burke upon those transactions:—"I was three times in Ireland, from the year 1760 to the year 1767, where I had sufficient means of information concerning the inhuman proceedings (among which were many cruel murders, besides an infinity of outrages and oppressions unknown before in a civilized age) which prevailed during that period, in consequence of a pretended conspiracy among Roman Catholics against the king's government." In short, there was no such conspiracy, and if the statement of Sir Richard Musgrave be true, which is highly improbable, that any coins of French money were found in the pockets of the slain, "that may be accounted for," says Mr. Matthew O'Connor, "as the natural result of a smuggling intercourse with France, and in particular of the clandestine export of wool to that country."*

While the troops were established at Clogheen they were constantly employed in this well-known method of pacifying the country, and they were seconded with sanguinary zeal by several neighboring gentlemen, especially Sir Thomas Maude, William Bagnell, and John Bagnell, Esquires; many arrests were made as well as murders committed, and active preparation was made for what in Ireland is called "trial" of those offenders—that is indictment before juries of their mortal enemies. Diligent in the arrangement of the panels for these trials, we find Daniel Toler, high sheriff of the county, who was either father or uncle of that other Toler, the bloody judge, afterwards known under the execrated title of Norbury.

Amidst all this we are not to suppose that Father Sheehy was forgotten. In the course of the disturbances he was several times arrested, indicted, and even tried as a "Popish priest," not being duly registered, or not having taken the abjuration oath: but so privately did the priests celebrate mass in those days that it was found impossible to procure any evidence against him. We find also that he was indicted at Clonmel assizes, in 1763, as having been present at a Whiteboy assemblage, and as having forced one Ross to swear that he never would testify against Whiteboys. At this same assizes, a true bill was found against Michael Quinlan, a Popish priest, for having at Aughnacarty and other places, exercised the office and functions of a Popish priest, against the peace of our lord the king and the statute, &c. To make conviction doubly sure, as in Sheehy's case, a second information was sent

* M. O'Connor. "History of the Irish Catholics."

up on the same occasion, charging Father Quinlan with a riotous assemblage at Aughnacarty, so that if it was not a riot it was a mass, and if it was not a mass it was a riot —criminal in either case.

It is needless to state the details of all these multifarious legal proceedings extending through several years. To pursue the story of Father Sheehy: he was acquitted on the charge of being a Popish priest, "to his own great misfortune," says poor Dr. Curry, "for had he been convicted, his punishment, which would be only transportation, might have prevented his ignominious death, which soon after followed." Can there be conceived a more touching illustration of the abject situation of the Catholics, than that such should be the reflection which suggested itself on such an occasion to the worthy Dr. Curry.

It also deserves to be noted in passing, that no public man in Ireland was more ferocious in denouncing the unhappy Whiteboys and calling for their blood, than the celebrated Patriot, Henry Flood. On the 13th of October, 1763, in moving for an instruction to the committee to inquire into the causes of the "insurrections" (which he would have to be a Popish rebellion and nothing less), he expressed his amazement that the indictments in the south were only laid for a riot and breach of the peace, and animadverted severely on the lenient conduct of the judges. The solicitor-general had actually to modify the wrath of the bloodthirsty Patriot, and to assure him "that whenever lenity had been shown, it was only where reason and humanity required it,"* which we may be very sure was true.

But whosoever might be allowed to escape, that lot was not reserved for Father Sheehy.† For two whole years, while the gibbets were groaning and the jails bursting with his poor parishioners, he was enabled to baffle all prosecution; sometimes escaping out of the very toils of the attorney-general by default of evidence, sometimes concealing himself in the glens of the mountains, until in the year 1765 the Government was prevailed upon by his powerful enemies to issue a proclamation against him, as a person guilty of high treason, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for taking him, which Sheehy in his retreat happening to hear of, immediately wrote up to Secretary Waite, "that as he was not conscious of any such crime, as he was charged with in the proclamation, he was ready to save to the Government the money offered for taking him, by surrendering himself out of hand, to be tried for that or any other crime he might be accused of; not at Clonmel, where he feared that the power and malice of his enemies were too prevalent for justice (as they soon after indeed proved to be), but at the court of King's Bench in Dublin." His proposal having been accepted, he was accordingly brought up to Dublin and tried there for rebellion, of which, however, after a severe scrutiny of fourteen hours, he was again acquitted; no evidence having appeared against him but a blackguard boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief, all brought out of Clonmel jail, and bribed for the purpose of witnessing against him.

But his inveterate enemies, who, like so many blood-hounds, had pursued him to Dublin, finding themselves disappointed there, resolved upon his destruction at all events. One Bridge, an infamous informer against some of those who had been executed for these riots, was said to have been murdered by their associates, in revenge (although his body could never be found),* and a considerable reward was offered for discovering and convicting the murderer. Sheehy, immediately after his acquittal in Dublin for rebellion, was indicted by his pursuers for this murder, and notwithstanding the promise given him by those in office on surrendering himself, he was transmitted to Clonmel, to be tried there for this new crime, and, upon the sole evidence of the same infamous witnesses, whose testimony had been so justly reprobated in Dublin, was there condemned to be hanged and quartered for the murder of a man who was never murdered at all.

* "Irish Debates." Year 1763.

† The remainder of the story of Father Sheehy is substantially the narrative of Curry.

* It was positively sworn, by two unexceptionable witnesses, that he privately left the kingdom some short time before he was said to have been murdered. See notes of the trial taken by one of the jury, in "Exshaw's Magazine" for June, 1766.

What barefaced injustice and inhumanity were shown to this unfortunate man on that occasion,* is known and testified by many thousands of credible persons, who were present and eye-witnesses on the day of his trial. A party of horse surrounded the court, admitting and excluding whomsoever they thought proper, while others of them, with Sir Thomas Maude at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner, breaking into inns and private lodgings in the town, challenging and questioning all new-comers, menacing the prisoner's friends, and encouraging his enemies: even after sentence of death was pronounced against him (which one would think might have satisfied the malice of his enemies), his attorney found it necessary for his safety, to steal out of the town by night, and with all possible speed make his escape to Dublin. The head of the brave murdered priest was spiked over the gates of Clonmel jail, and there remained twenty years. At last his sister was allowed to bury it where his body lies, in the old churchyard of Shandraghan.

The night before his execution, which was but the second after his sentence, he wrote a letter to Major Sirr, wherein he declared his innocence of the crime for which he was next day to suffer death; and on the morning of that day, just before he was brought forth to execution, he, in the presence of the sub-sheriff and a clergyman who attended him, again declared his innocence of the murder; solemnly protesting at the same time, as he was a dying man, just going to appear before the most awful of tribunals, that he never had engaged any of the rioters in the service of the French king, by tendering them oaths, or otherwise; that he never had distributed money among them on that account, nor had ever received money from France, or any other foreign court, either directly or indirectly, for any such purpose; that he never knew of any French or other foreign officers being among these rioters; or of any Roman Catholics of property or note, being concerned with them. At the place of execution he solemnly averred the same things, adding, "that he never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered in his lifetime; nor ever knew any thing of the murder of Bridge, until he heard it publicly talked of; nor did he know that there ever was any such design on foot."

Everybody knew, that this clergyman might, if he pleased, have easily made his escape to France, when he first heard of the proclamation for apprehending him; and as he was all along accused of having been agent for the French king, in raising and fomenting these tumults, he could not doubt of finding a safe retreat, and suitable recompense for such services, in any part of that kingdom. It seems, therefore, absurd in the highest degree, to imagine that he, or any man, being at the same time conscious of the complicated guilt of rebellion and murder, would have wilfully neglected the double opportunity of escaping punishment and of living at his ease and safety in another kingdom; or that any person, so criminally circumstanced as he was thought to be, would have at all surrendered himself to a public trial, without friends, money, or family connections; and, above all, without that consciousness of his innocence, on which, and the protection of the Almighty, he might possibly have relied for his deliverance.

* To mention only one instance out of many. During his trial, Mr. Keating, a person of known property and credit in that country, having given the clearest and fullest evidence, that, during the whole night of the supposed murder of Bridge, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, had lain in his house, that he could not have left it in the night-time without his knowledge, and consequently that he could not have been even present at the murder; the Reverend Mr. Hewetson, an active manager in these trials, stood up, and after looking on a paper that he held in his hand, informed the court that he had Mr. Keating's name on his list as one of those that were concerned in the killing of a corporal and sergeant, in a former rescue of some of these levellers. Upon which he was immediately hurried away to Kilkenny jail, where he lay for some time, loaded with irons, in a dark and loathsome dungeon: by this proceeding, not only his evidence was rendered useless to Sheehy, but also that of many others was prevented, who came on purpose to testify the same thing, but instantly withdrew themselves, for fear of meeting with the same treatment. Mr. Keating was afterwards tried for this pretended murder at the assizes of Kilkenny, but was honorably acquitted; too late, however, to be of any service to poor Sheehy, who was hanged and quartered some time before Mr. Keating's acquittal. The very same evidence which was looked upon at Clonmel as good and sufficient to condemn Mr. Sheehy, having been afterwards rejected at Kilkenny, as prevaricating and contradictory with respect to Mr. Keating.

Emboldened by this success, Sir Thomas Maude published an advertisement, somewhat in the nature of a manifesto, wherein, after having presumed to censure the administration for not punishing, with greater and unjustifiable severity, these wretched rioters, he named a certain day, on which the following persons of credit and substance in that country, viz.: Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrel, and others, were to be tried by commission at Clonmel, as principals or accomplices in the aforesaid murder of Bridge. And, as if he meant by dint of numbers, to intimidate even the judges into lawless rigor and severity, he sent forth a sort of authoritative summons "to every gentleman in the county to attend that commission." His summons was punctually obeyed by his numerous and powerful adherents; and these men, innocent (as will appear hereafter), were sentenced to be hanged and quartered by that commission.

It will naturally be asked, upon what new evidence * this sentence was passed, as it may well be supposed, that no use was made of the former reprobated witnesses on this occasion. But use *was* made of them, and a principal use too, in the trial and conviction of these devoted men. The managers, however, for the crown, as they impudently called themselves, being afraid, or ashamed, to trust the success of their sanguinary purposes to the now enfeebled, because generally exploded, testimony of these miscreants, looked out for certain props, under the name of *approvers*, to strengthen and support their tottering evidence. These they soon found in the persons of Herbert and Bier, two prisoners, accused, like the rest, of the murder of Bridge; and who, though absolutely strangers to it (as they themselves had often sworn in the jail), were nevertheless in equal danger of being hanged for it, if they did not purchase their pardon by becoming approvers of the former false witnesses. Herbert was so conscious of his innocence in respect to Bridge's murder, that he had come to the assizes of Clonmel, in order to give evidence in favor of the priest Sheehy; but his arrival and business being soon made known, effectual measures were taken to prevent his giving such evidence. Accordingly bills of high treason were found against him, upon the information of one of these reprobate witnesses, and a party of light horse sent to take him prisoner. Bier, upon his removal afterwards to Newgate, in Dublin, declared, in a dangerous fit of sickness, to the ordinary of that prison, with evident marks of sincere repentance, "that for any thing he knew to the contrary, the before-mentioned Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrel, were entirely innocent of the fact for which they had suffered death; and that nothing in this world, but the preservation of his own life, which he saw was in the most imminent danger, should have tempted him to be guilty of the complicated crimes of perjury and murder, as he then confessed he was, when he swore away the lives of those innocent men."

On Saturday morning, May 3d, 1766, the convicts were hanged and quartered at Clogheen. Their behavior at the place of execution was cheerful, but devout; not content to forgive, they prayed for and

* James Prendergast, Esq., a witness for Mr. Edmund Sheehy, perfectly unexceptionable in point of fortune, character, and religion, which was that of the established church, deposed, that on the day and hour on which the murder of Bridge was sworn to have been committed, viz.: about or between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock, on the night of the 28th of October, 1764, Edmund Sheehy, the prisoner, was with him and others, in a distant part of the country; that they and their wives had, on the aforesaid 28th of October, dined at the house of Mr. Tenison, near Ardfinan, in the county of Tipperary, where they continued until after supper; that it was about eleven o'clock when he and the prisoner left the house of Mr. Tenison, and rode a considerable way together on their return to their respective homes; that the prisoner had his wife behind him; that when he (Mr. Prendergast) got home, he looked at the clock, and found it was the hour of twelve exactly." This testimony was confirmed by several corroborating circumstances, sworn to by two other witnesses, against whom no exception appears to have been taken. And yet, because Mr. Tenison, although he confessed in his deposition, that the prisoner had dined with him in October, 1764, and does not expressly deny that it was on the 28th of that month; but says, conjecturally, that he was *inclined to think* that it was earlier than the 28th, the prisoner was brought in guilty. Thus positive and particular proof, produced by Mr. Prendergast, with the circumstances of the day and the hour, attested upon oath by two other witnesses, whose veracity seems not to have been questioned, was overruled and set aside by the vague and indeterminate surmise of Mr. Tenison. See "Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine," for April, and June, 1766."

blessed their prosecutors, judges, and juries. After they were tied up, each of them, in his turn, read a paper aloud, without tremor, hesitation, or other visible emotion, wherein they solemnly protested, as dying Christians, who were quickly to appear before the judgment-seat of God, "that they had no share either by act, counsel, or knowledge in the murder of Bridge; that they never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered amongst them; that they never heard that any scheme of rebellion, high treason, or a massacre, was intended, offered, or even thought of, by any of them; that they never knew of any commissions, or French or Spanish officers being sent, or of any money being paid to these rioters. After this, they severally declared, in the same solemn manner, that certain gentlemen, whose names they then mentioned, had tampered with them at different times, pressing them to make, what they called useful discoveries, by giving in examinations against numbers of Roman Catholics of fortune in that province (some of whom they particularly named) as actually concerned in a conspiracy, and intended massacre, which were never once thought of. But above all, that they urged them to swear, that the priest, Nicholas Sheehy, died with a lie in his mouth; without doing which, they said, no other discovery would avail them. Upon these conditions, they promised, and undertook to procure their pardons, acquainting them at the same time, that they should certainly be hanged, if they did not comply with them."

All that has since come to light with regard to these black transactions—the testimony of Burke (already cited) that there was no conspiracy for insurrection at all—the failure to produce the body of Bridge, though it was carefully searched for in the field where a witness swore it had been buried—the hatred notoriously cherished against Father Sheehy and all his friends, on account of his bold conduct in standing up for his poor parishioners—and we must add the whole course of Irish "justice" from that day to this—all compel us to credit the dying declaration of these men, who were also of unblemished character; and force us to the conclusion that the whole of these military executions and judicial trials in Munster, extending over four years, were themselves the result of a most foul conspiracy on the part of the Ascendency faction, with its government, its judges, its magistrates and its juries—based upon carefully organized perjury and carried through by brute force, to "strike terror" in Tipperary (a measure often found needful since), to destroy all the leading Catholics of that troublesome neighborhood; and above and before all things, to hang and quarter the body, and to spike the head, of the generous and kindly priest who told his people that they were human beings and had rights and wrongs.

Dr. Curry winds up his account of the transaction with these reflections:—

"Such, during the space of three or four years, was the fearful and pitiable state of the Roman Catholics of Munster, and so general did the panic at length become, so many of the lower sort were already hanged, in jail, or on the informers' lists, that the greatest part of the rest fled through fear; so that the land lay untilled, for want of hands to cultivate it, and a famine was with reason apprehended. As for the better sort, who had something to lose (and who, for that reason, were the persons chiefly aimed at by the managers of the prosecution), they were at the utmost loss how to dispose of themselves. If they left the country, their absence was construed into a proof of their guilt: if they remained in it, they were in imminent danger of having their lives sworn away by informers and approvers; for the suborning and corrupting of witnesses on that occasion, was frequent and barefaced, to a degree almost beyond belief. The very stews were raked, and the jails rummaged in search of evidence; and the most notoriously profligate in both were selected and tampered with, to give information of the private transactions and designs of reputable men, with whom they never had any dealing, intercourse, or acquaintance; nay, to whose very persons they were often found to be strangers, when confronted at their trial.

"In short, so exactly did these prosecutions in Ireland resemble, in every particular, those which were formerly set on foot

in England, for that villanous fiction of Oates's plot, that the former seem to have been planned and carried on entirely on the model of the latter; and the same just observation that hath been made on the English sanguinary proceedings, is perfectly applicable to those which I have now, in part, related, viz.: 'that for the credit of the nation, it were indeed better to bury them in eternal oblivion, but that it is necessary to perpetuate the remembrance of them, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn, if possible, our posetrity, and all mankind, never again to fall into so shameful and so barbarous a delusion.'"

All now seemed quiet in Munster: but it was the quietude of despair and exhaustion. The Whiteboy spirit was not really suppressed, because the oppressions which had occasioned it were not relaxed, but rather aggravated. Many hearths were now cold that had been the centre of a humble family circle four years before; and the surviving parishioners of Clogheen, when they saw the blackening skull of their revered priest upon its spike withering away in the wind, could read the fate that, on the first murmur of revolt, was in store for themselves or any who should take their part. The next year (1767), some further arrests were made, and the Ascendency party tried hard to get up an alarm about another "Popish rebellion." No executions followed on this occasion, as several benevolent persons contributed money to procure the prisoners the benefit of the best legal defence. It is with pleasure one reads among the names of the friends of an oppressed race who contributed to this fund, the name of Edmund Burke. One of the persons arrested on this last occasion, but afterwards discharged without trial, was Dr. McKenna, Catholic bishop of Cloyne. He, as well as all other ecclesiastics of his order, was, of course, at all times subject to the penalties of law, to transportation under the acts "for preventing the growth of Popery" in Queen Anne's time; and also to the penalty of *præmunire* under earlier laws: yet these bishops continued to exercise their office, to confirm and confer orders under a species of connivance, which passed for toleration. But their situation, as well as that of all their clergy, in these first years of King George III. was still as precarious and anomalous as it had been during all the reign of George II. Sometimes they were tolerated, sometimes persecuted. It depended upon the administration which happened to be in power; upon the temporary alarms to which the "Ascendency" was always subject; and upon the disposition of local proprietors and magistrates, who were occasionally men of liberal education, and relished the society of the neighboring priests who had graduated at Lisbon, or Salamanca, or Louvain, and who were then frequently far superior in cultivation and social refinement to the Protestant rectors, of whom Dean Swift sometimes betrays his low estimate. Even the regular clergy, although the rage and suspicion of the Ascendency were yet more bitter against them than the secular priests, were always to be found in Ireland. They ran more cruel risks, however, than the parish priest. If any blind or self-interested bigot desired to show his zeal in trampling on the right of conscience, or to raise the ferocious old cry of "No Popery!" the regular clergy formed an inexhaustible subject for his vociferations: if the legislature of the day wished to indulge the popular frenzy by the exhibition of new-fashioned enactments, or of a new series of tragedies—monks, jesuits, and friars were sure to pay the cost of the entertainment. It has often been affirmed, even by the timid Catholic writers of the last century, that the accession of the House of Hanover inaugurated an era of more liberal toleration. It is to be feared that this kind of admission on their part was but a courtly device to conciliate, if not to flatter, that odious House and its partisans; for the priest-hunters were never more active than in the reign of George I., when Garcia brought in his batches of captured clergymen, and received a good price out of the treasury upon each head of game. In the whole reign of George II., until the administration of Chesterfield, Catholic worship had to be celebrated with the utmost caution and secrecy. In this reign, Bernard MacMahon, Catholic Primate, "resided in a retired place named Ballymascanlon in the County of Louth; his habitation was little superior to a farm-

house, and for many years he was known through the country by the name of Mr. Ennis. In this disguise, which personal safety so strongly prompted, he was accustomed to travel over his diocese, make his visitations, exhort his people, and administer the sacraments."* In the same way, Michael O'Reilly, another primate, "lived in a humble dwelling at Turfegin, near Drogheda, and died here about the year 1758,"† just two years before the accession of George III. In the reign of George III. himself, we have seen Fathers Sheehy and Quinlan regularly indicted at assizes, for that they had, at such times and places, not having the fear of God before their eyes, but moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, said mass and did other functions of a Popish priest, against the peace of our lord the king, and contrary to the statutes in that case made and provided. We must, therefore, take these grateful acknowledgments of the liberal dispositions of the House of Hanover, with considerable qualification, remembering that the writers in question were laboring in the cause of Catholic Emancipation, under that royal House, and felt obliged to pay it some compliments upon its noble generosity.

As for the Catholic laity, their disabilities continued all this time in full force, and while a contemptuous connivance was shown to their religious worship, good care was taken to debar them from all profitable occupation, and to seize the poor remnants of their property. Indeed, the toleration of their worship was for the better securing of these latter objects; it was known that men who went regularly to mass would never take an oath that the King of England is head of the church, or that the mass is a damnable idolatry; and these oaths formed the very barrier which fenced in all the rich and fat things of the land for the Protestants, and shut the Papists out. That observant and honest English traveller, Arthur Young, was so powerfully struck with this true character of the Penal Laws, that in his account of his tour he more than once dwells upon it with righteous indignation. He says:—"But it seems to be the meaning, wish, and intent of the discovery laws, that none of them (the Irish Catholics) should ever be rich. It is the principle of that system, that wealthy subjects would be nuisances; and therefore every means is taken to reduce, and keep them to a state of poverty. If this is not the intention of these laws, they are the most abominable heap of self-contradictions that ever were issued in the world. They are framed in such a manner that no Catholic shall have the inducement to become rich....Take the laws and their execution into one view, and this state of the case is so true, that they actually do not seem to be so much levelled at the religion, as at the property that is found in it....The domineering aristocracy of five hundred thousand Protestants, feel the sweets of having two millions of slaves; they have not the least objection to the tenets of that religion which keeps them by the law of the land in subjection; but property and slavery are too incompatible to live together: hence the special care taken that no such thing should arise among them."—*Young's Tour in Irel.*, vol. ii., p. 48.

In another place Mr. Young repeats:—"I have conversed on the subject with some of the most distinguished characters in the kingdom, and I cannot after all but declare that the scope, purport, and aim of the laws of discovery, as executed, are not against the Catholic religion, *which increases under them*, but against the industry and property of whoever professes that religion. In vain has it been said, that consequence and power follow property, and that the attack is made in order to wound the doctrine through its property. If such was the intention, I reply, that seventy years' experience prove the folly and futility of it. Those laws have crushed all the industry, and wrested most of the property from the Catholics; but the religion triumphs; it is thought to increase." Readers may now understand the nature and extent of that vaunted "toleration," and the true intent and purpose of it, such as it was—namely, plunder.

* Brennan's Eccl. Hist., p. 573. † Ib.

CHAPTER XVI.

1767—1773.

Townshend, Viceroy—Augmentation of the army—Embezzlement — Parliament prorogued — Again prorogued—Townshend buys his majority—Triumph of the "English Interest"—New attempt to bribe the Priests—Townshend's "Golden Drops"—Bill to allow Papists to reclaim bogs—Townshend recalled—Harcourt, Viceroy—Proposal to tax absentees—Defeated—Degraded condition of the Irish Parliament—American Revolution, and new era.

The history of Lord Townshend's administration, and of the two which followed, is unhappily little more than a history of the most shameless corruption and servility on the part of the Irish Parliament, relieved, however, by some examples of a rising national spirit in the assertion of constitutional right. Very early in the same session of Parliament, which had finally passed the Octennial Bill, the attention of the House of Commons was especially called to the consideration of the army upon the Irish establishment. A message from the lord-lieutenant was sent to the House by the hands of the Right Hon. Sir George Macartney, in which he informed the Commons "that it is his majesty's judgment, that not less than 12,000 men should be constantly kept in the island for service, and that his majesty finding, that, consistently with the general public service, the number before mentioned cannot always be continued in Ireland, unless his army upon the Irish establishment be augmented to 15,235 men in the whole, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, his majesty is of opinion, that such augmentation should be immediately made, and earnestly recommends it to his faithful Commons to concur in providing for a measure which his majesty has extremely at heart, as necessary not only for the honor of his crown, but for the peace and security of his kingdom." The message was ordered to be entered on the journals, and at the same time a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the military establishment, and also into the application of the money granted for its support from the 25th March, 1751. The result of this inquiry showed manifest misconduct, as appears from the report at large, and the returns thereunto annexed: part of the report is to the following effect:

"Your committee beg leave to take notice that the entire reduction of the army, after the conclusion of the peace, did not take place till the latter end of the year 1764; and that it appears from the return of the quarter-master-general, that there were great deficiencies in the several regiments then upon the establishment, at the several quarterly musters comprised in the said paper, which precede the month of January, 1765; the full pay of such vacancies must amount to a very large sum, and ought, as your committee apprehends, to have been returned as a saving to the public, especially as it appeared to your committee, that orders were issued by government, not to recruit the regiments intended to be reduced." Upon the whole, it was resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, to lay before him the report of the said committee, to acknowledge his constant attention to the welfare of the people, to express the utmost confidence in his majesty's wisdom, that if upon such representation any reformation in the said establishment should appear necessary to his majesty, such alteration would be made therein as would better provide for the security of the kingdom, and at the same time reduce the expense of the establishment, in such a manner as might be more suitable to the circumstances of the nation. The Government, however, was able to secure a majority for their measure. As Mr. Plowden expresses it, "Vainly did the efforts of patriotism encounter the exertions of the *new system* to keep individuals steady to their post on the Treasury bench.

The Parliament was now dissolved; and the first Octennial Parliament was to be elected. There was an unusually long interval of sixteen months from the dissolution of the old to the meeting of this new Parliament. This interval was used by the Court in establishing the "new system;" which system was neither more nor less than buying the people's representatives in detail, by direct negotiation with individuals, instead of contracting for them by wholesale with the four or five noble "Undertakers," who owned many boroughs, and

influenced the owners of many others. Lord Townshend hoped to render the concession of the Octennial Act worse than nugatory, and to create a new *junta* in support of the *English interest*, independent of their former leaders. But he had not yet so matured his plan as to have insured the whole game. He had not altered the nature, but only raised the price, of accommodation; and, lavish as the Irish have generally been of their voices in Parliament to the highest bidder, there ever appear to have been some cases reserved out of the bargain. Such had been the reservation of right to vote for limited Parliaments, in some of the most obsequious devotees to the measures of the Castle; and such now was a similar exception in some of these pensioned supporters to resist the right of the English Council to make money bills originate with them, and not with the Commons of Ireland. On this point the British Cabinet and the Irish House of Commons came fairly to issue. The former determined to test the question in the most direct way, by the origination of a money bill in the Privy Council; and the latter resolved fairly to meet the issue. Accordingly, it was moved in the House of Commons, that a bill, entitled "An Act for granting to His Majesty the several Duties, Rates, Impositions, and Taxes, therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the Payment of the Interest of the Sums therein provided for and towards the Discharge of the said principal Sums," should be read a second time on the day following. This motion was negatived; and it was resolved that such bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House.

The lord-lieutenant, though he thought proper to allow the Irish Parliament to grant their own money in their own way, protested against the right claimed by the House of Commons, and endeavored, but in vain, to enter his protest upon their journals. The House would not submit to this encroachment upon their privileges: the Lords were less inflexible, and after much opposition and debate, his excellency's protest was solemnly recorded on the journals of the House of Peers. But before that was done, it having been generally suspected that such was his intention, the following motion was made in the House of Peers: "That the Speaker of this House be desired that no protest of any person whomsoever, who is not a lord of Parliament, and a member of this House, and which doth not respect a matter which had been previously in question before this House, and wherein the lord protesting had taken part with the minority, either in person or by proxy, be entered on the Journals of the House." After a warm debate upon this motion, the question was negatived upon a division of 30 against 5.

The 21st of November, 1769, was a day fixed for the trial of strength upon the English Privy Council's money bill. The motion being made that this bill be read a first time, it was carried in the affirmative; and the bill being accordingly read, a motion was made, and the question put, that the bill be read a second time to-morrow morning: the House divided: ayes, sixty-eight; noes, eighty-seven. Then the motion, that the bill be rejected, was put and carried by ninety-four against seventy-one; and it was resolved *that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House.* The lord-lieutenant took this defeat in the Commons so much to heart, that he resolved to bring no more Government questions before them during that session: or until he could, as the Castle phrase then was, make more sure of the king's business. The representations which were made of this transaction in England soon found their way into the newspapers, and the light in which Mr. Woodfall placed the majority of the Irish House of Commons on that important division in the *Public Advertiser*, fully proved the general sentiment entertained at the time in England upon the whole system of the Irish Government.* On the 18th day of December, 1769, a motion was made and carried, without opposition, that a paper entitled the *Public Advertiser*, by H. S. Woodfall, London, December the 9th, 1769, might be read. It contained the following words: "Hibernian patriotism is a transcript of that filthy idol worshipped at the London Tavern; insolence, assumed from an opinion of impu-

* Journ. Com., vol. 8, p. 344.

nity, usurps the place which boldness against real injuries ought to hold. The refusal of the late bill, because it was not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of the constitution, and to the certain ruin of the dependence of Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behavior more suiting an army of Whiteboys than the grave representatives of a nation. This is the most daring insult that has been offered to Government. It must be counteracted with firmness, or else the state is ruined. Let the refractory House be dissolved; should the next copy their example, let it also be dissolved; and if the same spirit of seditious obstinacy should continue, I know no remedy but one, and it is extremely obvious. The Parliament of Great Britain is supreme over its conquests, as well as colonies, and the service of the nation must not be left undone, on account of the factious obstinacy of a provincial assembly. Let our legislature, for they have an undoubted right, vote the Irish supplies; and so save a nation, that their own obstinate representatives endeavor to ruin." The perfect identity in tone and temper of this article with those of the *Times* at the present day (when any manifestation of spirit in Ireland irritates the British public) makes it well worth preserving, to show how very little the English feeling towards Ireland has varied or changed in a hundred years. These paragraphs having been read, it was resolved, that they were a false and infamous libel upon the proceedings of that House, a daring invasion of the Parliament, and calculated to create groundless jealousies between His Majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland: it was therefore ordered, that the said paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. And on the Wednesday following, viz., the 20th of December, the said paper was burned before the gate of the House of Commons by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the sheriffs of Dublin, amidst the indignant shouts of an immense crowd of spectators, who loudly, though without outrage, resented the insult offered to their representatives.

It was evident that Lord Townshend's new system of government had not yet been sufficiently perfected. There was a new assault in preparation during the month o December in this year, 1769, against the enormous pension-list, and although he knew he could command a majority upon that (ninety-eight being against the agitation of the pension-list at that time, and eighty-nine for it), still the majority was too trifling to trust to, and a victory on such terms would have been a moral defeat. He determined to prorogue the House. This became known to the Commons and the country, and the House, in an address, requested that his excellency would inform the House whether he had any instructions or had any intention to prorogue the Parliament sooner than usual. Here again the lord-lieutenant found his deficiency *in doing the king's business:* for upon a division on the main question the minister was left once more in a greater minority than ever, there being 106 or his excellency's making the declaration, and seventy-three only against it. On the very next day, however, Sir George Macartney, the secretary, reported to the House, that his excellency had returned the following answer:

"Gentlemen—I shall always be desirous of complying with your request when I can do it with propriety. I do not think myself authorized to disclose his majesty's instructions to me upon any subject, without having received his majesty's commands for so doing. With regard to my intentions, they will be regulated by his majesty's instructions and *future events.*" In fact, on the day after Christmas, Lord Townshend prorogued the Parliament, at first only till the 20th of March following. The lord-lieutenant having experienced so much inflexibility and difficulty in the management of the Commons in the first session, fully resolved to meet them no more in Parliament, till they were properly marshalled, and thoroughly broken in to every manœuvre of the new tactics. His excellency accordingly by proclamation on the 12th of March, 1770, prorogued them to Tuesday, the 1st of May following; on the 20th of April, 1770, he further prorogued them to the 28th of August, and by three other successive proclamations he further prorogued them to different periods, and finally to the 26th of February,

1771, then to sit for dispatch of business. In the mean time affairs were falling into some confusion; several temporary acts which required renewal had expired; the contest in Ireland excited the sympathies of the whig party in England, and in May, 1770, the Hon. Boyle Walsingham brought up in Parliament at Westminster the whole subject of the late extraordinary prorogations in Dublin, and moved for papers connected therewith. Lord North, the minister, of course defended the prorogations, which he said he had himself advised; and declared the conduct of the Irish Parliament to be contrary to Poynings' Law, "the grand bond of the dependence of Ireland upon England." The House divided upon the motion for papers, when 66 voted for it, but 178 voted against all inquiry.

Lord Townshend and his creatures were not idle during the long Parliamentary *interregnum*. It is painful to be obliged to record that his system of personal individual corruption made good progress. "Patriots" were won over to the administration, among whom appeared conspicuously, Mr. Saxton Perry, member for Limerick, who first received the support of the Government in being elected as Speaker of the House, with a promise of a peerage. Many others had been secured, some with money, some with honors, and in February, 1771, his excellency faced the Parliament with full confidence, which it soon appeared was not misplaced. The first division was on an address of the Commons to his majesty in answer to the lord-lieutenant's speech; in this address they returned their most humble thanks to his majesty, for graciously continuing his excellency, Lord Townshend, in the government of the kingdom. The slavish address was opposed, but was carried by 132 against 107. Lord Townshend never had any further trouble in managing Parliament and doing the king's business. Mr. Ponsonby, the Speaker of the House, however, refused to be the official medium of presenting the servile address; he resigned at once, requesting the House "to elect another Speaker who may not think such conduct inconsistent with his honor." Mr. Perry was thereupon elected. "And the conduct and speech of Mr. Perry on this occasion bespoke the forward zeal of a new proselyte."*

Having now secured his majority in Parliament, the grand policy of Lord Townshend was to do away with the effects of the Patriotic votes in the last session, and justify his own conduct in the prorogations. He was to make this Irish Parliament stultify itself and eat its own words, and in all this he was eminently successful. Nothing was permitted to pass without a division, so as to parade continually before the eyes of the people of Ireland, and of his employers in England the thorough training in which the viceroy had his Parliament at last. The Commons, however—that is the remaining Patriots in the House—made one last effort, by moving an address to the king, containing some pitiful remonstrances:—as that "his faithful Commons did confidently hope that a law for securing the independence of the judges of this kingdom would have passed; such a law having been recommended and promised by his excellency the lord-lieutenant, in a speech from the throne in the first session of his excellency's government," and several other remonstrances of a like kind. The address was ordered to be opposed, and it was lost by a vote of 123 against 68.

Yet once more the viceroy's well-drilled ranks were to be paraded. In the address of the Commons to the lord-lieutenant, which was moved for and carried on the 16th of May, two days only before the prorogation, the Patriots objected to the thanks contained in it for his excellency's *just and prudent administration;* but on a division they were outvoted by 106 against 51; this address together with the king's answer to the address of the Commons to the throne, was considered, by the Castle, to have completely counteracted the whole effect of the successful efforts of the Patriots in the last session, and to have given the express royal sanction to every part of the viceroy's conduct.

The address of the lords to the king con-

* Plowden. It should be remarked that this historian wrote his first series in a spirit favorable to the Union, and, therefore, has some propensity to disparage the "Patriots" of the colony, and to poin out their helplessness or venality.

tained the following paragraph: "We have the truest sense of many instances, which your majesty has been pleased to afford us of your paternal care, and particularly your continuing the Lord Viscount Townshend in the government of this kingdom, of which, as his experience enables him to form the truest judgment, so his candor and integrity will, we doubt not, move him to make the justest representation." A warm debate took place upon the question being put, that the said paragraph do stand part of the address, which was carried by thirty against fifteen. A manly protest was entered by sixteen peers, whose titles deserve to be recorded. They were

Leinster (by proxy),	Baltinglass,
Westmeath,	Mount-Cashell,
Lanesborough,	Moira (by proxy),
Shannon,	Longford,
Mornington,	Louth,
Lisle,	Bective,
Powerscourt,	Molesworth,
Charlemont,	Bellamont.

In this session Lord Townshend proved, by his two-thirds majority on no fewer than seventeen divisions, that he could now make that Parliament vote anything he ordered, whether in matter of opinion or matter of fact. He chose that there should be no parliamentary inquiry, this time, into finances and pensions, and accordingly there was not. It appears evident, from the arguments of the still uncorrupted Patriots of the House of Commons, from the protest of the sixteen peers, from the state of the national accounts still upon record, and from other historical documents, that the national debt of Ireland very heavily accumulated during the administration of Lord Townshend; yet we find, that after the experience, which two years and a quarter had given him of the inadequacy of the fiscal resources of that kingdom to answer his new plan of keeping up the *English interest*, he refrained from calling on the Commons for any supplies, alleging in his speech to Parliament, on the 26th of February, 1771, that with very strict economy, the duties granted last session would be sufficient to answer the expenses of his majesty's government; and therefore he would ask no further supply.

The confidence with which Lord Townshend met the Parliament in October, 1771, was strongly displayed in his speech. "My experience," said his excellency, "of your attachment to his majesty's person, and of your zeal for the public service, affords me the best-grounded hopes, that nothing will be wanting on your part to co-operate with his majesty's gracious intentions to promote the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, and when to this consideration I add my remembrance of your kind regard for the ease and honor of my administration, I feel the most sensible pleasure in the present opportunity, which his majesty has given me, of meeting you a fourth time in Parliament." Notwithstanding his boasted economy, which prevented his application to the Commons for any further supply last session, he now told them "that it was with concern that he must ask a sum of money to discharge the arrears already incurred on his majesty's establishments, but that they would find they had been unavoidable; for that the strictest economy had been used." etc. Another part of the lord-lieutenant's speech on the opening of this Parliament, referred to the illegal associations and outrages of the "Hearts of Steel" in the north of Ireland. The violence of these people had greatly increased and extended to other countries than those in which the society had first appeared. They exacted oaths by force, maltreated obnoxious individuals, and destroyed houses. Some of them were taken and tried at Carrickfergus; but whether from want of evidence, from fear of incurring the resentment of the populace, or from partiality in the witnesses and the jury, they were acquitted. On this account the legislature passed an act, by which all persons indicted of such offences were ordered to be tried in counties different from those in which the excesses were committed. In consequence, several of the Steel Boys against whom examinations had been taken, were carried to Dublin and put upon their trial. But so strong was the prejudice conceived against this new law, that no jury there would find any of them guilty. It will be remembered that these rioters were all Protestants, as were also all the jurors who tried them. If they had been Catholics, there would have been no difficulty in

vindicating the law. The obnoxious act, however, was repealed, and after that many convictions and executions took place. The effects, not of the riots, but of the oppressions which produced them, were for a long time prejudicial to the country, and the emigration to America was renewed to a greater extent than ever before.

The session passed in an unbroken series of servile divisions in favor of every thing the Castle wished; against every thing the Castle disliked. In the address to the king occurred these words, "We are fully persuaded that the support of your majesty's government is the great and firm basis of the freedom and happiness of this country." A Patriot ventured on an amendment, that before the word *support*, the word *constitutional* should be inserted; it was negatived by a vote of eighty-eight against thirty-six.

During this administration we find by the journals mentioning the tellers upon the different divisions, that three of the most forward and constant supporters of every government question were Mr. Monk Mason, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Fitzgibbon; and the truth or falsity of the propositions little availed, provided it were made a Government question. Thus besides the instances already adduced, we find upon the journals (8 vol. iii.) the following resolution negatived on the 8th of March, 1766: "That it be resolved, that the office of a commissioner of his majesty's revenue would be better executed by a person resident in this kingdom, than by an absentee." During this session of 1771, died Dr. Lucas, whom, from his first entrance into political life, no promises or offers could seduce from untainted patriotism. The citizens of Dublin erected his statue in the exchange. The remainder of Lord Townshend's administration passed over without any notable incident. No legislative measure was adopted either for or against the Catholics, but his lordship could not retire from a situation which he had held in Ireland for five years without giving some proof of his attachment to the Protestant religion.

A provision had been made by the 8th of Anne, that every Popish priest, who should become Protestant, and be approved of as a convert, should have £30 yearly for his maintenance, until provided for by some ecclesiastical preferment beyond that amount. But by an act of this session it was recited, that it had been found by experience, that the former act had not answered the purposes intended, *especially as the provision* made as aforesaid *for such Popish priests is in no respect a sufficient encouragement for Popish priests to become converts;* it was therefore enacted, that £40 should in future be allowed annually, in lieu of £30 to every Popish priest converted. The multiplication of these allowances up to the height of the most proselytizing zeal could not interfere with the civil list of pensioners, as these spiritual *douceurs* were to be levied on the inhabitants of the district, wherein the convert last resided. These additional pittances of £10 were called by the Irish, *Townshend's golden drops.* They were not found more efficacious than the former prescription.

This act for the encouragement of converts to the Protestant religion was also in some measure deemed necessary to counterbalance the effects of another act made in the same session, supposed to be very favorable to the Catholics, and which in times of less liberality had been repeatedly thrown out of Parliament, as tending to encourage Popery to the detriment and prejudice of the Protestant religion. This was *An Act to encourage the reclaiming of unprofitable Bogs*, and recites that there were large tracts of deep bogs in several counties of the kingdom, which in their then state were not only unprofitable, but by their damps rendered the air unwholesome; and it had been found by experience, that such bogs were capable of improvement, and of being converted into arable or pasture land, if encouragement were given to the lower class of people to apply their industry to the reclaiming of them. It therefore enacted, that notwithstanding the laws then in force, any Catholic might be at liberty to take a lease of fifty plantation acres of such bog, and one half an acre of arable land adjoining thereto, as a site for a house, or for the purpose of delving for gravel or limestone, for manure, at such rent as should be agreed upon between him and the owner of the soil, as also from ecclesiastical or bodies cor-

porate; and for further encouragement, the tenant was to be free for the first seven years from all tithes and cesses; but it was provided, that if half of the bog demised were not reclaimed at the end of twenty-one years, the lease should be void; and no bog was to be considered unprofitable, unless the depth of it from the surface, when reclaimed, were four feet at least; and no person was to be entitled to the benefit of the act, unless he reclaimed ten plantation acres; and the act was not to extend to any bog within one mile of a city or market town.

The provisions of this act give us a clearer idea than any labored disquisition could do, of the depressed condition of the Catholics of that day, and of the manner in which they were regarded by the colonists—"Patriots" and all.

Lord Townshend's administration was drawing to a close; and he had done his British errand well. No viceroy had yet succeeded in establishing in Ireland such profound demoralization and debasement.

The baneful example of the chief governor's marshalling the ranks of Parliament encouraged the already too deeply rooted principle of despotism throughout the nation. Not only the great lords and real owners of land exercised in general a most ferocious rule over their inferiors; but that obnoxious race of self-created gentlemen, whose consequence and virtue consisted in not being Papists, and whose loyalty was mere lust for persecuting and oppressing them, were uncontrollable in their petty tyranny. Even the lord-lieutenant was so sensible of it, that being resolved to pardon a Catholic gentleman unjustly found guilty, he withdrew the hand of mercy, with this reflection: "I see them resolved upon his blood, so he may as well go now."

In his farewell speech to Parliament, this able British agent sarcastically complimented the miserable crew, over whom he had so often shaken his whip—"I have upon every occasion endeavored, to the utmost of my power, to promote the public service, and I feel the most perfect satisfaction in now repeating to you my acknowledgments for the very honorable manner in which (after a residence of near five years amongst you) you have declared your entire approbation of my conduct. Be assured that I shall always entertain the most ardent wishes for your welfare, and shall make a faithful representation to his majesty of your loyalty and attachment to his royal person and government."

On the whole, we cannot but acquiesce in the cruel judgment passed upon the Irish Parliament by the worthy Dr. Campbell,* at the moment when Lord Townshend retired, and gave place to his successor, Lord Harcourt—"*Lord Harcourt then found the Parliament of Ireland as obsequious as that of Great Britain.*" It would be impossible to use a stronger expression.

When Lord Harcourt assumed the government, in October, 1772, he had little to do but to continue the system which his predecessor had with so much perseverance, difficulty, and charge to the finance, regularly established, according to his instructions from the British cabinet. In order, therefore, to give continuance and stability to the new *English interest*, which had been raised upon the partial destruction of the Irish oligarchy, as Lord Clare observed, a man was chosen of amiable character, easy disposition, and of no other ambition than to move by the direction, and thus acquire the approbation of his immediate employers. With the active labor of office, he considered that he also threw the burden of responsibility upon his secretary. He had been nearly twelve months in the government of Ireland before he met the Parliament, on the 12th of October, 1773.

The first stand made by the Patriots was upon an alarm at the intention of Government, in laying the public accounts before the House, to hold back some of the documents which would too palpably bring to light the means used by the last viceroy for insuring a majority to *do the king's business.* After the House had ordered the different accounts and estimates to be laid before it, an amendment was proposed to add these words: "As far as there are materials for that purpose." A division took place, and

* "Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland." This is the work of an honest and liberal man, though not so valuable as the Tour of Arthur Young.

the amendment was carried by 88 against 52. Thus it was left in the discretion of the clerks, or rather of the Government, to bring forward or hold back what materials they chose.

Lord Harcourt's administration is remarkable for the first proposal to impose an absentee-tax on non-resident Irish landlords. This proposal came from the crown; and it was to the effect that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid on the net rental of landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not reside in that kingdom for six months in each year, from Christmas, 1773, to Christmas, 1775. The proposal, being against the interest of England, was evidently not sincere on the part of Government: all officials were left at perfect liberty to support it or not: the interest of the great landlords was against it; and the only wonder was that it was defeated by so small a majority, 122 against 102.

But we have now arrived at an epoch in the history of the world, from which many things in modern history take their departure. It has been thought needful to go into some detail to show the miserable and abject condition of Ireland at this precise period, in order to make more apparent the wonderful change soon produced by the reflection and reverberation of the great American revolution.

CHAPTER XVII.

1774—1777.

American affairs—Comparison between Ireland and the Colonies—Contagion of American opinions in Ireland—Paltry measure of relief to Catholics—Congress at Philadelphia—Address of Congress to Ireland—Encouragement to Fisheries—4,000 "armed negotiators"—Financial distress—First Octennial Parliament dissolved—Grattan—Lord Buckingham, Viceroy—Successes of the Americans.

The American "Stamp Act" had been passed in 1765, just while the Irish Parliament was in the midst of its struggle for limited Parliaments and against the pension list. The next year the Stamp Act had been repealed, but had been soon followed by the attempt to impose "port duties." The steady organized resistance of the Americans had caused the British ministry to relinquish these port duties also, except the duty on tea, in the year 1770. The question between the mother-country and the colonies being thus reduced to a matter of threepence per pound on tea, the colonists being once aroused, having laid down the principle, "No taxation without representation," would not pay that threepence. A year after Lord Harcourt came to Ireland as viceroy, the people of Boston emptied a cargo of taxed tea into the harbor of that port; and in the course of the following year, 1774, Edmund Burke made one of his first celebrated speeches, in favor of a repeal of the tea duty, in the British Parliament. The motion had been made by Mr. Fuller, member for Rye, but failed, though it was supported by the eloquence of Burke; and the House, we are told, was very much amused and delighted by the ingenious declamation of that extraordinary orator, while he eulogized his friend, Lord Rockingham and his government, and ridiculed in his peculiar style the present cabinet—"An administration so checkered and speckled, a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid, such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement, here a bit of black stone, there a bit of white," etc. But though there was much laughter and cheering, the motion to repeal the tea duty was lost on a division of 184 against 51. If it be any comfort to us, the fact is certain, that the British Parliament of that day was fully as servile as the Irish, and very much more stupid.

It was evident that the last resort of war had nearly arrived; and the very strong analogies which existed between the American colonies and the Irish colony were quite sufficient to occasion in the latter country not only an intense interest, but a deep sympathy also in the American struggle. The situation of the two countries was not indeed precisely alike. The North American colonies had never pretended to be a kingdom, as the English colony in Ireland did. Ireland was not taxed absolutely without representation, although the dependent position of her Parliament, under Poynings' Law, made her representation quite illusory for any efficient security. The American colonists were then about three

millions in number; the Irish, only half a million—for the two millions of Catholics were not counted as members of the body politic. Ireland was within easy reach and striking distance of the common enemy, and America was divided from her by three thousand miles of ocean—no trifling advantage in the days when steam navigation was not. Above all, America had this one great and signal advantage over Ireland, that the colonists, though of different religions, were all equal before the law, and felt themselves equally concerned in the common interest. They were also all armed, and accustomed to the use of weapons, while in Ireland the penal laws had effectually disarmed and reduced to a state of utter helplessness, four-fifths of the entire population.

There was, however, quite sufficient resemblance between the cases of the two countries to disquiet Lord North's administration very considerably. The minister, therefore, wisely, though silently, instructed the lord-lieutenant to endeavor by all means to soothe and engage the affections of the Catholics by gradual relaxations of the rigorous code of penalties, pains, and disabilities, under which they had so long and so patiently suffered. As early, therefore, in the session as the 10th of November, 1773,* leave was given to bring in the heads of a bill to secure the repayment of money that should be really lent and advanced by Papists to Protestants on mortgages of lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and that it might be understood to be a Government measure of grace, Mr. Mason, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and Mr. Langrishe, great and determined supporters of Government, were ordered to bring it in.† On the preceding day leave had been given to bring in heads of a bill to enable Papists, upon certain terms and provisoes, to take leases of lives, of lands, tenements, and hereditaments; but neither one or the other of these bills at that time proceeded. The Irish antipathies to Popery, and the reluctance of most men in place or power in Ireland to do justice to the Catholics, deterred the easy mind of Lord Harcourt from pushing forward what they persuaded him would create difficulties and disturbances in Parliament, and interrupt that easy and quiet majority which Government then enjoyed, and which he had it strongly in command to keep up by all possible and prudent means. Although the managers of the *English interest* in Ireland (this lord-lieutenant was but their passive tool) had blasted these two scions of indulgence in their first shoot, yet the British ministry sent over positive and uncontrollable orders that some act of the legislature should positively be passed in that session, of a soothing and conciliatory tendency to the Catholics, well imagining that the breadth of the Atlantic would not prevent the infection of political discontent in persons equally suffering a deprivation of that nutriment and support which their constitution required for the preservation of their existence. On the 5th of March, 1774, therefore, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him; and as the bill remitted no part of the then existing code of severity, but accorded merely a permission to the Catholics of expressing their allegiance to their sovereign, which before they had not, it passed both Houses without obstruction or opposition. Of this measure, paltry as it was, and even insulting, when coupled with the rejection of the bills to allow Catholics to take mortgages or leases, Mr. Plowden observes—"It gratified the Catholics, inasmuch as it was a formal recognition that they were subjects, and to this recognition they looked up as to the corner-stone of their future emancipation."

It cannot fail to strike every reader that whatever miserable indulgences, tolerations, or connivances were extended to the Catholics during all the era of the penal laws, were carefully calculated to prevent them from getting any hold upon the *land*. Thus they were now permitted to testify allegiance if they chose, but could in no case take a mortgage on real estate, because mortgages are often foreclosed, and the mortgagee becomes entitled to the land. They might attend mass, but could by no means be allowed to have a lease for lives. Mr. Burke, in a letter written in 1775,* ascribes this policy not so much to the greedy determination of Protestants to own all the wealth of the king-

* 9 Com. Journ., p. 28. † Ibid., p. 27.

* Letter to an Irish Peer.

dom as to mere arrogance and insolence. He says, "From what I have observed, it is pride, arrogance, a spirit of domination, and not a bigoted spirit of religion, that has caused and kept up those oppressive statutes. I am sure I have known those, who have oppressed Papists in their civil rights, exceedingly indulgent to them in their religious ceremonies; and who wished them to continue, in order to furnish pretences for oppression; and who never saw a man by conforming escape out of their power, but with grudging and regret. I have known men, to whom I am not uncharitable in saying, though they are dead, that they would become Papists in order to oppress Protestants; if being Protestants it was not in their power to oppress Papists." But whosoever has read the narrative of events down to the time at which we are now arrived, will scarcely resist the conclusion that the controlling idea in all the policy of the Ascendency was simple greediness.

Meanwhile the dispute with America was very fast approaching the arbitrement of war. The first general Congress had been opened in Philadelphia on the 4th of September, 1774. All eyes in Ireland were turned to this impending struggle, and the obvious community of interest which Ireland had with those Transatlantic colonies, made their case the theme of conversation in private circles, as well as of debates in Parliament. The attention of the country was still more strongly aroused when the Continental Congress, amongst other forcible addresses issued at this time, directed one to the "People of Ireland."

"We are desirous of the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with the true state of our motives and objects; the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision. Your Parliament had done us no wrong. You had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America." In fact, most of the leading members of the opposition in both countries (who afterwards composed that administration, which put an end to the American war) opposed the war upon principle; they inveighed against the unconstitutional exactions of the ministry, and in their debates went very little short of formally justifying the American rebellion. The analogy between America and Ireland was too close to pass unnoticed; and the defection of the American Colonies produced strong effects upon Ireland. The exportation of Irish linen for America had been very considerable; but now this great source of national wealth was totally shut up, by an extraordinary stretch of prerogative. Under the pretext of preventing the Americans from being supplied with provisions from this country, an embargo was laid on the exportation of provisions from Ireland, which in prejudicing that kingdom, served only to favor the adventures of British contractors. This embargo, combined with other causes, which were invariable and permanent, produced the most melancholy effects. Wool and black cattle fell considerably in value, as did also land; and rents in many places could scarcely be collected, so much was public credit essentially injured. In short, it was again judged necessary, in presence of these exciting questions with America, "to do something for poor Ireland," as the phrase then ran.

The nature of the benefit, however, was to be considered, and nothing could seem better adopted, than a donation, which would be an advantage instead of a loss to the giver. It was not itself very considerable, but it might be considered as a beginning; and small benefits carry weight with those who have not been habituated to great favors. It had been shown to the British Parliament, that the exports from England to Ireland amounted then to £2,400,000 annually; besides the latter supported a large standing army, at all times ready for the defence of the former; and immense sums of her ready cash were spent in England by her numerous absentees, pensioners, and placemen; yet by oppressive restrictions in trade, Ireland was out off from the benefit of her great natural staple commodity, as well as excluded from the advantage that she might derive from the peculiarity of her situation.

The British minister on the 11th of October, 1775, moved for a committee of the whole House, to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland.* This attention to Ireland was generally approved of, and after some conversation on the hardships that country suffered, it was proposed by Mr. Burke to extend the motion, by adding the words "trade and commerce;" and thereby afford an opportunity to grant such relief and indulgence in those exports, as might be done without prejudice to Great Britain. The minister objected to this; however, the committee in its progress granted several bounties to the ships of Great Britain and Ireland, for their encouragement in prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery; and it was further resolved in favor of Ireland, that it should be lawful to export from thence, clothes and accoutrements for such regiments on the Irish establishment, as were employed abroad: and also, that a bounty of five shillings per barrel should be allowed on all flax seeds imported into Ireland. This last resolution was passed to prevent the evils that were apprehended there, from the cutting off their great American source of supply in that article. Another resolution was also passed, by which Ireland was allowed to export provisions, hooks, lines, nets, and tools for the implements of the fishery. The committee also agreed to the granting of bounties for encouraging the whale fishery, in those seas that were to the southward of Greenland and Davis's Straits fisheries: and, upon the same principle, took off the duties that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone, from Newfoundland, etc. They also took off the duty that was payable upon the importation of seal skins.

* An English minister was always obliged to be extremely cautious in approaching any measure for the encouragement of the Irish fisheries. It was in the reign of William the Third, that certain fishermen in Folkestone and Aldborough, in the south of England, presented mournful petitions to Parliament, stating that they suffered "from Ireland, by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford! and sending them to the Straits, and thereby forestalling and ruining the petitioners' markets." These impudent fishermen had, as Hutchinson says, the *hard lot* of having motions which were made in their favor, rejected. See the Commercial Restraints, p. 126.

A part of the policy of this petty measure was to give to Ireland some portion of the benefits of which the war would deprive America. Mr. Burke, on this occasion, while he thanked Lord North for the trifling boon to his country, took occasion to say "that however desirous he might be to promote any scheme for the advantage of Ireland, he would be much better pleased that the benefits thus held out should never be realized, than that Ireland should profit at the expense of a country which was, if possible, more oppressed than herself."

But, strong as was the sympathy between Ireland and America, and earnestly as the mass of the people—both Catholic and Protestant—wished success to the patriotic colonists, the Government was determined to place the two oppressed countries as far as possible in a position of, at least, apparent antagonism. With this view, Lord Harcourt, in the year 1775—just as hostilities had commenced at Lexington—demanded the services of four thousand men, out of the twelve thousand which then constituted the effective force of regular troops in Ireland, to be dispatched to America, for duty there. At the same time, the lord-lieutenant said it was his gracious Majesty's intention to supply the place of the four thousand men with foreign Protestant soldiers—in short, with Hessians. The Court party, which was now, on most questions, irresistible (though there were *reserved* questions, as the origination of money-bills), carried the measure for granting the four thousand men, on the terms that they should not be a charge to the Irish revenue while serving abroad. There was much objection made by the Patriots, to sending these troops "to cut the throats of the Americans;" and there were many expressions of sympathy and respect towards the colonists, in the course of the debate; but the measure was carried. Mr. Flood, indeed, whose conduct is not clear of the imputation of corruption, voted to send the four thousand men "as armed negotiators"—such was his cold and cruel expression.*

* In the tremendous philippic pronounced by Grattan against Flood, in 1783, he thus deals with Mr. Flood's vote of 1775: "With regard to the liberties of America, which were inseparable from ours,

But although the Irish Parliament gave these troops, it would not accept the Hessians. Much to the surprise and embarrassment of Government, the second proposition for introducing foreign troops into that kingdom was negatived by nearly as large a majority as the first was carried; namely, by 106 against 68. The House accordingly voted an address to his excellency, expressive of their sense and resolution upon this subject, and stating "that, with the assistance of the Government, his majesty's loyal people of Ireland may be able so to exert themselves as to make such aid at this juncture unnecessary." This conduct of the Irish Commons is of singular importance in the history of Ireland, inasmuch as it was the first patriotic step taken by the representatives of the people towards attaining that state of civil liberty which was obtained by the nation in what Mr. Burke called "their revolution of 1782." In truth, the address to Lord Harcourt, in which the legislature promised for the people that they would *exert themselves*, and make foreign soldiers unnecessary, already distinctly foreshadowed the volunteering.

When the four thousand troops were designated for this American service, an honorable action deserves to be recorded: the Earl of Effingham, finding that the regiment in which he served was destined to act against the colonies, thought it inconsistent with his character and unbecoming his dignity to enforce measures with his sword, which he had condemned in his legislative capacity. He therefore wrote a letter to the Secretary at War, resigning his command in the army, and stating his reasons for it. This conduct rendered that nobleman extremely popular, and the city of Dublin, at the Midsummer quarter assembly, voted public thanks to Lord Effingham, "for having, consistently with the principles of a true Englishman, refused to draw his sword against the lives and liberties of his fellow-subjects in America." Soon after an address of thanks, in fuller terms, was presented to him from the guild of merchants of Dublin: the latter also presented an address of thanks to the several peers, who (as they said) "in support of the constitution, and in opposition to a weak and wicked administration, protested against the American Restraining Bills." This address, with the several answers of the lords to whom it was presented, appeared at that time in the public papers, and produced a very strong sensation throughout the nation. But on the other hand, we find that great Irish Whig, Lord Rawdon, afterwards Lord Moira, serving zealously in America against the rebels: and it is not without a feeling of shame that Irishmen can ever read on that same list the name of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The remainder of Lord Harcourt's administration was occupied mainly with parliamentary troubles about money bills. Heads of a bill were sent to England granting certain duties for the public service. The bill was altered by the Privy Council, and when it came back it was rejected on that express ground. The Patriotic party, then, finding themselves supported on these financial questions by several members on the opposite side of the House, determined to try their strength upon a motion for an address to the king, setting forth in candid and striking terms the unhappy state of the nation. This motion was made two days before the end of the session. The address, after the usual preamble declaring loyal duty and devotion, stated that at the close of the last war the debt of the nation did not exceed £521,161 16*s.* 6*d.*: that after a peace of ten years the debt was found to be £994,890 10*s.* 10*d.*—"a circumstance so alarming and insupportable to his people, that they determined with one voice to put an end to the pernicious practice of accumulating debts, and they thought it their duty to accomplish that necessary end by first endeavoring to raise the revenue of the

I will suppose this gentleman to have been an enemy decided and unreserved; and that he voted against her liberty, and voted, moreover, for an address to send four thousand Irish troops to cut the throats of the Americans; that he called these butchers 'armed negotiators;' and stood, with a metaphor in his mouth and a bribe in his pocket, a champion against the rights of America, the only hope of Ireland, and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind." (Select Speeches of Grattan, Duffy's edition, p. 104.)

The allusion to the "bribe" meant that Flood had lately accepted an office under Lord Harcourt's administration.

kingdom to an equality with the establishment." They said that economy was promised; that there had been no economy, but a continual increase in the expenses. They added, that could they neglect the most essential interests of themselves, their constituents, and their posterity, still their duty to his majesty would prevent them from suffering the resources of his majesty's power and dignity to dwindle and decay; and that they were the more necessitated to make that earnest application, because the evils they suffered were not temporary or occasional; because they could not attribute them to any physical evil, or proud national exertion, but to a silent, wasting, and invisible cause, which had injured the people, without adding strength to the crown. That they therefore performed that indispensable duty of laying their distresses at the foot of the throne, that history might not report them a nation which in the midst of peace, and under a gracious king, equally ready to warn and relieve, proceeded deliberately to their own ruin, without one appeal to the wisdom which would have redressed them. And so they appealed from the temporary expedients of his majesty's ministers, to his own wisdom and virtues, and to that permanent interest which his majesty had, and ever would have, in the welfare of his people.

This address was extremely respectful, even to servility. But though it did not mention the exorbitant pension-list, nor the universal corruption and bribery which then were carried on by means of the public money; it told too much truth, and was too undeniable to be endured. Therefore the Government made a point of defeating it, and succeeded. An address was carried in its place, thanking the lord-lieutenant "for his prudent, just, and wise administration."

The first Octennial Parliament had scarcely lived four years, when the British cabinet found it expedient that it should be dissolved. This Parliament had, during the last session, in two instances opposed their mandates, and when summoned to attend the House of Peers, the Commons, through their Speaker, made a just but ungracious and ineffectual representation of the state of that nation. These symptoms of independence alarmed the Government, and created a diffidence in the steadiness of those who had enlisted under their banners. They looked to more steady submission in a future Parliament, and dissolved the present. Mr. Perry was re-elected Speaker by a majority of 141 to 98. The lord-lieutenant did not meet the new Parliament, which was convened in June, 1776, *pro forma*, and by several prorogations went over to the 14th of October, 1777. This Parliament now dissolved is memorable forever in the history of Ireland, for the first appearance of one of the greatest patriots who ever arose for the salvation of any people, and the word patriot is not here used in its merely colonial sense. This was Henry Grattan. He was the descendant of a powerful and influential family, of whom Dean Swift had said, "the Grattans can raise ten thousand men." His father was recorder of Dublin. Henry Grattan entered Parliament as member for Lord Charlemont's borough of Charlemont, on the borders of Armagh and Tyrone; he was then under thirty years of age, and in his first Parliament had been modest and retiring, acquainting himself with the details of public business, and with the forms of the House. It was not until the meeting of the new Parliament, under the administration of Lord Buckinghamshire, that Grattan's lofty character and splendid genius became known to his countrymen and to the world.

The British cabinet was little satisfied with the administration of Lord Harcourt; the easy and delicate turn of his mind ill qualified him to support, much less to improve upon the system of his predecessor, but by which alone, to the infamy and misfortune of Ireland, the legislators of that kingdom were to be kept steady in their ranks under command of the Castle. Although Government upon the whole still retained a considerable majority, yet several of their adherents had occasionally, during the last session, proved recreant from their instructions; some had deserted their ranks, many amongst them wavered, menaced, and complained of the terms of their engagements. It was therefore resolved to invigorate the new system by the election of a new Parliament. For this purpose an unusual, and till

that time unprecedented, number of promotions in the peerage took place in one day. It far exceeded the famous promotion of twelve in the days of Queen Anne. Five viscounts were advanced to earldoms, seven barons to be viscounts, and eighteen new barons were created in the same day. The usual terms of such modern peerages are well understood to be an engagement to support the cause of their promoters by their individual votes in the House of Peers, and by those of their substitutes in the House of Commons, whose seats are usually settled and arranged before they vacate them upon their promotions. In short every possible precaution was adopted to secure a subservient Irish Parliament in the crisis which had been created by the American war. But in the very month of October, in which the new viceroy, Lord Buckinghamshire, met the new Parliament, General Burgoyne was surrendering his army of 7,000 men to the Americans at Saratoga. The next year France declared for America. The administration, therefore, of this new lord-lieutenant dates a new era in the history of Ireland and of the earth. The English colony in Ireland suddenly, and for a short time, takes the proportions of a nation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1777—1779.

Buckingham, Viceroy—Misery, and Decline of Trade—Discipline of Government Supporters—Lord North's first Measure in favor of Catholics—Passed in England—Opposed in Ireland—What it amounted to—Militia Bill—The Volunteers—Defenceless State of the Country—Loyalty of the Volunteers—Their Uniforms—Volunteers Protestant at first—Catholics desirous to join—Volunteers get the Militia Arms—Their Aims—Military System—Numbers in 1780.

The earlier years of Lord Buckingham's viceroyalty were not marked by any very striking events, much different from the routine of parliamentary business during the preceding administrations. When this nobleman assumed the reins of government the country was still suffering the most poignant distress; while the national debt and all public charges were accumulating. Petitions now poured into both Houses, representing the sad facts with regard to declining trade. As these petitions certainly stated the truth, they are really valuable historical documents, illustrative of the period.

Thus, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the merchants and traders of Cork, setting forth that about the month of November, 1770, an embargo was laid on all ships laden with provisions, and bound from Ireland to foreign countries, which was still continued by Government, and had been very strictly enforced: that in consequence of that long embargo, an extensive beneficial trade, carried on for several years by that kingdom to France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, for the supply of provisions, had been not only interrupted, but was in danger of being entirely lost; the petitioners being informed that the merchants of these countries were respectively stocked and provided from Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Hamburg, whereby the usual returns to that kingdom were discontinued, new enemies to our commerce were raised, and our commodities rendered useless and unprofitable. That great quantities of salt beef, not fit for the use of Government or the sugar colonies, being made up in that city, and also great quantities of beef and butter being annually brought to that market, these commodities of a perishable nature were there decaying for want of a free export, to the great injury of the proprietors in particular, and of the kingdom in general. That in support of these assertions, there then remained on hand, since the preceding year, a very considerable quantity of provisions, the property of several merchants in that city, not wanted by Government, and therefore without opportunity of sale; and although a considerable part of the season in which those articles were made up and exported had already elapsed, no demand whatsoever then existed for them, except for such quantities as were required by Government alone. That his majesty's revenue, which before had received large and constant supplies from the customs of the city of Cork, had decreased in proportion to the decay of their trade. That the embargo, therefore, at that time not being warranted

by any great, substantial necessity, but, on the contrary, restraining and preventing the diffusion of trade, was pregnant with the most ruinous consequences, not only to the commercial, but also to the landed interests of the nation; and therefore the petitioners prayed redress.

The Dublin manufacturers, in their petition, had a still sadder narrative to give. For example, they declared that there were at that moment no fewer than twenty thousand persons in that one city, artisans, out of work, together with their families, whom they, the petitioners, were supporting for charity by means of a relief association established among themselves; nor was Government able to make grants, either to promote industry or to relieve the national calamities. Every branch of the revenue failed, and such was the poverty of the nation, that the militia law could not be carried into effect. Ireland could not pay her forces abroad, and was obliged to borrow money from England to pay those at home. The Parliament was necessitated to raise money at an exorbitant interest; the expenses in 1777 having amounted to above £80,000 more than the revenue: £166,000 were therefore borrowed, and attempted to be raised in the old manner upon debentures at £4 per cent.

So truly desperate was the financial state of Ireland, that, like desponding bankrupts, the Commons undertook to grant what they knew they had not the means of paying. Even the ministerial party could not be blind to their situation. They would not, however, permit any question to be brought forward upon the state of the country in the Commons, lest too strong resolutions upon it should be carried, or their opposition to them should appear even too rank for their own system. They accordingly had again recourse to the half-measure of conveying their imperfect sense of the distressful state of the country through their Speaker, who, in presenting the first four money bills passed in that session, addressed himself to the lord-lieutenant in very general terms, expressing the unbounded confidence of the House in his majesty's wisdom, justice, and paternal care, and relying on the viceroy's "candor and humanity to make a faithful representation to his majesty of their unshaken loyalty, duty, and affection."

Thus the pitiful and hopeless contest went on, upon these questions of the money bills, the pension list, and general extravagance of Government. The Patriots saw well that they could not now hope to carry any really important measure, resolution, or address, that should be distasteful to the Castle. Yet they resolved to put on record, at least once in each session, their own theory of the evils of the country. Therefore, after the speech of the lord-lieutenant, a motion was made for a humble address to his majesty, setting forth that the civil list had doubled in twenty years; that one great cause was "the rapid and astonishing growth of the pension list;" that ministers had repeatedly promised retrenchment, but had, on the contrary, continually increased their demands, and other the like topics. This address was negatived by a majority of 77—so well drilled were the ministerial members.

The alarming news of the French alliance with the Americans was communicated to Parliament by the lord-lieutenant, in a special message; and this was instantly followed by a demand of a new loan of £30,000, at six per cent. A few days after, came a new message, to apprise them that the loan (which they had at once voted to raise) could not be effected at six per cent., and to demand further action upon their part. Thus, as the American war was drawing to a close, Ireland had neither money nor credit—was absolutely ruled by placeholders and pensioners, and was made to contribute her last shilling and contract further debt, to defeat and ruin a cause which nine-tenths of her people felt to be Ireland's own cause as well as America's.

Lord North, who was not wanting in sagacity, understood the state of Irish affairs very well: he saw the rising impatience of the Patriot party in the colony, and knew that the contagion of American ideas was fast growing and spreading. It was at this time, therefore, that the British Ministry resolved to take a more important step towards conciliation of the Catholics than had yet been ventured upon, with the hope of actually making the Catholic people a

kind of English interest, against the Protestant Patriots. It was not, indeed, contemplated to repeal the whole Penal Code—very far from this—but to admit certain slight relaxations only in certain parts of that elaborate system. In the English Parliament, first, with the full consent of the minister, a motion was made for leave to bring in a "Bill for repeal of certain of the penalties and disabilities provided in an Act of William the Third," etc. On this English debate, it seemed that the Parliament was tolerably unanimous in approbation of a very modest and limited measure in this direction; but it must be remembered that the Catholics in England were but one in ten of the population; and there could not be the slightest danger, either to the settlement of property or to what Englishmen call the freedom of the country, in relieving them from at least a few of the most dreadful penalties to which they were every day exposed. Indeed in England there had been long a practical toleration of Catholic worship; yet, as Lord Ashburton observed, on seconding the motion of Sir George Savile, "the mildness of Government had hitherto softened the rigor of the law in the practice, but it was to be considered that the Roman Catholic priests were still left at the mercy of the lowest and basest of mankind; for on the complaint of any informing constable, the magisterial and judicial powers were bound to enforce all the shameful penalties of the act." In fact, some time before this period the penal laws had been enforced against two priests, a Mr. Malony and Mr. Talbot, the brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury. These proceedings had been resorted to by a solitary individual, one *Pain*, a carpenter, who having two daughters, little business, much bigotry, and more covetousness, had formed the singular speculation of acquiring £20,000 apiece for his daughters' fortunes by informations under the penal statutes against the Catholics.

The English bill passed without opposition;* but when the new policy of ministers came to be applied to Ireland, it was a different matter. In this island the proprietors of confiscated estates did not yet feel quite secure. They had always been accustomed to believe that the "Protestant Interest"—that is, their own exclusive possession of all the lands and of all the profitable professions and trades—depended upon keeping the Catholics completely under foot. There was now, indeed, no apprehension of "bringing in the Pretender;" for the Pretender was dead, and had left no heir of the Stuarts: but the settlement of property, the exclusive access to the professions, these were the truly momentous and sacred interests of Protestantism. In Ireland, therefore, though the measure came recommended by the example of England, and the express wishes of the administration, it was warmly contested at every point. On the eleventh day after the universal assent to Sir George Savile's motion in favor of the Roman Catholics of England, Mr. Gardiner, on the 25th of May, 1778, made a motion in the Irish House of Commons, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, and that Mr. Gardiner, the Hon. Barry Barry, and Mr. Yelverton, do prepare and bring in the same; and it was carried in the affirmative. At the same time the Presbyterians of Ireland, bearing in mind that the sacramental test had been imposed upon their ancestors by their lying by, when new severities were imposed upon their Roman Catholic brethren, came forward on this occasion to avail themselves of the first symptoms of tolerance in an Irish Parliament. Sir Edward Newnham on the same day moved that leave might be given to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's subjects the Protestant Dissenters of that kingdom: and Sir Edward Newnham and Sir Boyle Roche were ordered to prepare and bring in the same. But whether from a conviction that the relief to the Dissenters was not of equal urgency with that proposed to be granted to the Roman Catholics, or that the British Cabinet had hitherto expressed no opinion or inclination in their favor, the measure was remitted to another session.

The Catholic Bill did not propose to let the Catholics have arms, horses, educa-

* A circumstance which excited the enlightened Protestants of London to make their famous No Popery Riot, break jails and burn houses, under the saintly Lord George Gordon.

tion, a seat in Parliament, a vote at elections, a right to sit upon juries, or entrance into municipal corporations; but, slender as was the concession, it was bitterly opposed, and that even by "Patriots," who had no wider idea of Patriotism than the measure of the Protestant interest. On the 5th June, 1778, five divisions were had upon the bill in the Irish House: each was carried in the affirmative, by a small majority; and on the 15th of the same month there were three divisions. The Protestants throughout the kingdom were taking the alarm, and petitions were pouring in from the corporations. On this 15th of June, for example, a petition from the mayor, sheriffs, common council, freemen, freeholders, and other Protestant inhabitants of the city of Cork, was presented against the bill.

On the 16th, on motion to resolve into committee of the whole to take the heads of the bill into further consideration, the House divided, and the motion was defeated. On the 18th, the House sat in committee over these heads of a bill till three o'clock in the morning, and on the 19th till four o'clock. At last, on the 20th, Mr. Gardiner was ordered to attend his excellency the lord-lieutenant with the said heads of a bill, and desire the same might be transmitted into Great Britain in due form. Thus, after the severest contest, with the full and unequivocal approbation of Government, the general support of the Patriots, and the unanimous accord of the British legislature in a similar indulgence to the Roman Catholics of England, were these heads of a bill carried through the Irish House of Commons by the small majority of nine. Upon the third reading of this bill in the House of Lords, the contents with their proxies were 36, and the not contents were 12. On the 14th of August the lord-lieutenant put an end to the session.

The British ministry soon saw cause to extend their policy of conciliation, and to assent to some very trifling relaxations of the restrictions upon Irish trade and commerce. Some intelligent and patriotic Englishmen, Lord Newhaven and the Marquis of Rockingham amongst the number, pressed on the Parliament of England the propriety of granting to the Irish nation the liberty of exporting their produce, with the extraordinary exception of their woollens, which formed a principal ingredient. Lord Weymouth, however, resisted so dangerous a concession to the claims of Ireland; and the only compromise which was effected was an Export Bill, with the special exception of woollens and cottons. The Bristol merchants, who appear through the whole history of English avarice and tyranny to have been influenced by a policy pre-eminently mean, selfish, and grasping—the genuine spirit of paltry trade—went so far as to heap insults on their representative, Edmund Burke, for supporting the measure.

In the mean time the Irish Parliament, in its session of 1788, had passed a "militia bill," to authorize the formation of volunteer forces for defence of the country. French and American privateers were sweeping the seas and the British channel: the wide extent of the Irish coast was left exposed without defence, and there began to be very general alarm in the seaport towns. Mr. Flood had formerly proposed a national militia, but the idea was not then favored by the Government, and it failed. The militia bill of this year was not opposed by the administration; probably they little thought to what proportions the militia would develop itself, and how far it would extend its aims; but it immediately occurred to the Patriots, that while the English Parliament was peddling and higgling over the miserable and grudging relaxations of Ireland's commercial restraints, here was a gracious opportunity presenting itself for exercising such a resistless pressure upon England, in her hour of difficulty and danger (England's difficulty being then, as always, Ireland's opportunity), as would compel her to yield, not only a free-trade, but a free Parliament: and the former, they knew, would never be fully assured without the latter. It was now that public spirit in Ireland, instead of colonial, began to be truly *national*, and this chiefly by the strong impulse and inspiration of Henry Grattan, who saw, in the extension of the volunteering spirit, a means of combining the two discordant elements of the Irish people into one nation, and elevating the Catholics to the rank of citizens, not by the insidious "boons" of

the English, but through the cordial combination and amalgamation of the Irish for their common defence.

It was for some months anxiously considered and debated at the Castle whether the forces which were to be raised, under the new law, were to be a true militia, and therefore subject to martial law, or to be composed of independent volunteer companies, choosing their own officers. But this question was soon settled by the people themselves, who were rapidly forming themselves into the latter kind of organization, and who evidently felt that they were arming, not so much against the foreign enemy as against the British Government.

The volunteering began at Belfast. In August, 1778, the people of that town were alarmed by stories of privateers hovering near: they remembered their imminent peril at the time of Thurot's expedition, and at once began to organize and arm volunteer companies, as they had done before on that memorable occasion. At the same time the "sovereign" of the town, Mr. Stewart Burke, wrote to the Irish Secretary, urging that some troops should be sent down. He received this answer—

"Dublin Castle, *August 14th*, 1778.

"Sir:—My Lord-Lieutenant having received information that there is reason to apprehend that three or four privateers in company may in a few days make attempts on the northern coasts of this kingdom; by his excellency's command, I give you the earliest account thereof, in order that there may be a careful watch, and immediate intelligence given to the inhabitants of Belfast, in case any party from such ships should attempt to land.

"The greatest part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsale, his excellency can at present send no further military aid to Belfast *than a troop or two of horse, or part of a company of invalids;* and his excellency desires you will acquaint me by express whether a troop or two of horse can be properly accommodated in Belfast, so long as it may be proper to continue them in that town, in addition to the two troops now there. I have, etc.,

"Richard Heron."

This is but one of many communications which passed at the time between the Government and the authorities of Belfast. In most of them, the former express their satisfaction at the spirit of the volunteer companies then formed or about to be formed; with no sincerity, as we shall see presently.

It was evident, then, that the Government was in no condition to defend Ireland, if Ireland had really been menaced with invasion; and therefore quite as little in a condition to resist a great national military organization, no matter what form that might assume. In fact, after the example of Belfast, the whole country now rushed to arms. It was a scene of wild and noble excitement. Crowds thronged the public places of resort, anxious and resolved: in every assembly of the people the topic was "defence of the country;" and if there were many who from the first felt that the country had but one enemy in the world from whom it needed defence (that is, England), the reflection only heightened their zeal in promoting the national armament. On the 1st December, 1778, the people of Armagh entered into voluntary armed associations, and offered the command to Lord Charlemont. He at first refused; because, as lord-lieutenant of the county, he might at any time be called on to command the militia: but his lordship soon saw that volunteering was the irresistible order of the day; and that not to be a Volunteer would soon amount to being nobody at all in Ireland. Probably, also, he was influenced by the more powerful will and deeper sagacity of his friend Grattan; and in January, 1779, he assumed command of the Armagh Volunteers.*

The Government of the day soon saw itself powerless to resist this potent movement. It, however, concealed its apprehensions for the present, under the mask of gratitude for the loyal zeal of the people. Loyal as undoubtedly the institution was—loyal even to the prejudices which Govern-

* Stuart's History of Armagh. MacNevin's Volunteers. Plowden. Hardy's Charlemont. Sir Jonah Barrington, Rise and Fall, etc. The authorities for the history of the Volunteers are innumerable, and will only be cited for some special fact.

ment must have wished to foster, for one of their earliest celebrations was the Battle of the Boyne*—the English interest trembled at what to their appalled imagination seemed to be the infancy of revolution. Thus, whilst the wretched Government, unable to discharge its functions, and resigning the defence of the country to the virtue and valor of her children, looked on in angry amazement at the daily increasing numbers of the Volunteers, their training into discipline, their martial array and military celebrations, the great officers of the executive were planning how best they might stifle in its birth the warlike spirit of the people.

In May, 1779, we find a letter of Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Weymouth, which clearly proves the fears and hypocrisy of Government, and the alarming progress of the armament:

"Upon receiving official intimation that the enemy meditated an attack upon the northern parts of Ireland, the inhabitants of Belfast and Carrickfergus, *as Government could not immediately afford a greater force for their protection than about sixty troopers*, armed themselves, and by degrees formed themselves into two or three companies; the spirit diffused itself into different parts of the kingdom, and the numbers became considerable, but in no degree to the amount represented. *Discouragement has, however, been given on my part, as far as might be without offence*, at a crisis when the arm and good-will of every individual might have been wanting for the defence of the state."

Lord Buckinghamshire, in another part of the same letter, attributes the rapid increase in the ranks of the Volunteers to an idea that was entertained amongst the people that their numbers would conduce to the attainment of political advantages for their country.

All motives conduced to the same end, and that end—the armed organization of Ireland—was rapidly approaching. The fire of the people and their anxiety to enter the ranks of the national army may be judged from the fact, that in September, 1779, the return of the Volunteers in the counties of Antrim and Down, and in and near Coleraine, amounted to:

Total in the county of Down.....	2,241
Total in the county of Antrim	1,474
In and near Coleraine.....	210
	3,925

Of these, the great majority were fully equipped and armed—and glittered in the gay uniform of the Volunteers. Some few companies were, however, unarmed even up to a later period, until the pressure on Government compelled them to distribute the arms intended for the militia to worthier hands.

The uniforms of the Volunteers were very various, and of all the colors of the rainbow. The uniform of the Lawyers' corps was scarlet and blue, their motto, "*Pro aris et focis;*" the Attorneys' regiment of Volunteers was scarlet and Pomona green; a corps called the Irish Brigade, and composed principally of Catholics (after the increasing liberality of the day had permitted them to become Volunteers), wore scarlet and white; other regiments of Irish brigades wore scarlet faced with green, and their motto was "*Vox populi suprema lex est;*" the Goldsmiths' corps, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, wore blue, faced with scarlet and a professional profusion of gold lace.

The "Irish Volunteers" were at first a Protestant organization exclusively. It was only by degrees and with extreme jealousy that its ranks were afterwards opened to those of the proscribed race. It might seem, indeed, that the Catholics would have been justified in taking no interest in the movement, and that they had little to hope from any change. They were not yet citizens, and if permitted to breathe in Ireland, it was by connivance, and against the law. Even the most zealous of the new Volunteers, who were now springing to arms for defence of Ireland, were, with some illustrious exceptions, *their* most determined and resolute foes. But, plunged in poverty and ignorance as they were, despoiled of

* July 1, 1779.—"Our three volunteer companies paraded in their uniform with orange cockades, and fired three volleys with their usual steadiness and regularity, in commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne."—Hist. Collections relative to the Town of Belfast.

rank, and arms, and votes, they yet seem to have felt instinctively that a movement for Irish independence, if successful, must end in their emancipation. They had grown numerous, and many of them rich, in the midst of persecution; and, notwithstanding the penal laws against education, many of the Catholics were in truth the best-educated and accomplished persons in the island. These instructed and thoughtful Catholics could see very well —what Grattan also saw, but what most Cromwellian squires and Williamite peers could not see—that if Ireland should still pretend "to stand upon her smaller end," she would not long stand against England. Then they were naturally a warlike race; and, it must be added to their credit, that the late small and peddling relaxations in the Penal Code, urged on by the British minister in order to conciliate them to the English interest, had signally failed. The English interest, as they felt, was the great and necessary enemy of all Ireland, and of every one of its inhabitants, and so it was very soon apparent that the armed Protestant Volunteers would have at their back the two millions of Catholic Irish.

There is in the dark records of the depravity of the Government of that day a singular document, which, while it attests the patriotism and zeal of the Catholics, illustrates the base and vile spirit which repelled their loyalty and refused their aid. The Earl of Tyrone wrote to one of the Beresfords, a member of that grasping patrician family, which had long ruled the country,* that the Catholics in their zeal were forming themselves into independent companies, and had actually begun their organization; but that, seeing the variety of consequences which would attend such an event, he had found it his duty to stop their movement! Miserable government—unable to discharge its first duty of defence, and trembling to depute them to the noble and forgiving spirit of a gallant people! The Catholics of Limerick, forbidden the use of arms, subscribed and made a present of £800 to the treasury of the Volunteers.

During all this time "the Castle" looked on in silent alarm. Even so late as May, 1779, when the Volunteer companies numbered probably twenty thousand men, the lord-lieutenant gravely considered whether it were still possible to disperse and disarm them by force. In one of his letters to Lord Weymouth* he says—"The seizing of their arms would have been a violent expedient, and the preventing them from assembling without a military force impracticable; for when the civil magistrate will rarely attempt to seize an offender suspected of the most enormous crimes, and when convicted, convey him to the place of execution without soldiers; nay, when in many instances persons cannot be put into possession of their property, nor being possessed, maintain it without such assistance, there is little presumption in asserting, that, unless bodies of troops had been universally dispersed, nothing could have been done to effect this. My accounts state the number of corps as not exceeding eight thousand men, some without arms, and in the whole, very few who are liable to a suspicion of disaffection."

But in the next month, the same viceroy communicates to the same minister, that, by advice of the Privy Council of Ireland, he had supplied the Volunteers with part of the arms intended for the militia. This was really giving up the island into the hands of the Volunteers. The leaders of that force at once felt that they might do what they would with Ireland—for a time. After the delivery of the arms, the numbers of Volunteers rapidly and greatly increased.†

But a spirit of great moderation reigned over the councils of this armed nation. It was, in the hands of those leaders, any thing rather than a republican, or agrarian, or revolutionary movement. Thus they adopted a system of officering their army which gave a pledge that no anarchical idea had place in their thoughts. The soldiers elected their own commanders; and whom, says MacNevin, whom did they choose! "Whom did this democratic army select to rule their councils and direct their power? Not the low ambitious—not the village vulgar brawler—but the men who, by large possessions,

* May 28, 1779. Grattan's Life: cited by MacNevin.

* May 24, 1779.

† 16,000 stand of arms were delivered to the Volunteers at this time.

lofty character, and better still, by virtue and by genius, had given to their names a larger patent than nobility. Flood and Grattan, Charlemont and Leinster—the chosen men in all the liberal professions—the orators who led the Patriot party in the Commons—the good, the high, the noble; these were the officers who held unpurchased honors in the Volunteers. We may well look back, with mournful pride, through the horrid chaos where rebellion and national ruin rule the murky night, to this one hour of glory—of power uncorrupted, and opportunities unabused."

It is difficult to arrive at any accurate statement of the numbers of the Volunteers within the first year of their organization. There have been both exaggerative and depreciative estimates. We have seen that the lord-lieutenant, in June, 1779, had supposed their force to be only 8,000; yet in the very next month had yielded to them a demand which it would have been vitally important to the Government to refuse them. And as will be always the case, where the money of Government can command the venal crew of writers, the most elaborate falsehood and the most insulting ridicule were poured upon the heads of those by whose exertions the national cause was so nobly maintained. In *Lloyd's Evening Post*, an article appeared on the 7th of July, stating that the numbers of the Volunteers had been monstrously exaggerated; that no call could bring into the field twenty thousand men; that persons of all ages were enrolled and put on paper; that every gentleman belonged to two, and most of them to five or six different corps, and that by this ubiquity and divisibility of person, the muster-rolls of the companies were swelled. Doubtlessly there was some exaggeration in the representation of the numbers occasionally made; but a competent authority, commenting on this article, states, that at this time there were 95,000.

In the ranks of the Volunteers there were, in point of fact, very many Catholics, from a very early period of the movement; but they were there by *connivance*, as they were everywhere else. But in the next year, after meetings of Volunteers had passed resolutions in favor of Catholic rights, the young men of that religion began to swell the numbers of many corps. Some corps were composed altogether of Catholics: and when the Dungannon Convention came, the Volunteer army was at least 75,000 strong.

During the summer of 1779 an event occurred, which immensely stimulated the volunteering spirit:—the combined fleets of France and Spain entered the Channel in overwhelming force, which the British could not venture to encounter: the vessels passing between England and Ireland were placed under the protection of convoys; Paul Jones, with his little squadron, fought and captured, within sight of the English coast, the Serapis man-of-war and Scarborough frigate, with many vessels under their convoy: in short, there was another alarm of invasion both in England and in Ireland. MacNevin, in his History of the Volunteers, says with a cool *naïveté* which is charming, that this "was fortunate for the reputation of the Volunteers, for the purpose of establishing their fidelity to the *original principle* of their body"—which principle was defence of the country against a foreign enemy. Most of the Volunteers knew well that their only foreign enemy was England, and that France, Spain, and America would have been most happy to deliver them from that enemy. They knew, also, that the only use of the Volunteer force, in practice, was likely to be the wresting of their national independence from England. However, the new alarm aided, and seemed to justify, the volunteering. Therefore, the delegates of 125 corps of Volunteers, all of them men of rank and character, waited on the lord-lieutenant with offers of service "in such manner as shall be thought necessary for the safety and protection of the kingdom." The offer was accepted, but very coldly, and without naming "Volunteers."

CHAPTER XIX.

1779—1780.

Free Trade and Free Parliament — Meaning of "Free Trade"—Non-importation agreements—Rage of the English—Grattan's motion for free trade—Hussey Burgh—Thanks to the Volunteers—Parade in Dublin—Lord North yields—Free Trade Act—Next step—Mutiny Bill—The 19th of April—Declaration of Right—Defeated in Parliament, but successful in the country—General determination,— Organizing — Arming — Reviews—Charlemont—Briberies of Buckingham—Carlisle, Viceroy.

To force from reluctant England a Free Trade, and the repeal, or rather declaratory nullification, of Poynings' Law, which required the Irish Parliament to submit the heads of their bills to the English Privy Council before they could presume to pass them—these were, in few words, the two great objects which the leaders of the Volunteers kept now steadily before them. It must be here observed that the idea and the term "free trade," as then understood in Ireland, did not represent what the political economists now call free trade. What was sought was a release from those restrictions on Irish trade imposed by an English Parliament, and for the profit of the English people. This did not mean that imports and exports should be free of all duty to the state, but only that the fact of import or export itself should not be restrained by foreign laws, and that the duties to be derived from it should be imposed by Ireland's own Parliament, and in the sole interest of Ireland herself. This distinction is the more important to be observed, because modern "free traders" in Ireland and in England have sometimes appealed to the authority of the enlightened men who then governed the Volunteer movement as an authority in favor of abolishing import and export duties. The citation is by no means applicable.

The first measure to convince England that Ireland was entitled to an unrestricted trade, was the "non-importation agreement," which many of the Volunteer corps, as well as town corporations, solemnly adopted by resolutions, during the year 1779. Although there were frequent debates in the British Parliament this year on the subject of modifying the laws prohibiting the export of cottons, woollens, and provisions, from Ireland, yet it was but too plain that the rapacious spirit of British commerce, and the menacing, almost frantic, opposition given to all consideration of such measure, by petitions, which sounded more like threats, coming from the great centres of trade in England, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Bristol, would render all redress hopeless from that quarter. The non-importation agreements became popular, and the people of many towns and counties were steadily refusing to wear or use in their houses any kind of wares coming from England. The town of Galway had the honor of leading the way in this movement: the example was immediately followed by corps of Volunteers in many counties; and as the Volunteers were already the *fashion*, women sustained their patriotic resolution, and ladies of wealth began to clothe themselves exclusively in Irish fabrics. The resolutions are not uniform in their tenor. At a general meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the city of Dublin, convened by public notice, these resolutions were passed:

"*Resolved*, That the unjust, illiberal, and impolitic opposition given by many self-interested people of Great Britain to the proposed encouragement of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, originated in avarice and ingratitude.

"*Resolved*, That we will not, directly or indirectly, import or use any goods or wares, the produce or manufactures of Great Britain, which can be produced or manufactured in this kingdom, till an enlightened policy, founded on principles of justice, shall appear to actuate the inhabitants of certain manufacturing towns of Great Britain, who have taken so active a part in opposing the regulations proposed in favor of the trade of Ireland; and till they appear to entertain sentiments of respect and affection for their fellow-subjects of this kingdom."

Shortly after the assizes at Waterford, the high sheriff, grand jury, and a number of the most respectable inhabitants, assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the ruinous state of the trade and manufactures, and the alarming decline in the value of the staple commodities of the kingdom; and looking upon it as an indispensable duty

that they owed their country and themselves, to restrain, by every means in their power, these growing evils, they passed and signed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we, our families, and all whom we can influence, shall, from this day, wear and make use of the manufactures of this country, and this country only, until such time as all partial restrictions on our trade, imposed by the illiberal and contracted policy of our sister kingdom, be removed; but if, in consequence of this our resolution, the manufacturers (whose interest we have more immediately under consideration) should act fraudulently, or combine to impose upon the public, we shall hold ourselves no longer bound to countenance and support them.

"*Resolved*, That we will not deal with any merchant or shopkeeper who shall, at any time hereafter, be detected in imposing any foreign manufacture as the manufacture of this country."

Resolutions of this kind became general, in consequence of which efforts the manufactures of Ireland began to revive, and the demand for British goods in a great measure decreased, a circumstance which tended to produce a disposition in Great Britain to attend to the complaints of that country, different indeed from that which Ireland had hitherto experienced.

The feeling of Government on the subject of non-importation was one of great irritation, and their partisans in Parliament did not hesitate to give bitter utterance to their hatred of the Volunteers and of the commercial movement. Lord Shelburne, in May, 1779, called the Irish army an "enraged mob;" but the phrase was infelicitous, and told only half the truth. They were enraged, but they were not a mob. They had no one quality of a mob. They had discipline, arms, and a military system. Their ranks were filled with gentlemen, and officered by nobles. But such expressions as Lord Shelburne's were of great advantage. They kept clearly, in bold relief, the ancient and irremovable feeling of Englishmen, and the contemptuous falsehood of their estimate of the Irish people. In the same spirit, the organ of Government wrote to the central authority in England on the subject of the non-importation agreement:—"For some days past, the names of the traders who appear by the printed returns of the custom-house to have imported any English goods, have been printed in the Dublin newspaper. This is probably calculated for the abominable purpose of drawing the indignation of the mob upon individuals, and is supposed to be the act of the meanest of the faction."* When the lord-lieutenant penned this paragraph, he did not, assuredly, remember the meanness of the manufacturers and traders of his own country, or the measures adopted by the English Parliament, at their dictation, to crush the trade and paralyze the industry of this country. The retaliation was just, and no means that could have been adopted could equal the atrocity of the conduct of the English towns to the productive industry of Ireland. Englishmen had a Parliament obedient to the dictates of the encroaching spirit of English trade—the Irish people had not as yet established their freedom, nor armed themselves with the resistless weapon of free institutions. They were obliged to legislate for themselves, and were justified by the exigency in adopting any means to enforce the national will. It seems strange that it should be necessary to defend the measure of holding up to scorn the traitors who could expose in their shops articles of foreign consumption, every article of which was a representative of their country's impoverishment and decay. But the English press denounced it as the policy of savages, and pointed out the Irish people to the contumely of Europe. At the same time, the English manufacturers, ever careless of present sacrifices to secure permanent advantages, flooded the country towns with the accumulated products of the woollen manufacture, which, owing to the war and other causes, had remained on their hands. They offered these goods to the small shopkeepers at the lowest possible prices, and desired them to name their own time for payment; and they partially succeeded in inducing many of the low and embarrassed servitors of trade, through their necessities, and by the seductive promise of long credit, to

* Letter of the lord lieutenant to Lord Weymouth, May, 1779.

become traitors to the cause of Irish industry. The Volunteers and the leaders of the movement were equally active on their side. The press, the pulpit, and the ball-room were enlisted in the cause of native industry. The scientific institutions circulated, gratuitously, tracts on the improvement of manufacture—on the modes adopted in the continental manufacturing districts, and on the economy of production. Trade revived; the manufacturers who had thronged the city of Dublin, the ghastly apparitions of decayed industry, found employment provided for them by the patriotism and spirit of the country; the proscribed goods of England remained unsold, or only sold under false colors, by knavish and profligate retailers; the country enjoyed some of the fruits of freedom before she obtained freedom itself.

The session of the Irish Parliament of 1779–80 had been looked forward to with profound interest; and it opened with stormy omens. The speech from the lord-lieutenant contained more than the usual quantity of inexplicit falsehood and diplomatic subterfuge. The address in reply was its echo, or would have been, but that Henry Grattan, he who was above all others, the *man* of his day, moved his celebrated amendment. The speech of the viceroy had alluded with skilful obscurity to certain liberal intentions of the king on the subject of trade: but there was no promise for hope to rest upon: it was vague, and without meaning. This was not what the spirit of the hour or the genius of the men would endure. They felt the time had come to strike with mortal blow the whole system of English tyranny, and to give freedom and security to the trade and industry of Ireland.

When the speech was read in the Commons, the English interest anxiously scanned the opposition benches. They saw that something would be done embarrassing to their system and to them; but they could not anticipate the blow that was ready for their heads, or that their fiercest foe would be a placeman in their ranks. An address was proposed by Sir Robert Deane, a drudge of Government, re-echoing, in servility, the vague generalities of the speech. Grattan then rose to propose his amendment:—

"That we beseech his majesty to believe that it is with the utmost reluctance we presume to approach his royal person with even the smallest appearance of dissatisfaction; but that the distress of this kingdom is such as renders it an indispensable duty in us to lay the melancholy state of it before his majesty, and to point out what we apprehend to be the only effectual means of relief; that the constant drain of its cash to supply absentees, and the fetters on its commerce, have always been sufficient to prevent this country from becoming opulent in its circumstances, but that those branches of trade which have hitherto enabled it to struggle with the difficulties it labors under, have now almost totally failed; that its commercial credit is sunk, all its resources are decaying rapidly, and numbers of its most industrious inhabitants in danger of perishing for want; that as long as they were able to flatter themselves that the progress of those evils might be stopped by their own efforts, they were unwilling to trouble his majesty upon the subject of their distress; but, finding that they increase upon them, notwithstanding all their endeavors, they are at last obliged to have recourse to his majesty's benignity and justice, and most humbly to acquaint him that, in their opinion, the only effectual remedy that can be applied to the sufferings of this kingdom, that can either invigorate its credit or support its people, is to open its ports for the exportation of all its manufactures; that it is evident to every unprejudiced mind that Great Britain would derive as much benefit from this measure as Ireland itself, but that Ireland cannot subsist without it; and that it is with the utmost grief they find themselves under the necessity of again acquainting his majesty that, unless some happy change in the state of its affairs takes place without delay, it must inevitably be reduced to remain a burden upon England, instead of increasing its resources, or affording it the assistance which its natural affection for that country, and the intimate connection between their interests, have always inclined it to offer."

Grattan's speech in support of the amend-

ment must have been badly preserved, for what remains bears no proportion to the magnitude of the interests, or the absorbing nature of the subject.

To the rage and dismay of Government—passions of which unequivocal demonstrations were given on the ministerial benches—Hussey Burgh, the prime sergeant, one of the most eloquent and fascinating men of the day, an official of Government, a stanch supporter, one to whom, from the spirit of his office, patriotism should have been impossible, moved that "we beg to represent to his majesty that it is not by temporary expedients, but by *a free trade alone*, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." This resolution was carried unanimously; the supporters of Government saw that it was useless to oppose the spirit of the House; the nation was standing petitioner at their bar for the privileges of nature, production and consumption; the Volunteers were drawn up through the streets of Dublin, with an intelligible alternative hung round the necks of their cannon, "Free Trade or ——;" and the amendment of Henry Grattan, with the improvements of Burgh, received on the part of the Patriots an exulting support, and on the part of the ministers a fearful and angry assent. The day after this distinguished success, the addresses of the Lords and Commons were brought up to the Castle; the streets, from the House to the seat of government, were lined with the corps of the Dublin Volunteers, under arms, who paid military honors to the favorite leaders; the city was in a tumult of joy and triumph, contrasting not unfavorably with the gloom and irritation of the Castle. And that no doubt might be entertained of the authors of this important movement—that the merit of success should be laid at the right door, thanks to the Volunteers were moved and carried in the Lords and Commons. The motion in the House of Commons was made by Mr. Conolly, the head of the country gentlemen. The Duke of Leinster carried the motion through the Lords, with only one dissentient voice, Lord-Chancellor Lifford, one of those English lawyers who are sent over to Ireland, from time to time, to occupy the highest seats of justice and enjoy the largest emoluments in the country. The lord-lieutenant, in writing to Lord Weymouth, complains bitterly of these votes; unanimous expressions as they were of the feelings of all classes in the state, they appeared in a most reprehensible light to the viceroy, who petulantly wrote home his complaint that the proceeding was occasioned wholly by the Duke of Leinster.

The Government, quite alive to the fact that the present posture of affairs resulted from the power and determination of the Volunteers, set on one of its habitual agents to assail them. This was Scott, the attorney-general, who afterwards, as Lord Clonmel, was, with a few monstrous exceptions, the most inhuman judge that ever presided in the shambles of Irish justice. He attacked the Volunteers with an habitual vulgar fury—described them by every name which the quick invention of a ferocious mind could devise; and he was supported in his philippic by Sir Henry Cavendish, who reminded the House that the Independents of the past century commenced by seeming moderation, but ended by *cutting off the head of the king:* men might creep into the Volunteers, who might urge them to similar dangerous courses. But Grattan repelled the charges against the army in which he was a distinguished soldier—and told the legislature that the great objects which they sought could not be obtained by the skill, the prudence, or the dexterity of 300 men, without the spirit and co-operation of 3,000,000. The military associations, he said, "caused a fortunate change in the sentiments of this House: they inspired us to ask directly for the greatest object that ever was set within the view of Ireland—a free trade." The spirit in the country well replied to the spirit within the walls of the House. The Volunteers instructed the representatives to vote the supplies for no longer than six months. They now amounted to nearly 50,000 men. Possessed of every wonted military attribute, disciplined, and well armed, they had other qualities that are too often absent in military organization. They were the army of the people; their commission included only the duties of free-born men to fight for liberty and to defend a country. Most of their officers were the

highest blood of an ancient and aristocratic country—men not alone ennobled by long descent, but by the high qualities of genius, wisdom, and integrity. The soldiers were the yeomen of the land, having as definite an interest in her prosperity as the highest peer in the service. And all were bound together by the deepest attachment to the liberties of Ireland. They had seen what they were able to effect; and as concession after concession was wrung from power, the bold and sagacious of them determined not to rest from their efforts until a free and reformed Parliament sat within the walls of the Senate House, the permanent security and guarantee of freedom.

The question of the supplies came before the House on the 25th November, 1779. The Patriots had determined to withhold the grant, or to limit the duration of the money bill, until free trade was yielded by England. But Scott, the attorney-general, endeavored to prove that supplies to pay the interest of the national debt, the tontine, and the loans, were not supplies to the crown, but for the discharge of national responsibilities. "How tender," said Grattan, "the administration is regarding the moneyed interests of individuals; how little they care to risk the ruin of the nation!" The attorney-general moved that the supplies should be granted for two years; Mr. French moved an amendment that they should be granted for six months. A brilliant debate was the consequence; the war of personality, which was always carried on with so much vigor and genius in the House, never raged with fiercer or more splendid power—but the great oration of the day was delivered by Hussey Burgh. He said:

"You have but two nights ago declared against new taxes by a majority of 123, and have left the ministers supported only by 47 votes; if you now go back, and accede to the proposed grant for two years, your compliance will add insult to the injuries already done to your ill-fated country; you strike a dagger in your own bosom, and destroy the fair prospect of commercial hope, because if the minister can, in the course of two days, render void the animated spirit and patriotic stability of this House, and procure a majority, the British minister will treat our applications for free trade with contempt. When the interests of the Government and the people are contrary, they secretly operate against each other—such a state is but smothered war. I shall be a friend alike to the minister and the people, according as I find their desires guided by justice; but at such a crisis as this the people must be kept in good temper, even to the indulgence of their caprices.

"The usurped authority of a foreign Parliament has kept up the most wicked laws that a zealous, monopolizing, ungrateful spirit could devise, to restrain the bounty of providence and enslave a nation whose inhabitants are recorded to be a brave, loyal, and generous people; by the English code of laws, to answer the most sordid views, they have been treated with a savage cruelty; the words penalty, punishment, and Ireland, are synonymous, they are marked in blood on the margin of their statutes; and, though time may have softened the calamities of the nation, the baneful and destructive influence of those laws has borne her down to a state of Egyptian bondage. The English have sowed their laws like serpents' teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men."*

The amendment was carried by 138 to 100: the triumph of the principles of free trade was insured; and the minister acknowledged the necessity of precipitately retracing his steps. Who can doubt the vast influence the Volunteers exerted in all these proceedings? On the preceding 4th of November—the anniversary of the birth of William the Third—the Volunteers had taken the opportunity of reading to the minister and the Parliament a lesson of constitutional doctrine around the statue of him who was, they conceived, the founder of constitutional liberty. They assembled in College Green—the Dublin Volunteer artillery, commanded by James Napper Tandy, with labels bearing the inscription, "Free

* Hussey Burgh lost his place, but rose in popular estimation. Meetings were held in different parts of the country to present him with addresses of thanks. The freedom of the Corporation of Carrickfergus, and other corporate towns, was given to him in gold boxes. The address from the Carrickfergus corporation was presented by Barry Yelverton, Recorder of the town.—See *Freeman's Journal*, January 4th, 1780.

Trade or speedy revolution," suspended on the necks of their cannon; the Volunteers of Dublin and the vicinity, under the orders of the Duke of Leinster. The sides of the pedestal on which stood the statue of the Deliverer, were ornamented with collections of most significant political reasoning; and under the angry eyes of the executive, such teachings as the following were given at once to the governors and the governed. On one side of the pillar was inscribed, "Relief to Ireland;" on another, "A short money bill, a free trade, or else ——;" on a third, "The Volunteers, *quinquaginta millia juncti, parati pro patriâ mori;*" and in front of the statue were two cannons bearing an inscription on each, "Free trade or this." The people were assembled in thousands around the Volunteer troops, and their enthusiasm re-echoed in deafening applause the thunder of the artillery. It was a scene productive of commercial and political freedom: that the latter was evanescent was not the fault of the institution or lack of spirit; but divisions, and doubts, and suspicions, were introduced amongst the body by the exertions of England; new ambitions filled the minds of some; the force of old ministerial associations pressed upon others; the courtly tendencies and the timid alarms of a few of the leading men led them to sacrifice what they had gained, rather than to peril English connection by nobly seeking unlimited freedom. But at the period of which we are writing, the Volunteer system was compact and perfect. The wants of Ireland were commercial and political. She had been made a bankrupt by monopoly, and a slave by usurpation. The Volunteers were to give her prosperity and freedom, by unrestricted trade and legislation. And right well did they set themselves to their appointed task, with what success appears from Lord North's free trade bill, and Grattan's declaration of right.

It was appointed for Lord North to undo the work of William the Third, and to take the first step towards restoring the trade to which the Deliverer had given the finishing blow. Lord North had great experience in obstinate oppression, and not less in the recognition of the liberties he had trampled upon. He had braved the genius of Chatham in the disastrous campaigns against transatlantic freedom—the world has read with profit the sequel of his history in that great transaction. He had opposed every effort to emancipate the trade of Ireland—it is an agreeable duty for an Irish writer to detail the concessions wrung from him by the arms of the Volunteers, and the eloquence and genius of those who led them to victory. On the 13th of December, 1779, he introduced into the English legislature three propositions: to permit, first, the export of glass; second, the export of woollen goods; and third, a free trade with the English settlements in America, the West Indies, and Africa.

In connection with these propositions, Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House, and on that occasion the representative of Government, on the 20th of the same month, moved two resolutions in the Irish legislature. 1st, That the exportation of the manufactures of this country would tend to relieve her distresses. 2d, That great commercial benefits would flow from the permission to trade with the American, Indian, and African settlements. Propositions of very manifest truth, but tardily acknowledged by the English and Irish Governments, whose recognition is obviously attributable to a style of political reasoning which will prove any thing that a nation of men requires to demonstrate. The propositions of Lord North, and the resolutions of Foster, were the basis of the bill which some months later gave a free trade to Ireland; and, for the first time since William the Third destroyed the woollen manufacture, and his English Parliament laid restrictions on her productive industry, her people were free to use the resources a liberal nature offered them, and which a foreign tyrant sealed from their anxious hands. The efforts they had made hitherto to free their trade were the efforts of slaves—petition and remonstrance; it was not until they demanded free trade, with the Volunteer alternative, that England struck.

The Volunteers and the country had soon a more striking proof of the power which their attitude exerted over the obstinate maxims of English policy.

Lord North, in February, 1780, intro-

duced his free trade bill in a speech which was the best refutation of his former arguments, and the severest condemnation of his former conduct.

The intelligence of the concessions made by that bill—liberty to export woollen manufactures, and to trade with the British colonies, was received with great joy by the people. But their joy was tempered with a wise care for the future, and the greater the conceded advantages were, the more did they feel themselves pressed by the insecurity of possession. The very magnitude of the gift taught them with greater force the true principles of freedom. They reflected that the right which jealous power had respected in its hour of weakness, it would trample on with recovered strength. What security had they that at some future period, when they had possibly established a thriving trade, and expended much labor and money in creating a prosperous commerce, there might not arise another William, ready to gratify the insolent avarice of England, by the destruction of their trade and manufactures? The wisdom of Swift, of Lucas, and of Molyneux, appealed to them in the hour of recovered trade, and pleaded strongly for unrecovered liberty. They received a free trade then, not as a gift from bounty, but as a surrendered right from weakened power; and, rejoicing at the extent of the benefit, they were neither fools nor sycophants; nor did they compromise their duty to their country by a needless excess of gratitude to her frightened oppressor. Thus, in the resolutions which record the people's joy, we may find the strongest expressions of their determination to effect greater things than the emancipation of their trade. Every county in Ireland addressed its representatives; every corps of Volunteers addressed its officers; and the spirit of these effusions may be judged from one, selected from amongst many, to which the spirit of the day gave birth. The gentlemen of the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Monaghan, addressing their representatives, amongst other things, said:

"While we rejoice in common with the rest of our fellow-subjects at the advantages which Ireland has latterly obtained, and which we are fully convinced are attributable to the parental attention of his majesty, the virtue of our Parliament, and the spirit of our people; yet, as these advantages are confined to commerce, our satisfaction must be limited, lest our rights and privileges should seem to be lost in the joy which attends a partial restoration of them. We do affirm that no Parliament had, has, or of right ought to have, any power or authority whatsoever, in this kingdom, *except the Parliament of Ireland;* that no statute has the force of law in this kingdom, unless enacted by the king with the consent of the Lords and Commons of the land; on this principle the connection between Great Britain and Ireland is to be founded, and on this principle we trust, not only that it may be rendered secure and permanent, but that the two kingdoms may become strongly united and advantageously circumstanced, as to be enabled to oppose with success the common enemies of the British empire. What you have done, we look on as a beginning; and we trust that the termination of the session will be as beneficial to the constitution as the commencement has been to the commerce of the country."

These were the sentiments of manly but conditional loyalty, of generous love of freedom above even the material benefits of trade, which led to the Revolution of 1782, and whose diversion into other channels after the Volunteers had ceased to exist as a great national army, drove so many great and upright men into conspiracy and revolt.

The desire of constitutional liberty having once seized upon the people, several means of obtaining that object were adopted. In Parliament, a short mutiny bill became a favorite measure. The evils of a standing army, the dangers to freedom inseparable from the existence within the realm of a large force of armed men, having from its very organization no sympathies with the people, were eloquently dwelt upon by the leading Patriots in the House; magistrates refused to billet soldiers under a mutiny act, to which they objected on two grounds—first, that it was an English act of Parliament, and secondly, that it was perpetual, and created an armed irresponsible authority within the state. The Irish mutiny act had only extended to six months—it had been

returned from England with a change rendering it perpetual; thus the legislation might well be called English, and the principle despotic. The act was resisted, and it would have remained a dead letter, but that the ultimate decision of the matter rested with the judges, and it was not thought advisable to resort to their tribunals. But the time had arrived when Henry Grattan commenced, in grave and noble earnest, the great quarrel of parliamentary liberty. And never was a man more fitted by nature for a great work than he was. Swift had written of Irish politics with masterly power; Molyneux, with considerable learning; and Lucas, with homely vigor and honest zeal; but in Henry Grattan all the qualities of greatness were combined. He was a man of a pure spirit and a noble genius. He was an accomplished scholar, and a poet; but his scholarship and his poetry gave way to a grand, peculiar, and electric oratory, unsurpassed, probably unequalled, by the greatest speakers of any age or nation. It was argumentative and logical in the highest degree; but it was also imaginative and picturesque. Its figures were bold and new —its striking peculiarity consisted in the total absence of the usual or the vulgar. In its noble flights, in the utter *abandonment* of genius, there was a grandeur and elegant proportion, a profound wisdom, and a startling vehemence, which contributed to give to the orator all the weight of inspiration. But Grattan was not only a consummate orator, he was a patriot in the largest and broadest sense, and was the first statesman in Ireland who both aspired to national independence for his country, and perceived the impossibility of maintaining that independence, even if established, without associating the mass of proscribed Catholics in the national aspirations and national triumph.

The commercial tyranny of England being now broken down, and the country obviously ripe for a further advance, Grattan fixed the 19th of April, 1780, as the day on which he would move his celebrated Declaration of Right, which, if adopted, would be a distinct *ultimatum* to England, and, adopted in the front of the Volunteer array, would be an unmistakable challenge and defiance. The scene presented on that memorable day by Dublin and the Irish Parliament House on College Green is vividly described by MacNevin:

"No greater day, none of more glory ever rose upon this country, than that which dawned upon the Senate House of Ireland on the 19th of April, 1780. The dull chronicles of the time, and the meagre press which then represented popular opinion, are filled with details of the circumstances under which Grattan brought forward his Declaration of Right. They were circumstances certainly unequalled in our history of military splendor and moral triumph. The streets around the Attic temple of legislation were thronged with the disciplined numbers of the Volunteers, and the impatient multitude of the people. The uniforms of the Irish army, the gaudy orange, the brilliant scarlet, and the chaster and more national green —turned up with different facings, according to the tastes of the various corps—contrasted gayly with the dark background of the civilian mass that watched with eager eyes the extraordinary scene. Over the heads of the crowd floated the banners of the Volunteers, with the watchwords of freedom and political regeneration worked in gold or silver on a ground of blue, green, or white. And truly the issue to be tried within the walls of that magnificent building was one great in its effects, and illustrious from the character of the contending parties. It was a trial of right between two great nations— but more, it was to be either a precedent of freedom or an argument of usurpation. Much depended on the result, not alone as to the present interests, but as to the future destinies of the country; and the great men who were engaged in conducting this controversy of liberty were fully alive to the dignity of their parts, and fully competent to the successful discharge of the lofty mission they had undertaken.

"Within the walls of the House of Commons, a scene of great interest presented itself to the eye. The galleries were thronged with women of the first fashion, beautiful, elegantly dressed, and filled with animated interest in the anticipated triumph of an eloquence to which the place was sacred. Scattered through the House were several officers of the Volunteers, for a considerable

number of the members held commissions in that great body. But the chief attractions of the House were those distinguished men who were upon that day to make the noblest chapter in the history of Ireland—men celebrated beyond those of almost any age for the possession of the highest of man's qualities—eloquence, wit, statesmanship, political wisdom, and unbounded knowledge. There were to be seen and heard there that day the graceful and eloquent Burgh; the intrepid advocate, the consummate orator, the immaculate patriot, John Philpot Curran; the wise statesman, Flood; and the founder of Irish liberty, who watched it in its cradle, and who followed it to its grave, Grattan. Amongst the spectators were Lifford, the chancellor, whose voice had negatived every liberty, and denied every concession; Charlemont, the truest of patriots, but the worst of statesmen; and Frederick, the Earl of Bristol and the Bishop of Derry, whose coronet and mitre could not keep down the ambition of a tribune, nor conceal the finest qualities of a demagogue. All eyes were turned to Grattan."

"After a speech of consummate power, in which he imparted to the doctrines of freedom a more spiritual cast than they had yet assumed in Ireland, he moved his three resolutions. 1st, That his most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to enact laws to bind Ireland. 2d, That the crown of Ireland is, and ought to be, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain. 3d, That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign, by the common and indissoluble ties of interest, loyalty, and freedom. His resolutions were seconded by Robert Stewart, the father of the man who, of all others, was most active in destroying the great fabric of freedom which Henry Grattan commenced upon that day to rear. He was opposed by Foster and Fitzgibbon; and to show how completely Irish freedom was the child of arms, the latter attacked the Volunteers as a giddy faction, which dealt in violence and clamor. He felt that Grattan was indeed fortified by the resolutions of the armed citizens, and accordingly was liberal of invective against them. Yet Fitzgibbon represented himself as an enemy to the usurpations of England. It was singular that on this occasion Flood was opposed to bringing forward the question of Irish liberty. He thought that the time of England's distress was an improper one at which to urge the rights of Ireland."

The eloquent writer just cited has been somewhat carried away by his enthusiastic sympathy with the great effort of Grattan and exaggerates its importance. The debate, it is true, was extremely interesting; and if it led to no immediate practical result in the House, it kept the subject alive before the nation, and gave it fresh vitality and power. It seems that scarcely any member, with perhaps one or two exceptions, ventured to oppose directly the principles of the resolutions. The Castle party, however, defeated them by a motion, that there being an equivalent resolution already on the journals of the House (alluding to one in Strafford's time, which was *not* equivalent), it was useless to pass this. The amendment was carried, and the Declaration of Right was not pressed at that time to a division. Plowden thus sums up the result:

"After a most interesting debate, that lasted till six o'clock in the morning, in which every man but one acknowledged its truth, either expressly or by not opposing it, Mr. Flood, who well knew that the ministerial members were committed to negative the motion if it came to a division, recommended that no question should be put, and no appearance of the business entered on the journals, to which Mr. Grattan consented."

Substantially, however, the object of the Declaration was accomplished. If it did not convince the ministerial members, it convinced the Volunteers, and made more Volunteers. It also convinced the Government of the depth and strength of the new national spirit in Ireland, as we learn from a letter of Lord Buckinghamshire, the day after, to Lord Hillsborough. He says: "It is with the utmost concern I must acquaint your Lordship that, although so many gentlemen expressed their concern that the subject had been introduced, the sense of the House against the obligation of *any statutes* of the Parliament of Great Britain, within this

kingdom, is represented to me to have been almost unanimous."

The people out-of-doors began now to be grievously discontented with their Parliament. They were becoming more and more thoroughly indoctrinated with the generous sentiments of Grattan, not only through his own speeches and essays, but by means of the brilliant pamphlets of Mr. Pollock, published under the name of Owen Roe O'Neill, who entered very fully into the grievances of the country, and went the whole length of the claim to legislative independence. Indeed, it became evident that, without legislative independence, no concessions in respect of freedom of trade or any thing else could be relied upon as either efficient or permanent.

After the first burst of triumph over the commercial reforms of Lord North, it was found, on examination and trial, that the law had been so contrived as to render the concessions nearly illusory. Especially in the matter of the trade in refined sugar, it was seen that the new law, and a treacherous addition which had been made to it after its passage in the British Parliament, tended to destroy the sugar refineries of Ireland, then an important branch of industry; and a petition was presented by the town of Newry, not only exposing this contrivance, but also adverting earnestly to what was now become the chief parliamentary topic, the "mutiny bill." In short, the aroused spirit of the people demanded that the principle of English domination in Ireland should be assailed at every point; and in nothing was that principle so momentous and so menacing as in the practice of governing the standing army of Ireland (12,000 to 15,000 strong) by a perpetual mutiny act passed in England. So charmed, however, was the Parliament with its small and doubtful success in the matter of free trade, that it not only liberally granted the supplies for a year and a half longer, but agreed to the English mutiny bill, which was perpetual, by a majority of 52. In short, it was plain that this Parliament, so extensively corrupted and so well disciplined by the Castle influence (that is, by the corrupt expenditure of the people's money), could not be relied upon to realize the lofty aspiration of the nation. Absolute national independence was now their fixed purpose.

The year 1780 was one of incessant organization; reviews took place throughout all Ireland; and a great provincial meeting was appointed for the November of that year, previous to which in all parts of the country the Volunteer corps were reviewed by the commanding officers in each district. The Earl of Belvidere reviewed the troops of Westmeath; the Limerick and Clare Volunteers were reviewed by Lord Kingsborough; the Londonderry by Lord Erne; the Volunteers of the South by Lord Shannon; those of Wicklow by Lord Kingsborough; and the Volunteers of Dublin county and city, who had formed themselves into associated corps, by Lord Carysfort, Sir Edward Newenham, and other men of rank, patriotism, and fortune. These reviews were attended with every circumstance of brilliancy. There was no absence of the pomp of war. The Volunteers had supplied themselves with artillery, tents, and all the requisites of the field. They had received many presents of ordnance; numerous stands of colors had been presented to them, with no absence of ceremony and splendor, by women of the highest station and figure in the country, whose pride it was to attend the reviews in their handsomest equipages and clothed in their gayest attire.

Until the middle of the year 1780, the Volunteers had acted in independent troops and companies, only linked together by their community of feeling and design: but it was apparent that for any general movement, for any grand military measure (which every day seemed to render more imminent), they needed a closer organization and a commander-in-chief. Their choice fell upon James Caulfield, earl of Charlemont, the descendant of one of the adventurers who had come over in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and had been rewarded for his exertions in helping to crush O'Neill by large grants of confiscated estates. This Earl of Charlemont was a man of limited capacity, but of much cultivation. He had travelled much, had written Italian sonnets, and collected busts and intaglios. He had been nine years absent from Ireland, and returned just as the contest between Primate Stone and

Henry Boyle was calming down into the disgrace of one and the corruption of the other.

Lord Charlemont's first Irish services were neither splendid nor honorable. He was chosen as the negotiator between Boyle and the lord-lieutenant. His duty was to strike a balance between what the Irish Patriot wanted and the English official would give; and he was eminently successful in eliciting harmony from the jarrings of sordid ambition and Castle economy. But he soon left the Castle sphere—though well fitted by taste and feeling to be a courtier, it should be with honor—and that was an impossible fact in Ireland. It is said by Hardy, that Lord Charlemont was ignorant of the bargain struck between Boyle and the lord-lieutenant, by which the former got a pension;* but there was enough of profligacy in the concessions made by both parties, even though money had never changed hands between them, to take all glory from the office of negotiator.

As commander-in-chief, however, of the Volunteers, he made not only a dignified and ornamental standard-bearer, but a very active military organizer. He was great in reviews; and on the whole did his official duty well; but he never could expand his mind wide enough to grasp the idea of associating in the new nation the two millions of Catholics.

In replying to the address communicating to him his election as commander-in-chief, he states with so much clearness and perspicuity the position occupied by the Volunteers, the services they had rendered, and the spirit which animated them, that the reply is here presented in full as a perfect vindication of "that illustrious, adored, and abused body of men."

GENTLEMEN,—You have conferred on me an honor of a very new and distinguished nature,—to be appointed, without any solicitation on my part, the reviewing-general of an independent army, *raised by no other call than that of public virtue;* an army which costs nothing to the State, and has produced every thing to the nation, is what no other country has it in her power to bestow. Honored by such a delegation I obeyed it with cheerfulness. The inducement was irresistible; I felt it the duty of every subject to forget impediments which would have stood in the way of a similar attempt in any other cause.

I see with unspeakable pleasure the progress of your discipline, and the increase of your associations; the indefatigable, steady, and extraordinary exertions, to which I have been a witness, afford a sufficient proof, that, in the formation of an army, public spirit, a shame of being outdone, and the ambition to excel, *will supply the place of reward and punishment—can levy an army, and bring it to perfection.*

The pleasure I feel is increased, when I reflect that your associations are not the fashion of a day, but the settled purpose and durable principle of the people; from whence I foresee, that the advantages lately acquired will be ascertained and established, and that solid and permanent strength will be added to the empire.

I entirely agree in the sentiment you express with regard to the exclusive authority of the legislature of this kingdom. I agree also in the expediency of making the assertion; it is no more than the law will warrant, and the real friends of both nations subscribe.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful, and
obedient humble servant,
July 15, 1780. CHARLEMONT.

The provincial reviews which followed the election of Lord Charlemont, were intended to convey significantly to the minister the readiness of an armed nation to second the propositions of their leaders in Parliament. Lord Charlemont visited Belfast to review the Ulster regiments, and was attended by Sir Annesley Stewart and Grattan as his aides. He was met at Hillsborough by Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Stewart, afterwards the Marquis of Londonderry. His arrival at Belfast on the 11th of July was announced by a salute of seven guns from the artillery, which was answered by the ships in the harbor; and there followed a brilliant review of three thousand men.

The dispatches of Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord North at this period, are evidences of a system of downright bribery—for the purpose of retaining and insuring his parliamentary majority—so general and so profuse, that nothing could bear comparison with it, but the worse corruption by which the Union was carried. Between September 8th, 1780, and November 19th of the same year, the lord-lieutenant forwarded several dispatches to the English minister, in which he recommends over one hundred men of rank and fortune, and some of their wives, to rewards for past services, or to bribes for prospective

* Life of Charlemont, vol. i., p. 93.

services. Sir Robert Deane, an uniform and laborious drudge, impeded by no conscience and burdened by no principle, who, as his viceregal eulogist remarks, always with *firm friends* supported government and never *suggested a difficulty*, was recommended for a peerage. Several other men with similar services to parade, with just the same degree of conscience or principle, had their claims for a degraded honor allowed by the lord-lieutenant.*

The dispatches of this viceroy in these two months (September and October, 1780) are extant, and should be rendered familiar reading to all those who are disposed to trust in the integrity and the promises of English statesmen.* In the Houses, both of Lords and Commons, his management was too successful, and the people now looked upon Parliament as their worst enemy. On the 2d of September, 1780, Lord Buckinghamshire prorogued the servile Parliament with one of those speeches, half cant and half sarcasm, which were then, and are now, the usual kind of viceregal addresses in Ireland. He thanked the House for their "liberal supplies" (for which the people cursed them), and added, "your cheerfulness in giving them, and your attention to the ease of the subject in the mode of raising them, must be very acceptable to his majesty; on my part, I assure you *they shall be faithfully applied*." To both Houses he said that "the heart of every Irishman must exult at the fair scene of prosperity now opening to his country," congratulated them on the commercial relaxations, which he called "the diffusive indulgence of his majesty;" and so took his leave both of that Parliament and of Ireland. Fortunately, the cause of Ireland at that day rested neither upon him nor upon them. He was recalled soon after; and on the 23d of December, 1780, Lord Carlisle was appointed in his place.

* The sources of patrician honors in Ireland, it is much to be regretted, are very impure and tainted. From this censure must of course be excepted the ancient aristocracy of the land, in whose veins still runs an honorable stream, uncontaminated by the impurity of the Williamite, or Union creation. The successive creations in Cromwell's and William's time, and at the Union, deepen in infamy as they approach our own days. The parties recommended for *honors* in Lord Buckingham's profligate dispatches, some of whose names are inserted in this note, have different qualifications; one is poor, another who is rich has poor relations; there is no political profligate, however wealthy or embarrassed, that is not recommended for promotion or pay, in his own person or in that of some convenient relative. Amongst the rest, Lords Mountcashel, Enniskillen, Carlow, and Farnham, are recommended for earldoms. In the general recommendations are the names of James Carigue Ponsonby, Charles Henry Cooke, Francis Bernard Beamish, Ponsonby Tottenham, James Somerville, William Caulfield, Thomas Nesbitt, Sir Boyle Roche, Dame Jane Heron, and other honorable persons. The following is curious; it is in a letter to Lord Hillsborough from the lord-lieutenant:

"With respect to the noblemen and gentlemen whose requests have not succeeded, I must say that no man can see the inconvenience of increasing the number of peers more forcibly than myself, *but the recommendation of many of those persons submitted to his majesty for that honor, arose* FROM ENGAGEMENTS TAKEN UP AT THE PRESS OF THE MOMENT, TO SECURE QUESTIONS UPON WHICH THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT WERE VERY PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS. My sentiments cannot but be the same with respect to the Privy Council and pensions, and *I had not contracted any absolute engagements of recommendation either to peerage or pension*, TILL DIFFICULTIES AROSE which necessarily occasioned so much and so forcibly communicated anxiety in his majesty's cabinet, that *I must have been culpable in* NEGLECTING ANY POSSIBLE MEANS OF SECURING A MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. Mr. Townshend was particularly recommended to me by Lord Shannon for a seat in the Privy Council, and I have reason to think his lordship is extremely anxious for his success."

CHAPTER XX.

1781—1782.

Parliament—Thanks to the Volunteers—Habeas Corpus—Trade with Portugal—Grattan's financial exposé—Gardiner's measure for Catholic Relief—Dungannon—The 15th of February, 1782—Debates on Gardiner's Bill—Grattan's Speech—Details of this measure—Burke's opinion of it—Address to the King asserting Irish Independence—England yields at once—Act repealing the 6th George I.—Repeal of Poynings' Law—Irish Independence.

THERE is small interest in following the details of parliamentary business during the first year of Lord Carlisle's viceroyalty; because it was every day more evident that the power which would decide the destinies of the country lay outside the walls of Parliament. Indeed, on the discussion of the perpetual Mutiny Bill for Ireland, Grattan had declared that if it passed into law he would secede, and appeal to the people, a

* They are to be found in Grattan's Life, by his son, vol. ii

formidable threat at a moment when the people were in such a good condition to hear and decide such an appeal. Lord Carlisle was accompanied by Mr. Eden as secretary, a man already known by his unsuccessful diplomacy in America, and known also by his hostility to the pretensions of Ireland. He had written and published a letter "*On the Representations of Ireland respecting a Free Trade*," of which Mr. Dobbs, a stanch patriot, thus writes:—"From a letter written by Mr. Eden, secretary to Lord Carlisle, on the subject of Irish affairs, and which had been answered by Counsellor Richard Sheridan, we had no great reason to rejoice at this change."*

On the 9th of October, 1781, the Earl of Carlisle met the Parliament. There was the usual common-place speech, recommending the Protestant Charter Schools; the linen trade; assuring Parliament of his majesty's ardent wishes for the happiness, etc., of the Irish people; and even speaking complacently of the "spirited offers of assistance" which had lately been made to the Government from every part of the kingdom, which was, though without naming them, a kind of compliment to the Volunteers. Mr. O'Neill moved a servile address in reply. Mr. Grattan, who had no idea of suffering any neglect or disrespect to the Volunteers, took notice of the extreme caution with which the address avoided mentioning the word *Volunteer*, that wholesome and salutary appellation which he wished to familiarize to the royal ear; he would not, however, insist on having it inserted, as he had reason to believe the right honorable mover did intend to make a proper mention of those protectors of their country.

Mr. O'Neill declared he was not deceived in this opinion, that the motion to which he had alluded was intended to thank the Volunteers of Ireland for that glorious spirit, unexampled in all history, with which they had so eagerly pressed forward, when the nation was thought to be in danger. He then moved that the thanks of the House should be given to all the Volunteers of Ireland, for their exertions and continuance, and for their loyal and spirited declarations on the late expected invasion.

* Dobbs' Hist. of Irish Affairs.

Mr. Conolly seconded the motion. After some opposition from Mr. Fitzgibbon, the thanks of the House were voted unanimously.

The very next day an important bill was moved for. Ireland had never yet enjoyed the protection of a *Habeas Corpus* act; nor, indeed, has she ever enjoyed it until this day, because that law has been regularly suspended in Ireland precisely at the times when it was most needed.

On the 10th of October, 1781, Mr. Bradstreet, the recorder, a very stanch patriot, moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in the heads of a *Habeas Corpus* bill, prefacing his motion by observing that the liberty and safety of the subjects of Ireland were insecure until a *Habeas Corpus* act should take place; that arbitrary power had made great strides and innovations on public liberty, but was effectually restrained by that law which had its full operation in England, but did not exist in Ireland. It was, he said, the opinion of a great and learned judge, that this law was the grand bulwark of the constitution. Leave was granted; and Mr. Yelverton and the recorder were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

Some few other proceedings in this session deserve to be noticed. Mr. Grattan again endeavored to procure an act for limitation of the Mutiny Act. Sir Lucius O'Brien moved for redress in the matter of Irish trade with Portugal; and the guild of merchants presented a petition stating that the great advantages which the nation had been promised by a freedom of trade to all the world were likely to prove imaginary; as from the state of general war our commerce was confined to very few nations, and amongst them the kingdom of Portugal, from which the greatest hopes had been conceived, had refused to receive our manufactures, quantities of which were then lying stopped in the custom-house of Lisbon, and praying the House to interfere for redress. The influence of the Court party, which was still paramount on most questions, was sufficient to prevent any effectual action on these subjects. The principal care, indeed, of the new viceroy and his adroit secretary was to prevent or suppress discussion upon any subject which would tend to open up

the great national question of independence. Mr. Barry Yelverton, speaking of this motion on the Portuguese trade, said he "thought there had been some design in the speech, to lead their imaginations away from this important object; it had, indeed, talked of Protestant charter schools, making of roads, digging of canals, and carrying of corn; and contained half a dozen lines that might be found in every speech for fifty years past; subjects more proper for the inquiry of a county grand jury, than for the great inquest of the nation; but not one word of our trade to Portugal; that had been designedly omitted."

The same Mr. Yelverton gave notice of a motion to bring in a bill to regulate the transmission of bills to England; in other words, for a repeal of Poynings' Law. Many of the Patriots now saw that the mind and spirit of the nation were firmly bent on one great purpose; and accordingly they began to be desirous, each to have his own name well forward as a mover in the good work. But before Yelverton's motion, arrived official news of that most happy and propitious event—the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army to the French and Americans at Yorktown. With a polite affectation of grief, Yelverton abandoned his motion, and moved instead an address to the king expressive of sympathy and unalterable attachment, "and to entreat his majesty to believe, that we hold it to be our indispensable duty, as it is our most hearty inclination, cheerfully to support his majesty to the utmost of our abilities, in all such measures as can tend to defeat the confederacy of his majesty's enemies, and to restore the blessings of a lasting and honorable peace."

Several friends of Mr. Yelverton's, conceiving that his motion would commit them into an approbation and support of the American war, on that account alone declined supporting it: the question, however, being put, the motion was carried by a majority of 167 against 37.

In this session, also, Mr. Grattan made an *exposé* of the financial condition of the country. This speech led to no action, but is worth some attention, because it shows to what a hopeless state of embarrassment, or rather national ruin, Ireland had been reduced. As usual, Grattan spoke with bold and bitter personal allusion, careless of the fact that perhaps a majority of his auditors were themselves corrupt pensioners on the public treasury. "Your debt," said he, "including annuities, is £2,667,600; of this debt, in the last fourteen years, you have borrowed above £1,900,000, in the last eight years above £1,500,000, and in the last two years £910,090. I state not only the fact of your debt, but the progress of your accumulation, to show the rapid mortality of your distemper, the accelerated velocity with which you advance to ruin; and if the question stood alone on this ground, it would stand firm; for I must further observe, that if this enormous debt be the debt of the peace establishment, not accumulated by directing the artillery of your arms against a foreign enemy, but by directing the artillery of your treasury against your constitution, it is a debt of patronage and prostitution."

He next went into an account of the revenues and expenditures of the kingdom; showed that the increase of expenses for two years amounted to £550,000, while the increase of revenue for the same two years was but £60,000; and that this profligate system was only confirmed and aggravated each succeeding year. Then he proceeded—"I have stated your expenses as exceeding your income, £484,000, and as having increased in fourteen years above half a million. As to the application of your money, I am ashamed to state it; let the minister defend it; let him defend the scandal of giving pensions, directly or indirectly, to the first of the nobility, with as little honor to them who receive, as to the king who gives. Let him defend the minute corruption, which in small bribes and annuities, leaves honorable gentlemen poor, while it makes them dependent."

On the 11th of December, Mr. Flood, who was anxious that he also should be on the record prominently against the obnoxious Poynings' Law, brought forward a motion for the appointment of a committee "to explain the law of Poynings." He made a learned and statesmanlike speech, was answered by a Court member; and his motion was voted down by 139 against 67.

This same session an effort was made by Mr. Luke Gardiner (afterwards Lord Mountjoy) to procure a measure of relief for the Catholics. This gentleman, like Lord Charlemont, had lately returned from a residence in Europe; and had often lamented since his return that Ireland, he was ashamed to confess, was the most intolerant country, Catholic or Protestant, in all the world. On the 13th of December he gave notice of his intention to bring in the heads of a bill for some mitigation of the penal laws. A few days after, when Mr. Gardiner introduced the subject again, Grattan warmly and eagerly gave his support in advance to some large and just measure, including both Catholics and Dissenters, declaring emphatically that "it should be the business of Parliament to unite every denomination of Irishmen in brotherly affection and regard to the constitution." Every denomination of Irishmen! Including Catholics! It was new language in that House: it was the first time perhaps, since King James's Parliament, that there had been so much as a hint of treating Catholics and Protestants as on an equal footing before the law. No wonder that it disquieted Cromwellian squires. Sir Richard Johnson nervously protested at once "that he would oppose any bill by which Papists were permitted to *bear arms*."

That Henry Grattan's idea, though not then fully developed, did go the full length of absolute equality, may be inferred from a remarkable passage in the end of his short speech. "It had been well observed by a gentleman of first-rate understanding (a member of the British Parliament), that Ireland could never prosper till its inhabitants were a people; and though the assertion might seem strange, that three millions of inhabitants in that island should not be called a people, yet the truth was so, and so would continue till the wisdom of Parliament should unite them by all the bonds of social affection. Then, and not till then, the country might hope to prosper."

This bill of Mr. Gardiner, which was very cautious and modest, merely relaxing a little further the rigors of the laws which debarred Catholics from having property and from educating their children, was postponed from week to week, and was still pending when the great event of the century (for Ireland) took place in the parish church of Dungannon, in the county Tyrone. It should be mentioned that there was great difference of opinion among the Volunteers with respect to any indulgence whatever shown to Papists; and that in particular the Sligo Volunteers, commanded by Mr. Wynne, addressed their colonel, requiring him to use his influence to defeat the measure. The conduct of these Sligo Volunteers is admirably rebuked, and the contrast of their professions and their intolerance delineated with great power and severity in a series of letters in the *Freeman's Journal* of the day, beginning with the date of the 19th of January, 1782.

But the cause of the country was now removed into another and a higher court than that of the corrupt Parliament. All the year 1781 had been a time of active organization for the Volunteers: the companies had been formed into regiments, many thousands of Catholics were now gathered into the organization; numerous reviews continued to be held; and it was determined that the regiments should now be brigaded. On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers and delegates of the First Ulster regiment, commanded by Lord Charlemont, met at Armagh, and resolved to hold a *Convention* of the Ulster delegates at Dungannon. It was the idea of Grattan: he had failed in his endeavor to join issue with England by his Declaration of Right in Parliament, and resolved now to put himself upon the country. Both friends and enemies of the Irish national cause were almost bewildered by the boldness of this conception—"Will nobody stop that madman, Grattan?" cried Edmund Burke. The Castle, on its side, hoped that this armed Convention would put itself in the wrong by some intemperate violence or plain illegality. In fact, the language of the resolutions passed at the preliminary meeting in Armagh was startling.

"*Resolved*, That with the utmost concern, we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by the majority of those whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same.

"*Resolved*, That to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most

vigorous and effective methods, must be pursued, to root out corruption and Court influence from the legislative body.

"*Resolved*, That to open a path towards the attaining of this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite that a meeting be held in the most central town of the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every Volunteer association of the said province is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on, and publish to their country, what may be the result of said meeting.

"*Resolved*, That as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom, from said intended meeting being held before the present session of Parliament is much farther advanced, Friday, the 15th day of February next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, is hereby appointed for said meeting, at Dungannon as aforesaid."

Dungannon was then, and is still, but a small market town of Tyrone County, about six miles from the shore of Lough Neagh. Two hundred years before, it had been the chief seat and stronghold of Hugh O'Neill, high-chief of Tyr-eoghain, who was the most formidable enemy that English power had ever encountered in Ireland. The little town had no assembly-room capable of accommodating the meeting; and it was determined to use the parish church for that purpose. On the 15th of February, from every county of Ulster, the delegates met. They represented thirty thousand armed men; and felt that they had full power and credentials to deliberate and decide for a great army, not only for the Ulster Volunteers, but for those of all Ireland. What might they not have done on that day! England had suffered deep humiliation, and was truly in imminent peril. In America, after the surrender of Cornwallis, she could not strike another blow. She was still at war, both with France and with Spain. In Ireland it would have been impossible for her to place in the field one half the number of the Volunteer army; and even of that half, the Irish regular force would without doubt have fraternized with the Volunteers.—"Had they chosen that mode of action," says Thomas McNevin, "which many amongst them might have secretly thought the path of wisdom, as the path of honor, the result on the destinies of England would have been perilous indeed. We cannot doubt the issue of a war. A national army, composed of the flower of a bold and valiant people, treading their native and familiar soil, fighting for home and liberty, commanded by the most distinguished men in the country, numerous and disciplined, and impatient for the field—no mercenary soldiers, whose mean incentive was pay and plunder, and rapine, and hereditary hatred, could have withstood their glorious onslaught." But other, and more moderate counsels prevailed; "perhaps wiser," says Mr. McNevin.

Of the resolutions prepared for the adoption of the military delegates, the first was written by Grattan, and the second by Flood. Mr. Dobbs, of Carrickfergus, was just about to start for the Convention, when Grattan, the unchanging friend of the Catholics, thrust into his hand the resolution in their favor, which afterwards passed at Dungannon, with only two dissenting voices of benighted Protestants.

On the memorable 15th of February, 1782, "the church of Dungannon was full to the door." The representatives of the regiments of Ulster—one hundred and forty-three corps—marched to the sacred place of meeting, two and two, dressed in various uniforms and fully armed. Deeply they felt the great responsibilities which had been committed to their prudence and courage; but they were equal to their task, and had not lightly pledged their faith to a trustful country. The aspect of the church, the temple of religion, in which nevertheless no grander ceremony was ever performed, was imposing, or, it might be said, sublime. Never, on that hill where ancient piety had fixed its seat, was a nobler offering made to God than this, when two hundred of the elected warriors of a people assembled in his tabernacle, to lay the deep foundations of a nation's liberty. Colonel Irwin, a gentleman of rank, a man firm and cautious, of undoubted courage but great prudence, presided as chairman. The following resolutions were then passed:—

"*Whereas*, it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of Parliament or political men.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, with one dissenting voice only, That the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under, or under color, or pretence of, the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, with one dissenting voice only, That a Mutiny Bill not limited in point of duration, from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself unconstitutional and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, with eleven dissenting voices only, That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honor, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported and will support us therein, and that will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

"*Resolved*, with one dissenting voice only, That the right honorable and honorable the minority in Parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman, and published with these resolutions.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be and are hereby appointed a committee, till the next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province, viz.:—

Lord Visc't Enniskillen,	Major Charles Duffen,
Col. Mervyn Archdall,	Capt. John Harvey,
Col. William Irvine,	Capt. Robert Campbell,
Col. Robt. M'Clintock,	Capt. Joseph Pollock,
Col. John Ferguson,	Capt. Waddel Cunningham
Col. John Montgomery,	Capt. Francis Evans,
Col. Charles Leslie,	Capt. John Cope,
Col. Francis Lucas,	Capt. James Dawson,
Col. Thos. M. Jones,	Capt. James Acheson,
Col. James Hamilton,	Capt. Daniel Eccles,
Col. Andrew Thomson,	Capt. Thomas Dickson,
Lieut.-Col. C. Nesbitt,	Capt. David Bell,
Lieut.-Col. A. Stewart,	Capt. John Coulson,
Major James Patterson,	Capt. Robert Black,
Major Francis Dobbs,	Rev. Wm. Crawford,
Major James M'Clintock,	Mr. Robert Thompson.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer associations in the other provinces as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

"In consequence of the above resolutions, the committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said committee, three to be a quorum, viz.:—

Col. Mervyn Archdall,	Major Francis Dobbs,
Col. William Irvine,	Capt. Francis Evans,
Col. John Montgomery,	Capt. James Dawson,
Col. Thomas M. Jones,	Capt. Joseph Pollock,
Mr. Robert Thompson.	

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present Parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the court of Portugal has acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British empire, in

such a manner, as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.

"*Resolved*, with two dissenting voices only to this and the following resolution, That we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as ourselves.

"*Resolved*, therefore, That as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

Some formal resolutions followed of thanks to Lord Charlemont, to Colonel Dawson, who had been active in getting up the Convention, and to Colonel Irwin. The meeting terminated by the adoption of an address to the Patriot minorities in the Lords and Commons, remarkable for its comprehensive brevity and admirable succinct eloquence:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen.—We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on. The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our Sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success.

"Signed by order,

"William Irvine, Chairman."

Such were the proceedings at Dungannon. All Ireland adopted the resolutions; and meetings were held in every county formally to accept the exposition of the public mind which the Volunteers of Ulster had given. The freeholders of each county, and the grand juries adopted the resolutions.

The delegates of Connaught met in pursuance of the requisition of Lord Clanricarde; the delegates of Munster assembled at Cork under the presidency of Lord Kingsborough, and the delegates of Leinster at Dublin under that of Colonel Henry Flood.

It was in vain that the Government renewed its old cabals, or made overt resistance to the progress of the Dungannon movement. The example of the North was followed in every quarter. And what is peculiarly worthy of notice in the history of the day is this, that there was no diversity of opinion amongst the armed battalions in the different parts of the country. Such division of opinion, especially on the subject of the Catholics, might naturally have been expected; but the result was one of great and singular unanimity on the important topics which agitated the public mind. The Dungannon resolutions constitute the charter of Irish freedom, embracing all the points necessary for the perfect independence of the country, legislative freedom, control over the army, religious equality, and freedom of trade. They are the summary of the political requisitions of the Patriot party in the Parliament for which they had been struggling since the days of Molyneux, for which it was vain to struggle until an armed force was ready to take the field in their behalf. And no one can read the history of this great Convention without feeling that it was virtually a declaration of war, with the alternative of full concession of all the points of the charter of liberty. The Dungannon delegates were empowered by the nation, speaking through her armed citizens, to make terms or to enforce her rights; a hundred thousand swords were ready to obey their commands. England could not have brought into the field one-half that number; and the rights of Ireland were virtually declared on the 15th of February. It was a marvellous moderation which contented itself with constitutional liberty in a political connection with England, and subjection to her monarch; it would not have required another regiment to have struck off the last link of subjugation and to have es-

tablished the national liberty of Ireland on a wider basis than any upon which it ever stood.

In the mean time, and whilst general liberty was approaching towards its triumph, toleration to the Roman Catholics was making large and important strides. The declaration of the Dungannon delegates, so general and so impressive, being the opinion of the whole armed delegation of Ulster with but two inglorious exceptions, had a very great effect through Ireland. It was unfortunate for the subsequent career of the Volunteers that the principles which their armed representatives propounded at Dungannon, were not adopted by some of their leading minds. The seeds of ruin lay deep in the intolerant exception of the Catholics from the general rule of liberty. It was unwise, it was ungracious, it was impolitic. Flood and Charlemont would have raised a lofty temple to freedom, but would not permit the great preponderant majority of the nation to enter its gates, nay, even "to inscribe their names upon the entablature." But, though some of the distinguished officers of the Volunteers would have thus withheld the blessings of liberty from their fellow-countrymen, it is to be borne in mind—and principally because much argument has been based upon the concessions granted since the Union by the united legislature to the Catholics—that the principles of enlightened liberality made a wonderfully rapid progress in our native Parliament during the era of its glory.

Mr. Gardiner's Catholic Relief bill was introduced on the 15th of February, the same day on which the Dungannon Convention met in the church of Dungannon. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, endeavored to defeat the measure by suggesting that it repealed the act of settlement, and disturbed Protestant titles. A good deal of alarm was created by his opinion, and time was taken to inquire into its soundness. On examination it was considered bad, and the House went into committee on the bill on the 20th of February, 1782. The measure proposed to concede to the Catholics, 1st, the enjoyment of property; 2dly, the free exercise of their religion; 3dly, the rights of education; 4thly, of marriage; and 5thly, of carrying arms. Flood supported the bill, but ungraciously labored to establish a distinction between the rights of property and the rights of power. He said, "Though I would extend toleration to the Roman Catholics, yet I would not wish to make a change in the state, or enfeeble the Government." Mr. Gardiner, replying to the objection, that if this bill should pass, there would no longer be any *restraint* on Roman Catholics, said —"But was it not a restraint upon a man that he could hold no trust nor office in the state? That he could not be a member of Parliament, a justice, or a grand-juror? That he could not serve in the army of his country, have a place in the revenue, be an advocate or attorney, or even become a freeman of the smallest corporation? If gentlemen labored under these incapacities themselves, would they think them no restraint?" Fitzgibbon, who had endeavored to defeat the measure at first, on the ground that it would disturb Protestant titles, now supported it, saying that "though it would be improper to allow Papists to become proprietors of boroughs, there was no good reason why they should not possess estates in counties, nor why Protestant tenants holding under them should not enjoy a right of voting for members of Parliament." There was no question in this bill of allowing them to vote themselves, still less of allowing them to be members of Parliament. The Attorney-General, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Sir Henry Cavendish, Mr. Ogle, the Provost, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Daly, Sir Boyle Roche, and Mr. Bagnal, spoke warmly for the bill. In the course of the several debates upon these measures of Mr. Gardiner, there were many objectors to each clause, and their objections rested on diverse grounds. Mr. Flood's vehement opposition to giving the Catholics any rights which might gradually invest them with political power was sustained by Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Rowley, Mr. John Burke and Mr. St. George. Many members, to their immortal honor, expressed themselves plainly and unreservedly as in favor of wiping off the whole Penal Code at once, not only in justice to the Catholics, but for the benefit of the whole country. Amongst these we find the names of Sir Lucius O'Brien, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Hussey Burgh, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Dillon, Captain

Hall, and Mr. Mossom. The clause permitting Catholics to go abroad for education was strenuously resisted by Fitzgibbon, Mason, Bushe, and others. It is needless to say that Mr. Grattan supported all the bills, and all their clauses. Indeed the debates are chiefly interesting because they were the occasion of the enunciation by him, for the first time, of the grand and generous thought of a true Irish nationality. He said: "I object to any delay which can be given to this clause; we have already considered the subject on a larger scale, and this is but a part of what the clause originally contained. We have before us the example of England, who four years ago granted Catholics a right of taking land in fee; the question is merely, whether we shall give this right or not, and if we give it, whether it shall be accompanied by all its natural advantages? Three years ago, when this question was debated in this house, there was a majority of three against granting Catholics estates in fee, and they were only allowed to take leases of 999 years. The argument then used against granting them the fee was, that they might influence elections. It has this day been shown, that they may have as effectual an influence by possessing leases of 999 years, as they can have by possessing the fee; at that time, I do declare I was somewhat prejudiced against granting Roman Catholics estates in fee, but their conduct since that period has fully convinced me of their true attachment to this country. When this country had resolved no longer to crouch beneath the burden of oppression that England had laid upon her; when she armed in defence of her rights, and a high-spirited people demanded a free trade, did the Roman Catholics desert their countrymen? No: they were found amongst the foremost. When it was afterwards thought necessary to assert a free constitution, the Roman Catholics displayed their public virtue; they did not endeavor to take advantage of your situation; they did not endeavor to make terms for themselves, but they entered frankly and heartily into the cause of the country; judging by their own virtue, that they might depend upon your generosity for their reward. But now, after you have obtained a free trade, after the voice of the nation has asserted her independence, they approach this House as humble suppliants, and beg to be admitted to the common rights of men. Upon the occasions I have mentioned, I did carefully observe their actions, and did then determine to support their cause whenever it came before this House, and to bear a strong testimony of the constitutional principles of the Catholic body. Nor should it be mentioned as a reproach to them that they fought under the banner of King James, when we recollect that before they entered the field, they extorted from him a Magna Charta, a British constitution. In 1779, when the fleets of Bourbon hovered on our coasts, and the Irish nation roused herself to arms, did the Roman Catholics stand aloof? Or did they, as might be expected from their oppressed situation, offer assistance to the enemy? No: they poured in subscriptions for the service of their country, or they pressed into the ranks of her glorious Volunteers.

"It has been shown that this clause grants the Roman Catholics no new power in the state; every argument, therefore, which goes against this clause goes against their having leases for 999 years, every argument which goes against their having leases for 999 years, goes against their having any leases at all; and every argument which goes against their having property, goes against their having existence in this land. The question is now, whether we shall grant Roman Catholics a power of enjoying estates, or whether we shall be a Protestant settlement or an Irish nation? Whether we shall throw open the gates of the temple of liberty to all our countrymen, or whether we shall confine them in bondage by penal laws? So long as the Penal Code remains, we never can be a great nation; the Penal Code is the shell in which the Protestant power has been hatched, and now it is become a bird, it must burst the shell asunder, or perish in it. I give my consent to the clause in its principle, extent, and boldness, and give my consent to it as the most likely means of obtaining a victory over the prejudices of Catholics, and over our own. I give my consent to it, because I would not keep two millions of my fellow-subjects in a state of slavery; and because, as the mover of the

Declaration of Rights, I should be ashamed of giving freedom to but six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more."

The relief measures of Mr. Gardiner were contained in three separate bills, very cautiously and moderately prepared, in order to avoid too rude a shock to the Protestant Ascendency. To read these bills with their restrictions and exceptions, gives a vivid idea of what Protestant Ascendency in Ireland then was. The *first* enables Catholics to take and hold, in the same manner as Protestants, any lands and hereditaments *except* advowsons, manors, and boroughs returning members to Parliament. It removes several penalties from such of the clergy as should have taken the oath and been registered; it confines its operation to the regular clergy then within that kingdom (by which the succession of other regulars from abroad might be prevented), it deprives any clergyman officiating in a church or chapel with a steeple or bell of the benefit of the act, and repeals several of the most obnoxious parts of the acts of Anne and Geo. I. and Geo. II.

The second of the series of measures related to education—"An act to allow persons professing the Popish religion to teach school, and for regulating the education of Papists," etc. It repeals certain parts of the acts of William and Anne, which inflicted on any Catholic teaching school, or privately instructing youth in learning, the same pains, penalties, and forfeitures as any Popish regular clergyman was subjected to (transportation, and in case of return, death), but *excepts*, out of its benefits, those who should not have taken the oath of allegiance, who should receive a Protestant scholar, or who should become ushers under Protestant schoolmasters. The act also enables Catholics (except ecclesiastics) to be guardians to their own or any other Popish child. These two first bills passed, and became law.

The third bill was for permitting intermarriages between Protestants and Papists: but the liberality of the House had not yet arrived at such a revolutionary point: they felt that they must draw the line somewhere; so they threw out this bill by a majority of eight.

Yet these wretched and pitiful measures, which by their small relaxations only made more offensively conspicuous the great oppression of the Penal Code, were regarded in Ireland as a mighty effort of liberalism. Mr. Burke, who had a soul great enough to see the matter in its true light, thus speaks of these bills in his letter to a noble lord:—"To look at the bill, in the abstract, it is neither more nor less than a renewed act of universal, unmitigated, indispensable, exceptionless disqualification. One would imagine that a bill inflicting such a multitude of incapacities, had followed on the heels of a conquest made by a very fierce enemy, under the impression of recent animosity and resentment. No man, on reading that bill, could imagine that he was reading an act of amnesty and indulgence. This I say on memory. It recites the oath, and that Catholics ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown, and government; then follows a universal exclusion of those good and loyal subjects from every, even the lowest, office of trust and profit, or from any vote at an election; from any privilege in a town corporate; from being even a freeman of such corporations; from serving on grand juries; from a vote at a vestry; from having a gun in his house, from being a barrister, attorney, solicitor, or, etc., etc., etc.

"This has surely more of the air of a table of proscriptions, than an act of grace. What must we suppose the laws concerning those good subjects to have been, of which this is a relaxation? When a very great portion of the labor of individuals goes to the state, and is by the state again refunded to individuals through the medium of offices, and in this circuitous progress from the public to the private fund, indemnifies the families from whom it is taken, an equitable balance between the Government and the subject is established. But if a great body of the people who contribute to this state lottery, are excluded from all the prizes, the stopping the circulation with regard to them must be a most cruel hardship, amounting in effect to being double and treble taxed, and will be felt as such to the very quick by all the families high and low, of those hundreds of thousands, who are denied their chance in the returned fruits of

their own industry. This is the thing meant by those who look on the public revenue only as a spoil; and will naturally wish to have as few as possible concerned in the division of the booty. If a state should be so unhappy as to think it cannot subsist without such a barbarous proscription, the persons so proscribed ought to be indemnified by the remission of a large part of their taxes, by an immunity from the offices of public burden, and by an exemption from being pressed into any military or naval service. Why are Catholics excluded from the law? Do not they expend money in their suits? Why may not they indemnify themselves by profiting in the persons of some for the losses incurred by others? Why may they not have persons of confidence, whom they may, if they please, employ in the agency of their affairs? The exclusion from the law, from grand juries, from sheriffships, under-sheriffships, as well as from freedom in any corporation, may subject them to dreadful hardships, as it may exclude them wholly from all that is beneficial, and expose them to all that is mischievous in a trial by jury."

It has seemed needful to go into details on the provisions of these bills of Mr. Gardiner, in order to show that at the very moment when Ireland was proclaiming her independence, and preparing to fight for it—relying too upon the aid of the Catholic people—there were few indeed who so much as dreamed of making those Catholics citizens or members of civil society. This radical vice is quite enough to account for the short life of Ireland as an independent nation. In truth nobody in Europe had any idea of religious equality, none doubted the right of the orthodox to possess themselves of the lands and goods of the heterodox, until a few years after this period, when France gave the noble example of absolute equality before the law for all religions.

In the course of this same eventful February, Grattan brought on a new motion for an address to the king, declaring the rights of Ireland. But within that corrupted atmosphere, upon those bribed benches, was the very worst place for liberty to breathe.

The time had not yet arrived, though it was near at hand, for the Irish Parliament to assent to the proposition of its own freedom. They started back reluctant from the glowing form of Liberty; not even with a nation in arms behind them, and with a man of the inspired eloquence of Grattan amongst their sordid ranks, could *their* valor and *his* genius triumph over the inveterate corruption and servility of that House. Grattan's motion was lost by a majority of 137 to 68. But the fate of that statesman who had long sat at the fountain head of corruption, and who ministered so liberally to the profligacy of the Irish majority—the worst minister that England ever had, whose obstinate perseverance in principles opposed to the theory of the British constitution, lost to England the noblest member of her great confederation—was at length sealed. He was obliged to relinquish, with disgrace, the post he had held with dishonor. Defeat and disaster followed Lord North into his retirement, He was succeeded by Lord Rockingham and Charles Fox; Lord Carlisle was recalled, and the Duke of Portland was chosen to administer the complicated affairs of Ireland. Grattan, on the 14th of March, declared that he would bring on the Declaration of Rights, and he moved, and succeeded in carrying a very unusual summons, that the House be called over on Tuesday, the 16th of April next, and that the Speaker do write circular letters to the members, ordering them to attend that day, *as they tender the rights of the Irish Parliament.*

The Duke of Portland made a triumphant entry into Dublin, and he was welcomed, for no good reason that the history of the times can give, with the loudest acclamations. His arrival appeared to promise the fulfilment of all the hopes of Ireland, and he received, by anticipation, a gratitude which he never deserved. But his coming had been preceded by some of the habitual policy of his party. Letters of honeyed courtesy, as hollow as they were sweet, were dispatched by Fox to "his old and esteemed friend the good Earl of Charlemont."* Whig diplomacy and cunning never concocted a more singular piece of writing. He alludes with graceful familiarity to the long and pleasing friendship which had ex-

* Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. ii., p. 4.

isted between them, and after a variety of compliments, begs for a postponement of the House for three weeks, in order that the Duke of Portland might have an opportunity of inquiring into the opinions of Lord Charlemont, and of gentlemen of the first weight and consequence. But Fox was well aware of their opinions. They were recorded in the votes and speeches of the two Houses, and in the military transactions of the Volunteers. No man knew them better than Fox. He had been in communication with the leaders of the Patriot party, and was well aware of the merits of their claims. And his proposition was a feeble device to try the chapter of accidents. But Charlemont was firm, for Grattan would give "no time." The general of the Volunteers replied in terms of courteous dignity, but unwonted determination. He told the wily minister of England that the Declaration of Rights was universally looked up to as an essential and necessary preliminary to any confidence in the new administration. "We ask for our rights—our incontrovertible rights—restore them to us, and forever unite in the closest and best riveted bonds of affection, the kingdom of Ireland to her beloved, though hitherto unkind sister." This was the sentimental cant of politics; but the upshot was, that the Declaration of Rights was to be moved on the 16th of April, and it was only left to the genius of intrigue to yield with assumed grace what England dared no longer withhold. No civil letters to courtly vanity—no philosophic generalities and specious promises could effect any thing with Volunteer artillery. The epistles had all the graces of Horace Walpole, and were abundant in compliments; the compliments were returned, but the Declaration was retained. Grattan, if his own wisdom could have allowed it, would not have dared to pause. He stood in the first rank—a hundred thousand men were behind him in arms—he could not hesitate. It was his glory, and his wisdom to advance. And he advanced in good earnest, nor staid his foot till it was planted on the ruins of usurpation.

On the 9th of April, Fox communicated to the House of Commons in England, the following message from the king:—

"George R.: His Majesty, being concerned to find that discontent and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this House, to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. G. R."

A similar communication was made to the Irish Parliament by John Hely Hutchinson, principal secretary of state in Ireland, who, at the same time, stated that he had uniformly maintained the right of Ireland to independent and exclusive legislation, and declared that he would give his earnest support to any assertion of that right whether by vote of the House, by address, or by enactment.

A scene of still greater excitement and interest occurred on this occasion, than that which had so carried away the citizens of Dublin two years before, when Grattan first introduced the question of Irish rights. The nation had become strong and confident by success—they had achieved free trade—their military organization had attained the greatest perfection of discipline and skill—their progress was, indeed, triumphant, they had but one short step to take. There was, therefore, great excitement through Ireland as to the issue of Grattan's Declaration of Right, not that they apprehended failure, but that all men felt anxious to see the realization of their splendid hopes. The streets of Dublin were lined with the Volunteers—the House of Commons was a great centre, round which all the city appeared moving. Inside, rank and fashion and genius were assembled; outside, arms were glistening and drums sounding. It was the commencement of a new government, and the king had sent a message of peace to Ireland.

The message was similar to that delivered to the English House, and when it had been read, Mr. George Ponsonby moved that an address should be presented, which might mean any thing, and meant nothing. It was to tell his majesty that the House was thankful for a gracious message, and that it would take into its serious consideration the discontents and jealousies which had arisen in Ireland, the causes of which should be in-

vestigated with all convenient dispatch, and be submitted to the royal justice and wisdom of his majesty.

When this motion, very full of the solemn plausibilities of loyalty and the generalities of pretended patriotism, was made, Henry Grattan rose to move his amendment. It was a moment of great interest. The success of the motion was certain, but all parties were anxious to learn the extent of the demands which Grattan was about to make. As the "herald and oracle of his armed countrymen" he moved the amendment which contained the rights of Ireland; and confident of its success, he apostrophized his country as already free, and appealed to the memory of those great men who had first taught the doctrine of liberty which his nobler genius had realized. He moved:

"That a humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message to this House, signified by his grace the lord-lieutenant.

"To assure his majesty of our unshaken attachment to his majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his majesty's subjects of Ireland.

"That, thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his majesty the causes of our discontents and jealousies. To assure his majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own—the sole legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the King, Lords, and Commons, of Ireland; nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country save only the Parliament of Ireland. To assure his majesty, that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

"To assure his majesty, that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an act entitled 'An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland:' an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

"To assure his majesty, that his majesty's Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law in Ireland should receive the approbation of his majesty under the seal of Great Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same anywhere, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy.

"To assure his majesty, that an act, entitled 'An act for the better accommodation of his majesty's forces,' being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

"That we have submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress."

The address was carried unanimously in both Houses; and Parliament took a short recess, to allow time for the matter to be dealt with in England. Nobody, either in Ireland or in England, doubted the issue. It was quite certain that the declaration of the Irish Parliament was all-sufficient to establish the liberty of the country.

One may now be allowed to regret that Lord North's administration was no longer in power. In that case England would have refused concession; would have attempted to enforce her pretensions in Ireland: war would have been the inevitable result; Ireland would have necessarily made an alliance with France, whose great Revolution was now rapidly approaching; so there would have been happily an end to the British empire. Unfortunately the statesmen of

that country were as wise as they were treacherous. On the 17th of May, simultaneously in the two Houses at Westminster, Lord Shelburne in the Lords and Mr. Fox in the Commons, having read the addresses of the Irish Parliament, moved—"That it was the opinion of that House that the act of the 6th Geo. I., entitled '*An Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain*,' ought to be repealed."

On the 27th of May, the Duke of Portland officially communicated to the Irish Parliament this great and memorable concession, which he said came from "the magnanimity of the king and the wisdom of the Parliament;" closing his message with these words:—"On my own part I entertain not the least doubt but that the same spirit which urged you to share the freedom of Great Britain will confirm you in your determination to share her fate also, standing or falling with the British nation." This is the kind of cant which has ruined Ireland: yet the plain and eternal truth—that while the British nation *stands*, Ireland must fall, and *vice versa*, was even then well understood by Irish patriots, and often avowed by Grattan himself. "Ireland," said he, "Ireland is in strength; she has acquired that strength by the weakness of Britain, for Ireland was saved when America was lost: when England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when she was defeated, Ireland was relieved; and when Charleston was taken, the mutiny and sugar bills were altered. Have you not all of you, when you heard of a defeat, at the same instant condoled with England, and congratulated Ireland?"

"Poyning's Law" was still on the statute-book; and the work of enfranchisement was not complete until it was repealed: as it was an Irish statute, it was the Irish Parliament which had to repeal it; and this was immediately done on motion of Mr. Yelverton. Grattan introduced a bill "to punish mutiny and desertion," which repealed the perpetual mutiny act and restored to Parliament a due control over the army; also another bill to reverse erroneous judgments and decrees, a measure which was supposed at the time to have settled the question of the final judicature of Ireland, and to have taken from the English Lords and King's Bench their usurped appellate jurisdiction.

At the same time that the legislature was thus taking securities and guarantees (as it thought) for permanent independence, it was not forgetful of the honorable debt due to the man who, above all others, had conduced to restore the dignity and independence of Ireland. Fifty thousand pounds were voted to Henry Grattan, his friends having declined for him the larger tribute of £100,000 as at first proposed, and having also refused an insidious offer of the Phœnix Park and Viceregal Lodge, which had been made by Mr. Conolly on the part of the Government.

Ireland was now, at least formally and technically, an independent nation.

CHAPTER XXI.

1783—1784.

Effects of Independence—Settlement not final—English plots for the Union—Corruption of Irish Parliament—Enmity of Flood and Grattan—Question between them—Renunciation Act—Second Dungannon Convention—Convention of Delegates in Dublin—Catholics excluded from all Civil Rights—Lord Kenmare—Lord Kenmare disavowed—Lord Temple—Knights of St. Patrick—Portland viceroy—Judication Bill—Habeas Corpus—Bank of Ireland—Repeal of Test Act—Proceedings of Convention—Flood's Reform Bill—Rejected—Convention dissolved—End of the Volunteers—Militia.

It would be extremely pleasing to have now to record, that this nation, thus emancipated by a generous impulse of patriotism, and launched forth on a higher and wider career of existence, gave a noble example of public virtue, tolerance, purity, and liberality. Such is not the record we are to give. England had not (of course) yielded the independence of her "sister island" in good faith. Finding herself, for the moment, unable to crush the rising spirit of her Irish colony by force, she feigned to give way for a time, well determined to have her revenge, either by fraud or force, or by any possible combination of those two agencies. From the very moment of the acknowledgment of Ireland's freedom, British ministers began to plot the perpetration of "*the Union*."

The very nobility of nature and unsuspicious generosity of the leading Irish patriot of the day, so prompt and eager to gush out in unmerited gratitude, so cordially impatient to put away every shadow of ill-will between the two "sister countries," gave the English administration a great advantage in devising their plans for our utter ruin.

"It is difficult," says Mr. MacNevin, "to have much sympathy for the extravagant amount of gratitude awarded to the British Parliament by the leading men of the day in Ireland. They treated the rights of Ireland as though their establishment was not the work of Irishmen but the free gift of English magnanimity. And the address moved by Grattan 'did protest too much.'" Nothing can be imagined more artlessly innocent than this address moved by Mr. Grattan in reply to the viceroy's official announcement to Parliament of the repeal of the declaratory act. It assures his majesty "that no constitutional question between the two countries will any longer exist which can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain as she has approved our firmness so she may rely on our affection." It further assures his majesty "that we learn with singular satisfaction the account of his successes in the East and West Indies," etc.: —which was doubtlessly extremely polite, but essentially false and foolish, because the mover of the address, and every one who voted for it, knew well that successes of England anywhere in the world were disasters to Ireland.

Lord Clare, who understood the true relations between the two countries better than any other Irish statesman, in order to prove that the transactions of 1782, between Great Britain and Ireland were not considered as final, tells us, that on the 6th of June the Duke of Portland thus wrote to Lord Shelburne: "I have the best reason to hope that I shall soon be enabled to transmit to you the sketch or outlines of an act of Parliament to be adopted by the legislatures of the respective kingdoms, by which the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of state and general commerce, will be virtually and effectually acknowledged; that a share of the expense in carrying on a defensive or offensive war, either in support of our own dominions, or those of our allies, shall be borne by Ireland in proportion to the actua state of her abilities, and that she will adopt every such regulation as may be judged necessary by Great Britain for the better ordering and securing her trade and commerce with foreign nations, or her own colonies and dependencies, consideration being duly had to the circumstances of Ireland. I am flattered with the most positive assurances from ——— and ——— of their support in carrying such a bill through both Houses of Parliament, and I think it most advisable to bring it to perfection at the present moment." And he happened to know from an official quarter, that the sketch of such an act of Parliament was then drawn. He knew the gentleman who framed it, and he knew from the same quarter, that blank and blank and blank and blank did unequivocally signify their approbation of it. This communication was received with the satisfaction which it demanded by the British cabinet. On the 9th of June Lord Shelburne wrote to the Duke of Portland in answer to his last dispatch: "The contents of your grace's letter of the 6th inst. are too important to hesitate about detaining the messenger, whilst I assure your grace of the satisfaction which I know your letter will give the king. I have lived in the most anxious expectation of some such measure offering itself: nothing prevented my pressing it in this dispatch, except having repeatedly stated the just expectations of this country, I was apprehensive of giving that the air of demand, which would be better left to a voluntary spirit of justice and foresight. No matter who has the merit, let the two kingdoms be one, which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the *superintending power and supremacy to be where nature has placed it*, in precise and unambiguous terms. I am sure I need not inculcate to your grace the importance of words in an act, which must decide on the happiness of ages, particularly in what regards contribution and trade, subjects most likely to come into frequent question."

It was easy for British statesmen to find in Ireland the suitable material for their

usual system of corruption; because the Parliament did not at all represent the nation. Not only were four-fifths of the people expressly excluded, as Catholics, from all share in the representation; but of the three hundred members of the House of Commons, only seventy-two were really returned by the people: 123 sat for "nomination boroughs," and represented only their patrons. Fifty-three peers directly appointed these legislators, and could also insure by their influence the election of about ten others. Fifty commoners also nominated ninety-one members, and controlled the election of four others. With such a condition of the popular representation, the British ministry knew that they could soon render it manageable; and they only waited till their own foreign troubles should be over to re-establish the supremacy "where nature has placed it."

The first evil omen for Ireland was the rivalry, or rather downright enmity of Flood and Grattan. The former had resigned his place, in order to act freely with the Patriots, and had labored by the side of Grattan in forming and inspiring the Volunteer force, and the potent public spirit which at length wrested from England's reluctant hands the formal recognition of Ireland's independence. If he ranks lower than Grattan on the roll of the Patriot party, it is because he remained to the last an enemy of Catholic emancipation, and persisted in favoring that vicious and petty policy of confining the *nation*, with all its powers and rights, to one-fifth part of the inhabitants.

In the first essential difference between these two men, Flood was clearly in the right. It was his opinion that a simple repeal of the declaratory act of George the First by England was not a sufficient security against the resumption of legislative control. His argument was intelligible enough: The 6th of George the First was only a declaratory act; a declaratory act does not make or unmake but only declare the law; and neither could its repeal make or unmake the law. The repeal, unless there was an express renunciation of the principle—is only a repeal of the declaration, and not of the legal principle. The principle remained as before, unless it was specially renounced. Many acts had been passed by the British Parliament binding Ireland, and some of them before the declaratory act of George. The act did not legalize these statutes; it only declared that the principle of their enactment was legal—its repeal does not establish their illegality, but only repeals the declaration. Flood was historically right. In the reign of William and Mary, the English Parliament usurped the absolute right of making laws for Ireland, and in 1691 passed an act to make a fundamental alteration in the constitution of this country by excluding Roman Catholics, who were the majority of the nation, from a seat in the Lords and Commons. It was true, he argued, that the Irish had renounced the claim of England, but could such renunciation be equal to a renunciation by England? In any controversy could the assertion of a party in his own favor be equal to the admission of his antagonist? Fitzgibbon was of the same opinion as Flood, and both insisted on an express renunciation by England.

Grattan, on the other hand, refused the security of a British statute, and exclaimed that the people had not come to England for a charter but with a charter, and asked her to cancel all declarations in opposition to it. It must be said that Ireland had no charter. Her Declaration of Right was not a Bill of Rights, and Flood asked for a Bill of Rights. He was not satisfied without an express renunciation. But what guarantee against future usurpation by a future Parliament, was any renunciation, however strong? The true security for liberty was the spirit of the people and the arms of the Volunteers. When that spirit passed away, renunciations and statutes were no more than parchment—the faith of England remained the same as ever, unchangeable.

Whatever were the merits of the controversy, it was pregnant with the worst effects. The Parliament adopted the views of Grattan; the Volunteers sided with Flood. A Bill of Rights, a great international compact, a plain specific deed, the statement of the claims of Ireland and the pledge of the faith of England would have been satisfactory, and it must be confessed that men

were not far astray in asking for it. But unfortunately, the great minds of the day so far participated in the weaknesses of humanity as to yield to small impulses and to plunge into a rivalry fatal to their country, in place of uniting their powers for the completion of a noble and glorious undertaking. It was unfortunate for their glory—it was fatal for liberty.* Flood, though legally right in the argument and wise in his suggestions, may unwittingly have permitted himself to be influenced by a feeling of jealousy. He had seen the laurels he had been so long earning, placed on the brow of a younger and certainly a greater man, and his dissatisfaction was an unfortunate but a natural feeling. On the other hand, Grattan, whose peculiar work was the Declaration of Rights, felt indignant at the imputation cast on his wisdom, and the impeachment of his policy by the measures which Flood proposed. When Flood was refused leave to bring in his Bill of Rights on the 19th of June, Grattan, who had opposed it in one of his finest speeches, moved a resolution, which appears very indefensible, "that the legislature of Ireland is independent; and that any person who shall by writing or otherwise, maintain that a right in any other country to make laws for Ireland internally or externally exists or can be revived, is inimical to the peace of both kingdoms." It was a strong measure to denounce as *a public enemy* the wary statesman who read futurity with more caution than himself. He withdrew his motion and substituted another: "that leave was refused to bring in said heads of a bill, because the sole and exclusive right of legislation, in the Irish Parliament in all cases, whether internally or externally, hath been already asserted by Ireland; and fully, finally, and irrevocably acknowledged by the British Parliament."

The opinion of the Lawyers' corps of Volunteers was in favor of Flood's interpretation of the constitutional relations of the two countries. They considered that repealing a declaration was not destroying a principle, and that a statute renouncing any pre-existing right, was an indispensable guarantee for future security. They appointed a committee to inquire into the question, which reported that it was necessary that an express renunciation should accompany the repeal of the 6th of George the First. Whereupon the corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, of which Grattan was colonel, presented him with an address. They reviewed the whole argument, and ended by requesting their colonel to assist with his hearty concurrence and strenuous support, the opinions propounded by a committee "chosen from the best-informed body in this nation." Such an address, including at one and the same time, an approbation of the course pursued by Flood, and a request to Grattan to support the doctrines he had from the first opposed, was construed by his nice sense of honor into a dismissal from his command. He did not resign lest his regiment might construe a peremptory resignation as an offence. But he told them, that in the succession of officers, they would have an opportunity "to indulge the range of their disposition." He was, however, re-elected, nor did he lose the command until the October of the next year, when he voted against retrenchment in the army. The Belfast First Volunteer company also addressed him. Doubts, they said, had arisen whether the repeal of the 6th of George the First was a sufficient renunciation of the power formerly exercised over Ireland, they thought it advisable that a law should be enacted similar to the addresses which had been moved to his majesty, and which embodied the declaration of the Rights of Ireland. Grattan's answer was laconic, but explicit. He said he had given the fullest consideration to their suggestions: he was sorry he differed from them; he conceived their doubts to be ill-founded. With great

* "It was deeply lamented that at a moment critical and vital to Ireland beyond all former precedent, an inveterate and almost vulgar hostility should have prevented the co-operation of men, whose counsels and talents would have secured its independence. But that jealous lust for undivided honor, the eternal enemy of patriots and liberty, led them away even beyond the ordinary limits of parliamentary decorum. The old courtiers fanned the flame—the new ones added fuel to it—and the independence of Ireland was eventually lost by the distracting result of their animosities, which in a few years was used as an instrument to annihilate that very legislature, the preservation of which had been the theme of their hostilities."—Barrington's Rise and Fall, chap. xvii.

respect to their opinions, and unalterable attachment to their interest, he adhered to the latter. They received a different answer from Flood, whom they admitted as a member of their corps. Similar circumstances occurring in different other regiments, conduced to foster the evil passions of those two distinguished men, until they broke out into a disgraceful and virulent personal dispute. But there were worse consequences attending this unfortunate quarrel. Men whose united talents and zeal would have rendered secure the edifice of their joint labors, and the monument of their glory, were prompted to the adoption of different lines of policy. Grattan refused to advance. Flood was all for progress. Had both united to reform the constitution, and to secure its permanence, that event, which eventually put a period to the existence of the legislature of Ireland, would never have occurred. A decision in the Court of King's Bench of England, by Lord Mansfield, in an Irish case brought there by appeal, seemed to affirm the arguments, and to give weight to the objections of Flood. Mr. Townshend, in introducing in the English Commons the Renunciation Bill (January, 1783), said, that doubts were entertained as to the sufficiency of the simple repeal, and had been increased by a late decision in the Court of King's Bench, which, however, he was informed, the court was bound to give, the case having come under its cognizance before any question as to the appellate jurisdiction in Irish matters had been raised. He then moved "that leave be given to bring in a bill for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error, or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in Ireland from being received, heard, or adjusted in any of his majesty's courts in this kingdom; and that Mr. Townshend, General Conway, Mr. Pitt, Mr. William Grenville, and the Attorney and Solicitor General do bring in the bill." The motion passed without a division, and the Renunciation Bill was the result. This vindicated the correctness of Flood's reasoning—it did not afford any additional security to liberty A solemn international compact, and internal reform of Parliament were still required to render secure and indefeasible the settlement of '82. It is a matter of serious and grave regret, that Grattan did not take the same leading part in obtaining parliamentary reform, and relieving the legislature from internal influence, as in emancipating it from foreign control. He would have been a safe counsellor to the Volunteers; and, had it been found advisable and consistent with the spirit of the constitution to appeal to another assembly of armed delegates, it would have met under better auspices than the Dublin Convention of 1783—nor would it have terminated so ignominiously. But he was influenced by weaker counsels; and, admitting that no evil passion of any kind was busy with him, we are forced to believe that he allowed his manly judgment to be swayed by inferior and timid minds. Reform was plainly necessary to the completion of his own labors. The House of Commons did not represent the people, nor did its construction give any guarantee for the security of popular liberties. Such a body might be forced into great and extraordinary virtue, as it was in '82; under such unusual influences, with the Volunteers in arms throughout the whole country, and men like Grattan, Burgh, and Flood amongst them, they were unable to resist the tide that was flowing; but there was no principle of stability in them, they were irresponsible and corrupt. Reform was the obvious corollary of the Declaration of Right. Had the framers of the constitution of '82 united to consolidate and secure their own work, and ceased from the insane contentions by which they disgraced their success; had they given a popular character to the legislature which they freed from external control, and converted it into the veritable organ of the national will, by conferring extensive franchises on the people, by including the Catholics in their scheme, and putting an end to the system of close boroughs, it would have been impossible for any English minister, without a war, whose issue would have been doubtful, to destroy the legislative existence of the country by a union.

And this they could have done. The Volunteers were still in force. One hundred thousand men were in arms, and had urgently pressed upon their leaders the insufficiency of their work: they had demanded reform in every provincial meeting* —at Belfast, on the 9th of June, 1783, a meeting of delegates from thirty-eight corps of Volunteers assembled after a review, and adopted the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That at an era so honorable to the spirit, wisdom, and loyalty of Ireland, A MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION of the people in Parliament deserves the deliberate attention of every Irishman; as that alone which can perpetuate to future ages the inestimable possession of a free constitution. In this sentiment, we are happy to coincide with a late decision of the much-respected Volunteer army of the Province of Munster; as well as with the opinion of that consummate statesman, the late Earl of Chatham; by whom it was held a favorite measure for checking venality, promoting public virtue, and restoring the native spirit of the constitution."

Similar meetings were had, and similar resolutions adopted in every part of Ireland. If the spirit of the Volunteers had been wisely directed, and their exertions turned into the proper channel, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the constitution and liberties of Ireland would have been firmly secured on a basis that would have withstood the efforts of England. In the latter country, the question of Reform had met with the sanction of the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt. Reform associations had been formed, two of which, the "Yorkshire Association," and the "London Constitutional Knowledge Society," entered into correspondence with the Volunteers, applauded their spirit, and urged upon them the utility of holding a national convention of the delegates of the four provinces.

It was a suggestion quite consonant to their spirit and to their views, and they lost no time in acting upon it. In the month of July, 1783, delegates from several corps in Ulster summoned a general assembly of delegates from the entire province for the 8th of September. Five hundred representatives met in pursuance of this requisition at Dungannon.* Flood travelled from Dublin to attend, but was detained on the road by illness. The Earl of Bristol was present, and took an active part in the proceedings. He was the son of Lord Hervey, and made a considerable figure for a few years in the proceedings of the Volunteers. There is no man of whom more opposite opinions are given. Whilst some represent him as a man of elegant erudition and extensive learning, others paint him as possessing parts more brilliant than solid, as being generous but uncertain; splendid but fantastic; an amateur without judgment; and a critic without taste; engaging but licentious in conversation; polite but violent; in fact, possessing many of the qualities which the satirist attributes to another nobleman of his country, the fickle and profligate Villiers. There could be no greater contrasts in his character than in his conduct and position. He wore an English coronet and an Irish mitre; and some have thought that he was visionary enough to have assumed the port of the tribune only to obtain the power of a sovereign. He was indeed monarchical in his splendor —his retinue exceeded that of the most affluent nobleman—his equipages were magnificent—he delighted in the acclamations of the populace, and the military escort which surrounded his carriage.† He was a

* Towards the end of 1782, the Government set on foot a plan whose design was obvious enough—the embodying of Fencible regiments. The Volunteers took fire, and held meetings to oppose it in every quarter. Galway took the initiative, and was followed by Dublin and Belfast. The resolutions passed at the Tholsel in Galway, on the 1st of September, 1782, to the effect that the Volunteers were most interested in the defence of the country, and most adequate to the duty—that raising Fencible regiments without sanction of Parliament, was unconstitutional, nor justified by necessity, and might be dangerous to liberty—were adopted at several meetings. The Belfast company met, protested against the measure, and addressed Flood. The plan was not then carried into execution. It was a manifest attempt to terrify and overawe the Volunteers. They were too strong as yet to submit.

* Mr. Grattan says this meeting took place at a meeting-house of dissenters in Belfast. The statement in the text is on the authority of the Historical Collections relating to Belfast, p. 255, and Belfast Politics, p. 245. See also a pamphlet, History of the Convention, published in 1784.

† He was escorted to the Rotunda Convention by a troop of light dragoons, commanded by his nephew,

man who possessed princely qualities; he was costly, luxurious, munificent, and, in the strange antithesis of his position—bishop, earl, demagogue—was formed to attract the nation amongst which he had cast his lot. But his qualities were not dangerous; Government was more afraid of him than they needed to be; and he effected little in the history of his day, more than playing a splendid part in a transitory pageant.

The second Dungannon Convention elected for its president Mr. James Stewart, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry. He was the friend of Lord Charlemont. They passed a number of resolutions, but the most important was the following:—

"That a committee of five persons be appointed to represent Ulster in a grand national Convention, to be held at noon, in the Royal Exchange of Dublin, on the 10th of November, then ensuing; to which, they hoped that each of the other provinces would send delegates to digest and publish a plan of parliamentary reform, to pursue such measures as may appear most likely to render it effectual; to adjourn from time to time, and to convene provincial meetings if found necessary."

Addresses were issued to the Volunteers of the three provinces, filled with the noblest sentiments in favor of liberty, and abundant in the impassioned if not inflated eloquence in which the spirit of the day delighted to be clothed. There was, however, an anomaly in their proceedings, and a striking and painful contrast between their abstract theories of liberty and their practical manifestation. A proposition in favor of the Catholics was rejected. Here was a body of men, not endowed with the powers of legislation, but acting as a suggestive assembly, dictating to legislation the way in which it should go, and declaring that freedom should be made more diffusive in its enjoyment; yet they are found, on grave deliberation, rejecting from their scheme the vast body of the nation, whom they professed to emancipate and raise. The practical absurdity was the rock on which they split. And it is said regretfully and without reproach, that the influence of this intolerant principle upon their counsels is attributable to Lord Charlemont and Henry Flood. These good men were the victims of a narrow religious antipathy, which prevented either of them from rendering permanent service to the cause of liberty.

The interval between the Dungannon meeting and the Dublin Convention was stormy; yet the first Parliament in the viceroyalty of Lord Northington opened with a vote of thanks to the Volunteers. This vote was the work of Government. It is most probable that it was a deprecatory measure, and intended to guard against any violence in the Convention. This was the only measure of conciliation during the session. Sir Edward Newenham introduced the question of retrenchment in the public expenses, principally with reference to reduction in the army. It was taken up warmly by Sir H. Cavendish and Henry Flood; and it certainly did appear as if this enmity to the regular army was a Volunteer sentiment, so strongly did the principal parliamentary friends of that distinguished body persevere in the pressing upon the legislature the question of retrenchment. Grattan was opposed to any reduction in the regular forces—he said that it was a matter of compact that they remain at a certain standard settled in 1782, and he is accordingly found an opponent on all occasions of every proposition of retrenchment. The question was unfortunate; it led to that degrading personal discussion which displayed the two greatest men in the country in the discreditable attitude of virulent and vulgar personal animosity. On Sir H. Cavendish's motion for reduction in the expenses of the kingdom, Flood eagerly and eloquently supported the proposition. But, wandering beyond the necessities of his argument, he indulged in some wanton reflections upon Grattan, and the result was an invective from the latter, so fierce, implacable, and merciless, that it leaves behind it at a great distance the finest specimens of recorded virulence. The estrangement of these illustrious men was complete. And the triumph of their passions was one, and not a very remote, cause of the downfall of their country. They could no longer unite to serve her; their

George R. Fitzgerald.—*Barrington's Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, c. 7.

views, which had differed so widely before, thenceforward became principles of antagonism, to carry out which was a point of honor and an instinct of anger; and they whose combined wisdom would have rendered liberty secure, became unwittingly her most destructive enemies. The conservative policy of Grattan, and the progressive principles of Flood, in the acrimony of contest and the estrangement of parties, gave full opportunity to Government to perfect that scheme which ended in the Union.

We have now arrived at what may well be called the last scene of the great political and military drama in which the Volunteers played such a distinguished part. At a time of great and pressing public peril, they sprung to arms and saved their country. Having dispelled the fears of foreign invasion and secured the integrity of Ireland, they found within her own system a greater enemy. They found trade restricted and legislation powerless. They emancipated industry and commerce; and they restored a constitution. But with their achievements, their ambition increased, and concluding with reason that a constitution must be a nominal blessing, where the Parliament was not freely chosen by the people,* they resolved upon employing their powerful organization to procure a reform in Parliament. How far this was consistent with their original principle—how far they should have left to the Parliament itself the remodelling of its internal structure, and appealed to its wisdom in their civilian character, it is difficult to say. They had asserted at Dungannon—and the proposition had received the sanction of the legislature—that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, did not forfeit the right of discussing political affairs. Yet Grattan, in replying to Lord Clare's speech on the Union, seems to have insisted that armed men might make declarations in favor of liberty, but having recovered it, they should retire to cultivate the blessings of peace.* The Volunteers, however, did not imagine that liberty was secured until the Parliament was free. Nor is it easy to understand why, if their declarations were of value in 1782 to recover a constitution, they should not be of equal importance in 1783 to reform the legislature.

Previous to the first meeting of the Dublin Convention, provincial assemblies were held in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. They passed resolutions similar to those adopted at Dungannon—delegates were appointed—and the whole nation was prepared for the great Congress on which the fate of Ireland seemed to depend.

At length, amidst the hush of public expectation, the excited hopes of the nation, and the fears of Government, on Monday, the 10th of November, one hundred and sixty delegates of the Volunteers of Ireland met at the Royal Exchange. They elected Lord Charlemont, chairman, and John Talbot Ashenhurst and Captain Dawson, secretaries, and then adjourned to the Rotunda. Their progress was one of triumph. The city and county Volunteers lined the streets, and received the delegates, who marched two and two through their ranks, with drums beating and colors flying. Thousands of spectators watched with eyes of hopeful admiration the slow and solemn march of the armed representatives to their place of assembly; and the air was rent with the acclamations of the people. Vain noises—hapless enthusiasm! In a few weeks, the doors that opened to admit the delegates of one hundred thousand men, were closed upon them with inconsiderate haste; and the fate of the constitution they had restored was sealed amidst sullen gloom and angry discontent. But popular enthusiasm was not prophetic, or could only anticipate from a glorious pageantry a great result.

The largest room of the Rotunda was arranged for the reception of the delegates. Semicircular seats, in the manner of an amphitheatre, were ranged around the chair. The appearance of the house was brilliant: the orchestra was filled with ladies; and the excitement of the moment was intense and

* There were three hundred members: sixty-four were county members, and about the same number might be returned with great exertion by the people in the cities and towns. The remainder were the close borough members, the nominees of the aristocracy, and invariably the supporters of Government.

* Grattan's Miscellaneous Works, p. 98.

general. Their first proceeding was to affirm the fundamental principle of Dungannon, that the right of political discussion was not lost by the assumption of arms; but the resolution was worded in that spirit of exclusion which was the bane and destruction of the Volunteers.

It was "*Resolved*, That the Protestant inhabitants of this country are required by the statute law to carry arms, and to learn the use of them," etc.

It seems difficult at this day to account for the narrow and perverse policy which prevailed in this Convention with regard to the Catholics. The delegates forming that body had it in their power to lay the foundations of the newly liberated nation deep in the hearts and interests of the whole people, and thus defy both the arts and arms of England to enslave a united Ireland. They perversely threw away this noble opportunity: their work of regenerating their country was but half done; English intrigue was soon busy on the large field thus left for its operation; and it cannot be thought wonderful if very many of the Catholics afterwards became reconciled to the fatal idea of a legislative union with England, as affording a better chance for their emancipation than living under the bitter and intolerant exclusiveness of the Irish Ascendency.

A very shameful incident occurred on one of the early days of this Convention meeting. It was known that there were some members of it who strongly urged some measure of relief to the Catholics, especially the restoration of their elective franchise; when Sir Boyle Roche, a member of Parliament, chiefly known by his good bulls and bad jokes, appeared on the floor, and obtained permission, though not a member of the Convention, to make an announcement with which he said he had been charged by Lord Kenmare, a Catholic nobleman: "That noble lord," said Sir Boyle Roche, "*and others of his creed*, disavowed any wish of being concerned in the business of elections, and fully sensible of the favors already bestowed upon them by Parliament felt but one desire, to enjoy them in peace, without seeking in the present distracted state of affairs to raise jealousies, and further embarrass the nation by asking for more."*

This was on the 14th of November. But the mean-spirited proceeding of Lord Kenmare excited much indignation amongst the Catholics then in Dublin. They did not indeed hope much from the Convention; but at least they would not permit his lordship to disavow in their name every manly aspiration. Accordingly, in the afternoon of the same day the princely demagogue, the Earl-Bishop of Derry, rose to submit to the consideration of the Convention "a paper of consequence which referred to a class of men who were deserving of every privilege in common with their fellow-countrymen." He moved that the paper should be read. It was to this effect: "Nov. 14th, 1783—At a meeting of the General Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Sir Patrick Bellew, Bart., in the chair, it was unanimously *Resolved*, That the message relating to us delivered this morning to the National Convention was totally unknown to and unauthorized by us. That we do not so widely differ from the rest of mankind, as, by our own act, to prevent the removal of our shackles. That we shall receive with gratitude every indulgence that may be extended to us by the legislature, and are thankful to our benevolent countrymen for their generous efforts on our behalf. *Resolved*, That Sir P. Bellew be requested to present the foregoing resolutions to the Earl of Bristol as the act of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and entreat that his lordship will be pleased to communicate them to the National Convention." There were few more remarkable men in Ireland in that age of able men, than this singular Bishop of Derry. He was a steady friend to the Catholics, and supported every movement in their favor, when Charlemont and Flood coldly repulsed and resisted every suggestion of this kind. One cannot but wish that the bold bishop had been commander-in-chief of the Volunteers.

A newly elected Parliament had met a few days before this Convention; and Dublin then presented the extraordinary spectacle of two deliberative bodies, seated in two

* Mr. Plowden speaks of this as a "pretended letter of Lord Kenmare."

houses, within sight of each other, treating of the same questions, and composed in part of the same persons; for many members both of the Lords and Commons were also members of the Convention; and they passed from one building to the other, as debates of importance were to arise in either. The year which was drawing to a close had been a very busy and stirring one in Ireland. The British ministry was that famous "coalition ministry" formed by Lord North and Mr. Fox: the Irish Judicature bill, one of the series of measures for establishing the independence of Ireland, had been passed by the English Parliament.* Lord Temple had succeeded the Duke of Portland as lord-lieutenant; and in his viceroyalty, it was judged advisable to amuse the Irish with a bawble "to draw away the public mind," says Mr. Plowden, "from speculative questions," especially reform: and accordingly letters patent were issued creating the order of "Knights of St. Patrick;" and the new knights were installed with great pomp on the 17th of March, the festival of the saint. Lord Temple's government lasted but a few months: he was succeeded by Lord Northington who dissolved the Parliament; and a general election had now resulted in the House of Commons which was already in session in College Green, when the Convention of Volunteers, after first meeting in the Royal Exchange, transferred their meeting to the upper end of Sackville Street. The Convention and the Parliament stood in a very singular relation: the main object of the one was to reform and to purge the other. Certainly Parliament greatly needed to be reformed and purged; but when the medicine was offered at the sword's point, by a body clearly extra-legal and unconstitutional, it was not very likely that they would swallow it. The House of Commons was not only thoroughly vicious in its constitution, being composed chiefly of nominees of great proprietors, but also systematically corrupted by bribes, places, and promises; for it was now more essential to English policy than ever to "secure a parliamentary majority" upon all questions. Such a Parliament, of which two-thirds were already placemen, pensioners, or recipients of secret-service money, or else expected soon to be in one of those categories, could not long subsist by the side of a dictatorial Convention of armed men, which really represented the armed force of the nation, and which called upon it to come out from the slough of all that profitable corruption. One or the other, Parliament or Convention, it was plain would have to give way.

When the excitement which followed Lord Kenmare's singular disavowal of manhood had subsided, there was not much further reference to Catholics or their claims; the Convention resolved itself into committees, and appointed sub-committees, to prepare plans of parliamentary reform, for the consideration of the general body. "Then was displayed a singular scene, and

* It is the act 23 George III., c. 28, entitled, "An Act for preventing and removing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

Amongst the several acts which received the royal assent under the Duke of Portland's administration, was Mr. Eden's act for establishing the national bank. This met with some opposition, but the measure was carried, and the bank opened the year following. By this act (21 and 22 Geo. III., c. 16), the bank was established by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland. The subscribers to it were to pay in £600,000, either in cash or debentures, at 4 per cent. which were to be taken at par, and considered as money. This sum was to be the capital stock of the bank, and the debentures to that amount, when received, were to be cancelled by the vice-treasurers. For these an annuity of £24,000 was to be paid to the company, being equal to the interest payable upon these debentures; the stock was to be redeemable at any time, upon twelve months' notice, after the 1st of January, 1794. Ireland obtained likewise an important acquisition by a bill, "for better securing the liberty of the subject," otherwise called the *Habeas Corpus* act, similar to that formerly passed in England.

The sacramental test, by which the dissenting Protestants were excluded from offices of trust under the crown, was also repealed, and the nation was gratified by the repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill, and by that long-desired act for making the commission of the judges of that kingdom, to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. An act was also passed to render the manner of conforming from the Popish to the Protestant religion more easy and expeditious. Another for sparing to his majesty, to be drawn out of this kingdom whenever he should think fit, a force not exceeding 50,000 men. Part of the troops appointed to be kept therein for its defence.

yet such a scene as any one, who considered the almost unvarying disposition of an assembly of that nature, and the particular object for which it was convened, might justly have expected. From every quarter and from every speculatist, great clerks or no clerks at all, was poured in such a multiplicity of plans of reform, some of them ingenious, some which bespoke an exercised and rational mind, but in general so utterly impracticable, 'so rugged and so wild in their attire, they looked not like the offspring of inhabitants of the earth and yet were on it,' that language would sink in portraying this motley band of incongruous fancies, of misshapen theories, valuable only if inefficient, or execrable if efficacious." *

But the plan which after some weeks of discussion was eventually adopted, was the workmanship of the ablest head in the assembly. Flood had assumed, because he was able to grasp and resolute to maintain, a predominating superiority over the Convention. It was the ascendency of a vigorous eloquence, a commanding presence, and a resistless will. With him in all his views, and beyond him in many, was the Bishop of Derry. The plan of reform which these two men approved† was adopted, and Flood was selected to introduce a bill founded on its principles and suggestions, into Parliament. They imagined that they could terrify the legislature, and they much miscalculated the power of the Volunteers. That power was already shaken; they had flung away the sympathies of the people; they had by their conduct defined themselves as an armed oligarchy, whose limited notions of freedom extended no farther than their own privileges and claims; they were abhorred and feared by Government and its parliamentary retainers; they were not trusted by the great body of the nation. It was under unfortunate auspices like these, in the midst of bitter hostility and more dangerous indifference, that Flood, leaving the Rotunda, proceeded on the 29th of December to the House of Commons with a bill, every provision of which was aimed at the parliamentary existence of two-thirds of the House. He had requested the delegates not to adjourn till its fate was ascertained. But fatigue and disappointment rendered compliance impossible.

Flood's plan embraced many of the principles which have since become incorporated with the British constitution—the destruction of borough influence, and the creation of a sound county franchise.* There was nothing revolutionary—nothing of that spirit to which modern usages give the name of radical, in its principles and details. It was only defective in its grand omission. The Catholics obtained no boon, and acquired no liberty by its provisions, and to its fate in the legislature they were naturally indifferent. We have objected to Grattan that he did not go on with the popular movement—it may with equal justice be alleged against Lord Charlemont and Flood, that by their religious intolerance they impaired the strength of popular opinion and marred the efficacy of all their previous proceedings.

The debate consequent on Flood's motion for leave to bring in his Reform Bill, was bitter and stormy. The whole array of placemen, pensioners, and nominees were in arms against the bill—they could not dis-

* Hardy's Life of Charlemont. Hardy was one of Lord Charlemont's coterie, and looked at men and things through the medium of Marino. His maiden speech was made in support of Flood's plan of reform, brought up from the Convention. It should not be forgotten that Hardy—though poor, he was incorruptible—scorned the large offers which were made to him at the Union. He was a patriot not to be purchased, when corruption was most munificent.

† The bishop would have included the Catholics.

* Scheme of Reform.—"That every Protestant freeholder or leaseholder, possessing a freehold or leasehold for a certain term of years of forty-shillings value, resident in any city or borough, should be entitled to vote at the election of a member for the same.

"That decayed boroughs should be entitled to return representatives by an *extension* of franchise to the neighboring parishes. That suffrages of the electors should be taken by the sheriff or his deputies, on the same day, at the respective places of election. That pensioners of the crown receiving their pensions during pleasure, should be incapacitated from sitting in Parliament. That every member of Parliament accepting a pension for life, or any place under the crown, should vacate his seat. That each member should subscribe an oath that he had neither directly nor indirectly given any pecuniary or other consideration with a view of obtaining that suffrage of an election. Finally, that the duration of Parliament should not exceed the term of three years."

guise their rage and amazement—but vented their wrath against the Volunteers in furious terms. And Yelverton, who combined an unmeasured regard for self-interest with a cautious and measured love of liberty, and who had been a Volunteer, denounced the idea of a bill introduced into Parliament at the point of the bayonet.

"If this, as it is notorious it does, originates from an armed body of men, I reject it. Shall we sit here to be dictated to at the point of the bayonet? I honor the Volunteers; they have eminently served their country; but when they turn into a debating society, to reform the Parliament, and regulate the nation; when, with the rude point of the bayonet, they would probe the wounds of the constitution, that require the most skilful hand and delicate instrument; it reduces the question to this: Is the Convention or the Parliament of Ireland to deliberate on the affairs of the nation? What have we lately seen? even during the sitting of Parliament, and in the metropolis of the kingdom, armed men lining the streets for armed men going in fastidious show to that pantheon of divinities, the Rotunda; and there sitting in all the parade, and in the mockery of Parliament! Shall we submit to this?

"I ask every man who regards that free constitution established by the blood of our fathers, is such an infringement upon it to be suffered? If it is, and one step more is advanced, it will be too late to retreat. If you have slept, it is high time to awake!"

This was the logic of an attorney-general, who never deals a harder blow to liberty than when he professes himself her most obedient servant. But this transparent hypocrisy was rudely dealt with by Flood:

"I have not introduced the Volunteers, but if they are aspersed, I will defend their character against all the world. By whom were the commerce and the constitution of this country recovered?—By the Volunteers!

"Why did not the right honorable gentlemen make a declaration against them when they lined our streets—when *Parliament* passed through the ranks of those virtuous armed men to demand the rights of an insulted nation? Are they different men at this day, or is the right honorable gentleman different? He was then one of their body; he is now their accuser! He, who saw the streets lined—who rejoiced—who partook in their glory, is *now* their accuser! Are they less wise, less brave, less ardent in their country's cause, or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not say, we have not changed, but *you* have changed. The right honorable gentleman cannot bear to hear of Volunteers; but I will ask him, and I will have a STARLING TAUGHT TO HOLLO IN HIS EAR—Who gave you the free trade? who got you the free constitution? who made you a *nation?—The Volunteers!**

"If they were the men you now describe them, why did you accept of their service, why did you not *then* accuse them? If they were so dangerous why did you pass through their ranks with your Speaker at your head to demand a constitution—why did you not *then* fear the ills you now apprehend?"

Grattan supported the bill. He said he loved to blend the idea of Parliament and the Volunteers. They had concurred in establishing the constitution in the last Parliament; he hoped that they would do it in the present. But altogether it must be said that his support was feeble—it wanted heart, it wanted the fire, the inspiration, the genius which carried the Declaration of Rights with triumph through that ineffably corrupt assembly. And yet reform was the only security for his own work—it would have rendered the constitution immortal, and erected an enduring memorial of his glory.†

* *Declaration of the Volunteer army* of Ulster, "That the dignified conduct of the *army* lately restored to the *imperial* crown of Ireland its original splendor—to nobility, its ancient privileges—and to the nation at large, its inherent rights as a sovereign independent state." Such was the assumed power of the Volunteers, in 1782. The Parliament was considered then almost anti-national.

† "It was proposed by Government to meet this question in the most decided manner, and to bring to issue the contest between the Government and this motley assembly usurping its rights. This idea met with very considerable support. A great heartiness showed itself among the principal men of consequence and fortune, and a decided spirit of opposition to the unreasonable encroachments appeared with every man attached to the Administration. The idea stated was to oppose the *leave* to bring in a bill for the reform of Parliament in the first stage

But if Grattan lacked his ancient fire, the opposition which was given by the vile brood of faction was not deficient in spirit; it was furious and fierce. The coarsest invectives and the vulgarest ribaldry were heaped upon the Volunteers—the question of Parliamentary Reform was lost sight of in the rancorous malignity of the hour, and the debate became a chaos of vituperation, misrepresentation, and personality. At length the question was put, and Flood's motion was lost. The numbers were, for the motion 77, against it 157. After the result had been ascertained, it was thought fit by the attorney-general (Yelverton) to move, "That it has now become indispensably necessary to declare that the House will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever." This was a declaration of war, less against Reform, than against the Volunteers. The gauntlet was thrown down to them—did they dare to take it up?

For awhile the Convention awaited a message from the Commons—but no message of triumph came to crown their hopes. The scene was embarrassing—lassitude had succeeded excitement—silence crept slowly on the noisy anticipations of victory. At last, adjournment was suggested—the dramatic effect was lost, the dramatic spirit had passed away. The Convention broke up, to await, without the theatric pomp of full assembly, the details of discomfiture, insult, and defeat.

on the ground of the petition originating in an assembly unconstitutional and illegal, and meant to awe and control the legislature. This bold mode of treating it was certainly most proper; at the same time it was subject to the defections of those who had been instructed on this idea of reform, and those who were still anxious to retain a small degree of popularity amongst the Volunteers. To have put it with a resolution would have given us at least fourteen votes. Grattan, having pledged himself to the idea of reform of Parliament, could not see the distinction between the refusal of leave on the ground of its having come from an exceptionable body, and the absolute denial of receiving any plan of reform. He voted against us, and spoke; *but his speech evidently showed that he meant us no harm*, and on the question of the resolution to support Parliament he voted with us. The resolutions are gone to the Lords, who will concur in them, except, it is said, Lord Mountmorris, Lord Aldborough, and Lord Charlemont."—Letter of the Lord-Lieutenant to Charles James Fox, 30th Nov., 1783.

The interval was well used by those who secretly trembled at the issue of a direct collision between Government and the Volunteers, or who had not the boldness to guide the storm which they had had the temerity to raise. Rumors there were of secret conclaves where cowardly counsels took the place of manly foresight and sagacious boldness—of discussions with closed doors, where the men who had led the national army in the whole campaign of freedom, canvassed the propriety of sacrificing to their own fears, that body, whose virtue and renown had conferred on them a reflected glory;* whilst some writers have represented the adjournment of the Convention, and the extinction of the Volunteers, or as it was called by Grattan, "their retirement to cultivate the blessings of peace," as the just and natural issue to their useful and brilliant career.† As well might it be said that the Union was the just and natural result of the constitution of 1782. And they who abandoned the Volunteers, and allowed their organization to crumble and decline, are answerable to their country for the consequences of that fatal measure of political tergiversation. A large meeting of "particular friends" assembled at Lord Charlemont's on the Sunday.‡ It was unanimously agreed that the public peace—which did not appear in any particular danger at the time—was the first object to be considered. It is to be regretted that Hardy is not more explicit on the subject of this meeting. It would have been fortunate had he informed us who were the parties concerned in this transaction; for it might have furnished a key to the subsequent conduct of many men, whose proceedings were considered inexplicable at the time. The result of their deliberations was important. The Volunteers were to receive their rebuff quietly; they were to separate in peace and good will to all men; meekly to digest the contumelies of the Government retainers; and following the advice of some of their officers, to hang up their arms in the Tem-

* Barrington's Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation, c. 19, p. 377.

† Grattan's Life by Henry Grattan, c. 5.

‡ Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. ii., p. 138.

ple of Liberty. The advice was good, if the temple had been built.

On Monday the 1st of December, the Convention met. Captain Moore, one of the delegates, was about to comment on the reception of their Reform Bill by Parliament, when Lord Charlemont called him to order. Upon which, in a very dignified way, Henry Flood detailed the insulting reception of their bill by the legislature; and well aware of the temper of some of the most influential men in the Convention, he counselled moderation. But what other policy than submission was on their cards? They had put themselves in antagonism to Parliament —they had been treated with contempt and defiance—their plan had not been even discussed, but contumeliously rejected because it was the suggestion of men with arms in their hands—*arms which they dared not use.* There were only two courses open—war or submission. They adopted the latter course, not without some rebellious pride, and a flash of the old spirit that had burned so brightly at Dungannon.

Looking back over these events, one cannot resist the conclusion that if the Convention had generously and at once thrown open the door of the Constitution to the Catholics, Lord Charlemont might at this juncture have marched down to that den of corruption in College Green, cleared it out, locked the door, and thereafter dictated his Reform Bill by way of general orders: but Charlemont was not the man to strike such a blow; and besides, he and the Convention had alienated, or, at least, left in a state of indifference, the great body of the nation which would else have borne them triumphantly to the goal of perfect and permanent freedom.

The Convention adjourned, to meet next day. Mr. Flood moved a tame address to the House, declaring that seeking parliamentary reform "was not to be imputed to any spirit of innovation in them." They adjourned again; but next morning Lord Charlemont repaired somewhat earlier than usual to the Rotunda, with several of his friends, and, after some formal resolutions, pronounced the Convention dissolved. "From this time," says Dr. Madden, "the power of the Volunteers was broken. The Government resolved to let the institution die a natural death; at least, to aim no blow at it in public: but when it is known that the Hon. Col. Robert Stewart (father of Lord Castlereagh) was not only a member of the Convention—a delegate from the County Down—but chairman of a sub-committee, and that he was the intimate friend of Lord Charlemont, the nature of the hostility that Government put in practice against the institution will be easily understood. While the Volunteers were parading before Lord Charlemont, or manifesting their patriotism in declarations of resistance to the Parliament, perfidy was stalking in their camp, and it rested not till it had trampled on the ashes of their institution.

The Volunteers through the country received the accounts of their delegates with indignant amazement. They beat to arms —they met—and resolved. But the binding principle was relaxed; doubt, suspicion, and alarm pervaded the ranks that had been so firmly knit; their resolutions, though still warmed with the spirit of fiery eloquence, were but sounding words, unheeded by a government which had planted too securely the seeds of disunion, to fear the threats of men without leaders, without mutual confidence, without reliance on themselves. The Bishop of Derry became their idol; but it was beyond his power to restore them to their commanding position. Flood had gone to England, either fired with new ambition, or in despair of effecting his great objects at home. The bishop was a bad adviser, too bold and unguarded, and the Government amazed at an extraordinary reply which he gave to an address of the Bill of Rights' Battalion, a northern corps, seriously canvassed the propriety of his arrest. His reply concluded with a memorable political aphorism, "Tyranny is not government, and allegiance is due only to protection." But he was not prosecuted, nor arrested. It would have been a rash, it was a useless step. The natural progress of events effected what a measure of severity would probably have retarded, or rendered impossible—the destruction of the Volunteers. Division of opinion gained ground amongst them, yet they continued their reviews, they published their proceedings,

they passed their resolutions. But, month by month, and year by year, their numbers diminished, their military gatherings became less splendid, their exposition of political opinion was less regarded by the nation, or feared by the Government.

The Reform bill presented by the Convention having failed, Flood, after his return from England, determined to test the sincerity of the Parliament in the alleged cause of its rejection. The legislature declared that they had spurned the bill because it emanated from a military body. In March, 1784, he introduced another measure of parliamentary reform, backed by numerous petitions from the counties. The bill was read a second time, but was rejected on the motion for its committal, by a majority of seventy-four. Grattan gave a cold support. It became now clear, that the opposition was given to reform, not because it was the demand of a military body, but because the principle was odious to a corrupt Parliament. A meeting of the representatives of thirty-one corps took place at Belfast, to make preparations for a review, and they adopted a resolution that they would not associate with any regiment at the ensuing demonstration, which should continue under the command of officers who opposed parliamentary reform.* However natural was their indignation at the coolness of some, and the hostility of other professing Patriots to the great measure of constitutional change, the effect of this resolution was unfortunate. It yielded a plausible excuse to many of the officers to secede from the Volunteer body—it worked out wonderfully the policy of division which Government was in every way pursuing—it defined the distinctions which existed in the Volunteer associations, and widened the fatal breach.

We may here anticipate a little in order to close the story of the Volunteers. The rejection of the Reform bill was followed by an attempt to get up a national congress by Flood, Napper Tandy, and others. They addressed requisitions to the sheriffs of the counties, calling on them to summon their bailiwicks for the purpose of electing representatives. Some few complied with the requisition—most of them refused. The attorney-general (Fitzgibbon) threatened to proceed by attachment against those who had obeyed the mandate, and by a mixture of personal daring and ability, succeeded in preventing Mr. Reilly, the sheriff of Dublin, from taking the chair of an intended electoral meeting. Delegates were, however, selected in some quarters. and in October, a few individuals assembled in William Street, to hold the congress. The debate was with closed doors; the Bishop of Derry was not present; Flood attended, and detailed his plan of reform, in which the Catholics were not included. The omission gave offence to the Congress, and Flood, indignant at the want of support, retired. After three days' sitting, the Congress adjourned. It vanished as if it were the melancholy ghost of the National Convention.

These proceedings were alluded to in the speech which opened the session, January, 1785. They were characterized as "lawless outrages, and unconstitutional proceedings." The address in reply applied the same terms to the transactions in connection with the National Congress; and this drew from Grattan a memorable speech, and one which with reference to the Volunteers is historic. It marks the transition point when the old Volunteers ceased, and a new body composed of a different class of men, and ruled by politicians with very different views, commenced a career which terminated only in the establishment of the United Irishmen. Grattan, in the debate on the address, after defending the reform party and principles generally, from the attacks contained in the viceroy's speech, said,* "I would now wish to draw the attention of the House to the alarming measure of drilling the lowest classes of the populace, by which a stain had been put on the character of the Volunteers. The old, the original Volunteers had become respectable, because they represented the property of the nation; but attempts had been made to arm the poverty of the kingdom. They had originally been the armed property—were they to become *the armed beggary?*" To the Congress—to the parties who had presented petitions for re-

* Historical Collections relative to Belfast, p. 200.

* Grattan's Speeches, vol. i., p. 212.

form he addressed indignant reproof. They had, he said, been guilty of the wildest indiscretion; they had gone much too far, and, if they went on, they would overturn the laws of their country.

It was an unfortunate period for the interests of Irish liberty, which Grattan selected, thus to dissever the ties between the Volunteers and him. They had begun to perceive that without the co-operation of the Catholics, it would be unreasonable to expect to obtain a reformed Parliament, independent of England. The men of the Ulster Plantation were the first to recognize and act upon this obvious truth. They carried their toleration so far as to march to the chapel, and to attend mass. Had proper advantage been taken of these dispositions of the people, the result would have been the acquisition of a measure of parliamentary reform, which would have insured the stability of the settlement of 1782. But they were left without guides, when most a ruling mind was required; nor is it surprising that ulterior views began to influence the ardent temperament, and to excite the angry passions of a disappointed people. But these considerations belong to the history of a later period, when the Volunteers had merged into that great and wonderful confederacy, which, within a few years, threatened the stability of the English dominion in Ireland.

The regular army had been increased to fifteen thousand men, with the approbation of the most distinguished founders of the constitution of 1782—the next act of hostility was one in which Gardiner, who had been an active officer in the Volunteers, took the leading part. On the 14th of February, 1785, he moved that £20,000 be granted to his majesty for the purpose of clothing the militia. This was intended to be a fatal blow. It was aimed by a treacherous hand. The motion was supported by Langrishe, Denis Daly, Arthur Wolfe, and Grattan. Fitzgibbon assailed the Volunteers with official bitterness. He reiterated the charges of Grattan, that they had admitted into their ranks a low description of men—their constitution was changed—they had degenerated into practices inimical to the peace of the country. They were, however, not left undefended. Curran, Hardy, and Newenham stepped forward to their vindication. These men pointed out the benefits of the institution—the Volunteers in time of war had protected the country, and preserved internal quiet—no militia was then needed—why was it required in peace? The proposition was a censure on the Volunteers.

Grattan replied:—"the Volunteers had no right whatsoever to be displeased at the establishment of a militia; and if they had expressed displeasure, the dictate of armed men ought to be disregarded by Parliament.

"The right honorable member had introduced the resolution upon the most constitutional ground. To establish a militia—he could not see how that affected the Volunteers; and it would be a hard case, indeed, if members of Parliament should be afraid to urge such measures as they deemed proper, for fear of giving offence to the Volunteers. The situation of the House would be truly unfortunate if the name of the Volunteers could intimidate it. I am ready to allow that the great and honorable body of men—the primitive Volunteers, deserved much of their country; but I am free to say, that they who now assume the name have much degenerated. It is said that they rescued the constitution, that they forced Parliament to assert its rights, and therefore Parliament should surrender the constitution into their hands. But it is a mistake to say they forced Parliament: they stood at the back of Parliament, and supported its authority; and when they thus acted with Parliament, they acted to their own glory; but when they attempted to dictate, they became nothing. When Parliament repelled the mandate of the Convention, they went back, and they acted with propriety; and it will ever happen so when Parliament has spirit to assert its own authority.

"Gentlemen are mistaken if they imagine that the Volunteers are the same as they formerly were, when they committed themselves in support of the state, and the exclusive authority of the Parliament of Ireland, at the Dungannon meeting. The resolutions published of late hold forth a very different language.

"Gentlemen talk of ingratitude. I can-

not see how voting a militia for the defence of the country is ingratitude to the Volunteers. The House has been very far from ungrateful to them. While they acted with Parliament, Parliament thanked and applauded them; but in attempting to act against Parliament, they lost their consequence. Ungrateful! Where is the instance? It cannot be meant, that because the House rejected the mandate which vile incendiaries had urged the Convention to issue; because, when such a wound was threatened to the constitution, the House declared that it was necessary to maintain the authority of Parliament, that therefore the House was ungrateful!"

The Volunteers lingered some years after this. They held annual reviews—they passed addresses and resolutions—but, henceforward, their proceedings were without effect. The details of their decay do not belong to the history of the Volunteers of 1782. That body practically expired with the Convention of Dublin. Their old leaders fell away—the men of wealth abandoned them, and new men—men, not without generous qualities and high ambition, but with perilous and revolutionary views—succeeded to the control. And when, at length, the Volunteers having come into direct collision with the regular army, and wisely declined the contest, the Government issued its mandate, that every assemblage of the body should be dispersed by force, even the phantom of the army of Ireland had passed away from the scene forever.*

CHAPTER XXII.

1784—1786.

Improvement of the country—Political position anomalous—Rutland, viceroy—Petitions for Parliamentary Reform—Flood's motion—Rejected—Grattan's bill to regulate the revenue—Protective duties demanded—National Congress—Dissensions as to rights of Catholics—Charlemont's intolerance—Orde's Commercial Propositions—New propositions of Mr. Pitt—Burke and Sheridan—Commercial propositions defeated—Mr. Conolly—The national debt—General corruption—Court majorities—Patriots defeated—Ireland after five years of independence.

IRELAND was now in many respects an independent nation. Enjoying for the first time in her history an unrestricted trade, a sovereign judiciary, the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and a Parliament acknowledged to be the sovereign legislature free from the dictation of an English privy council, the country did certainly begin almost immediately to make a rapid advance in material prosperity. Many absentees returned and spent their incomes at home: the revival of other branches of industry retrieved in some degree the unwholesome competition for farms, which had left the unfortunate and friendless peasantry at the absolute mercy of their landlords. Besides all this, the very proud feeling of national independence seems to have kindled a sort of vital energy throughout the farthest extremities of the land. On the whole, although there was still much distress among the poor, and appeals to Parliament for their relief, there was soon visible a dawn of prosperity in Ireland.

Yet the political situation was evidently anomalous and insecure. Ireland had not like England a responsible body of cabinet-ministers accountable to her own Parliament. The lord-lieutenant and Irish secretary ruled as before; and although they were appointed, it was said, by the King of Ireland, they really held their offices and received their instructions from the ministers of England; and their whole care was expected to be, and was, in fact, to maintain by every possible means the paramount ascendency of that more powerful kingdom. This could only be accomplished by the creation of more and more places, the still greater extension of the pension list, and more direct and shameless bribery. In short we shall soon see that organized corruption developed itself during the era of "independence" with more deadly power than ever before, until it swelled at last to that deluge of corruption, that perfect paroxysm of plunder, which bore down everything before it at the era of the "Union."

Lord Northington, on a change of ministry in England, resigned his viceroyalty on the 7th of January, 1784; and on the 24th of February was succeeded by the Duke of

* A few country corps had fixed upon holding a review at Doah, in the county of Antrim. The army marched to the spot to disperse them; but the Volunteers avoided assembling, and thus gave up the ghost.—*Dr. MacNevin's Pieces of Irish History*, p. 58.

Rutland. Just before this change, the revenue of Ireland being again, as usual, inadequate to the expenditure, £300,000 was ordered to be borrowed to meet the deficiency.

On the 26th of February, Parliament met. Mr. Gardiner moved the address to the Duke of Rutland; and then there came pouring into the House thirteen petitions for a "Reform in Parliament." It was on this measure the people's minds were now chiefly bent. They were irritated and disappointed at the manner in which the House of Commons had flung out the Reform bill introduced by Mr. Flood in the name of the Volunteer Convention. They began to perceive that with a Parliament so constituted Ireland could not really be said to control her own destinies: and they did not yet sufficiently comprehend that for this precise reason England would always steadily oppose all reform—and would be able to oppose it with success because the very corruption of Parliament which was an injury and scandal to Ireland was the great arm and agent of British domination here.

It was now on the 13th of March, that Mr. Flood made his renewed motion for a parliamentary reform; not now as a member of the dictatorial Volunteer Convention, but as an individual member. A few sentences of his speech may be given to show the notoriety of the rotten borough system; and how audaciously it was defended as a right of property. He admitted, it would be thought by certain gentlemen injurious to their private interest, if the constitution were restored to its original security; but they must also admit, that it was contrary to every principle of right and justice, that individuals should be permitted to send into that house, two, four, or six members of Parliament, to make a traffic of venal boroughs, as if they were household utensils. It seemed a point agreed upon in England, that a parliamentary reform was necessary; he should mention, he said, the opinion given by Lord Chatham, upon whose posthumous fame the present administration so firmly stood defended by the nation, though that great and illustrious man had been neglected for ten years by the public, and so large a portion of his valuable life was suffered to be lost to the community. What were his sentiments on that important matter? His words most strongly enforced its necessity; in his answer to the address of the city of London, in which he said, that a reform in Parliament was absolutely necessary, in order to infuse fresh vigor into the constitution, and that rotten boroughs ought to be stricken off.

This measure, opening the franchise to Protestant freeholders, was by several members opposed as being oppressive to the Catholics. Sir Boyle Roche, the very man who had but lately hurried to the Convention to carry Lord Kenmare's slavish self-denying message, refusing all electoral rights for the Catholics—this Sir Boyle, only anxious to defeat the reform by any means, used this argument against it:—

Sir Boyle Roche said, the design of the bill was to transfer the franchise of election from the few to the many; or, in other words, to deprive the present possessors of the patronage of boroughs, and give it to another set of men; while they were endeavoring to gratify one set of men, they should not act as tyrants to another. This bill would be a proscriptive act against the Roman Catholics, who would be all turned out of their farms to make room for forty-shilling freeholders. There was an animated debate; but its issue could not be one moment doubtful at the Castle. At four o'clock on Sunday morning the division took place: ayes, 85; noes, 159. It was clear that the Government had still its steady working majority in that corrupt assembly, on all questions which were not left open questions, and that there was no measure so little likely to be left an open question as parliamentary reform.

Two other subjects of great national importance were brought before Parliament in this session; a bill for regulation of the revenue by Mr. Grattan, and a bill to lay protective duties on the importation of manufactured goods. This latter measure seems to have been greatly needed; and the anxiety of the public for its success is a still further proof of the real meaning which in the Volunteering times was attached to the cry "Free trade, or else ——," that is to

say, freedom for the legislature of Ireland to regulate, protect, tax, admit, or prohibit all branches of Irish trade for Ireland's own benefit.

In view of the continual rejection of all projects of reform, it is no wonder that men's minds turned away from Parliament; and that plans of a revolutionary character began to be agitated. Such was the idea of a National Congress. The sheriffs of Dublin were requested to convene a preparatory meeting: they did so, for the 7th of June, 1784: but as this project eventuated in nothing important, we might omit all mention of it, were it not that the resolutions at this meeting, while denouncing the venality of Parliament introduced into their resolutions and their addresses to the king very strong expressions of their desire to emancipate the Catholics. In the resolutions we read: "We call upon you therefore, and thus conjure you, that in this important work you join with us as fellow-subjects, countrymen, and friends, as men embarked in the general cause, to remove a general calamity; and for this we propose, that five persons be elected from each county, city, and great town in this kingdom, to meet in National Congress at some convenient place in this city, on Monday, the 25th day of October next, there to deliberate, digest, and determine on such measures, as may seem to them most conducive to re-establish the constitution on a pure and permanent basis, and secure to the inhabitants of this kingdom, peace, liberty, and safety.

"And while we thus contend, as far as in us lies, for our constitutional rights and privileges, we recommend to your consideration the state of our suffering fellow-subjects, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, whose emancipation from the restraints, under which they still labor, we consider not only as equitable, but essentially conductive to the general union and prosperity of the kingdom."

And in the address to the king, they say: "We farther entreat your majesty's permission to condemn that remnant of the penal code of laws, which still oppresses our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; laws which tend to prohibit education and liberality, restrain certain privileges, and proscribe industry, love of liberty, and patriotism."

The very introduction of these liberal and tolerant ideas into the preliminary proceedings frightened off the leading men of the old Volunteers.

In an address presented by the Ulster corps to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, after some strong expressions of their detestation of aristocratic tyranny, they hinted at the necessity of calling in the aid of the Catholics, as the most just as well as effectual means of opposing it with success. In answer to this address, the Earl of Charlemont, lamented that, for the first time, he felt himself obliged to differ from them in sentiment. He was free from every illiberal prejudice against the Catholics, and full of goodwill towards that very respectable body, but he could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties, that they would desist from a pursuit, that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favorite purpose.

As this nobleman was highly and deservedly respected, his opinion was eagerly embraced, both by the timid, whose apprehensions were alarmed at the bold extent of the project, and by a great number whose prejudices against the Catholics appear to have been suspended from conveniency or fashion though never conquered by principle. In the month of October, the thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin were voted him for his conduct on that occasion.

The meeting of a National Congress was a measure of too alarming a nature, not to attract the most serious attention of Government; and it appears to have been their resolution to take the most vigorous steps for preventing it if possible. A few days previous to that which was fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the attorney-general addressed a letter to the sheriffs, expressing his very great surprise at having read a summons signed by them calling a meeting for the purpose in question. He observed, that by this proceeding, they had been guilty of a most outrageous breach of their duty; and that if they proceeded, they would be responsible to the laws of their country, and he should hold himself

bounden to prosecute them in the Court of King's Bench, for a conduct, which he considered so highly criminal, that he could not overlook it. These threats succeeded so far as to intimidate the sheriffs from attending the meeting in their official capacity; but the meeting was nevertheless holden, delegates were chosen; and in reference for the attorney's letter, several strong resolutions were agreed to, relative to the right of assembling themselves for the redress of grievances. Government having once set their faces against the election and assembling of delegates, from denouncing threats, they proceeded to punishments.

Mr. Riley, high sheriff for the county of Dublin, in consequence of his having called together, and presided at an assembly of freeholders, who met on the 19th of August, 1784, for the purpose of choosing and instructing their delegates, was the first object of ministerial prosecution. The attorney-general proceeded against him by attachment from the Court of King's Bench. The assembly, and the resolutions they came to on that occasion, signed by Mr. Riley, in his character of sheriff for the county, were both declared to be illegal, and Mr. Riley was sentenced by the court to pay a fine of five marks (£3 6s. 8d.), and to be imprisoned one week.

This mode of legal process, except for the purpose of bringing persons before the court, to receive the sentence of such court for contempt of, and disobedience to its orders and directions, has so seldom been resorted to, that even the legality of the process itself, on any other ground, had remained a matter of general doubt and uncertainty.

In the present case it met with much less opposition than might have been expected. Clamors without doors, and debates within, on the subject, there certainly were, but both too feeble and ill-concerted to promise any success. The new division of the Volunteers into parties, took off the general attention to this attack upon the use of juries, which, in any other moment, would not have been so tamely tolerated. Of such import is it, when overstrong measures are to be attempted, to prepare the public for the reception of them by internal disunion or alarm. Government did not confine their prosecutions to Mr. Riley. Having once adopted a mode of proceeding, which so effectually answered the end, for which they designed it, informations were moved for, and attachments granted against the different magistrates, who called the meetings, and signed the respective resolutions of the freeholders in the counties of Roscommon and Leitrim. At the same time, the press too came under the lash of the attorney-general: and the printers and publishers of such newspapers, as had inserted the obnoxious resolutions, suffered with the magistrates, who had signed them.

Notwithstanding these violent measures which administration were pursuing, the National Congress met, pursuant to its appointment, on the 25th day of October. But as it was far from being complete in point of number, and several of its most respectable members chose to absent themselves, they adjourned, after having passed a number of resolutions to the same purport with those that had been agreed to at the previous meeting; and exhorted in the most earnest manner the communities, which had not sent representatives: "if they respected their own consistency, if they wished for the success of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and prosperity of their country, not to let pass that opportunity of effecting the great and necessary confirmation of the constitution."

The divisions of the Volunteers were encouraged by Government; and for that purpose discord and turbulence were rather countenanced than checked in many counties, particularly upon the delicate and important expedient of admitting the Catholics to the elective franchise, a question, which it was artfully attempted to connect with the now declining cause of parliamentary reform. Through a long series of years Government had never wanted force to quell internal commotions; and it seemed to be now dreaded lest a union of Irishmen, should extinguish the old means of creating dissension. The desire of disuniting the Volunteers begat inattention to the grievances of the discontented and distressed peasantry of the south: that wretched people once more assumed the style of *White-*

boys: and for some time committed their depredations with impunity, particularly against Kilkenny; until a stop was put to them by the vigorous efforts of the Rev. Dr. Troy, then the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, and the clergy of his diocese; for which successful exertions he received the most satisfactory acknowledgments from Government.

As the unanimity of the Volunteers diminished, their spirit and exertions abated: something, however, was to be attempted before the meeting of the Parliament. On the 2d of January, 1785, the second meeting of the delegates was had at Dublin, at which were present the representatives of twenty-seven counties, and of most of the cities and considerable towns of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to more than 200 persons. Their proceedings appear to have been of the same nature as those before adopted, with this only difference, that in the proposed application to the House of Commons, it was agreed to confine themselves to the most general terms, and to leave the mode of redress as free and open as possible to the consideration of Parliament.

The British Parliament sat to the 25th of August, 1784, and met again on the 25th of January, 1785: and from his majesty's speech it appears, that "their first concern was the settlement of all differences with Ireland. Amongst the objects which now require consideration, I must particularly recommend to your earnest attention the adjustments of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland as are not yet finally arranged: the system which will unite both kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am persuaded, best insure the general prosperity of my dominions."

The Parliament of Ireland met on the 20th of January, 1785, when the lord-lieutenant, addressed them in a speech recommending to their attention the regulation of the trade and commerce between the two islands. This was the prelude to Mr. Orde's famous "Commercial Propositions" for a treaty of commerce between England and Ireland. This was a favorite measure of Mr. Pitt's, and he had set his heart upon it. The terms of the proposed commercial settlement had been previously negotiated between Mr. Orde, Secretary for Ireland, and certain Irish commissioners for that purpose: and on the 7th of February Mr. Orde laid the project before the House of Commons in the form of eleven resolutions. In this original form the Commercial Propositions were not very open to objection: for, although most favorable on the whole to England, they looked fair and just. The only one which sounded alarming was the eleventh and last, which was in these words: "11th. *Resolved*, That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties, granted in the nature of drawbacks,) shall produce, over and above the sum of £656,000 in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expenses, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the Parliament of this kingdom shall direct."

This excited some opposition in the House, Mr. Brownlow indignantly exclaiming against the idea of their becoming *a tributary nation.* Mr. Grattan supported the resolutions; and after some debate they were all agreed to by both Houses. On the 22d of the same month the eleven Resolutions, as transmitted from Ireland, were read in a Committee of the British House of Commons; and Mr. Pitt spoke most earnestly in favor of their passage, and of a definitive treaty or law founded upon them. There was some opposition and delay. The commercial public of England took the alarm: petitions poured in, the first of them from Liverpool: Lancashire sent a petition signed by eighty thousand persons: sixty-four petitions in all were presented, all against the measure, which was represented as a concession to Irish commerce, therefore ruinous to England. At length, on the 12th of May, 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward, in consequence or under pretext of the new light thrown on the subject by the examinations, petitions and reports, a new series of resolutions, twenty in number. The princi-

pal additions to the new scheme were to provide, 1st, That whatever navigation laws the British Parliament should thereafter think fit to enact for the preservation of her marine, the same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland. 2dly, Against the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other West India merchandises than such as were the produce of our own colonies; and 3dly, That Ireland should debar itself from trading with any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East India Company.

In short this new scheme of Mr. Pitt was plainly intended as a mode of repealing and annulling the free trade of the Volunteers. The Volunteers were by this time disunited, disbanded, and disorganized, and the cannon of Napper Tandy had gone back to the foundry. The new series of resolutions gave occasion to eager debates in the British House of Commons. It is with regret that one finds Mr. Burke not only supporting the propositions but supporting them on the express ground that they went to re-establish the supremacy of England over Ireland. He said: "To consult the interests of England and Ireland, to unite and consolidate them into one, was a task he would undertake, as that by which he could best discharge the duties he owed to both. To Ireland, independence of legislature had been given; she was now a co-ordinate, though less powerful state; but pre-eminence and dignity were due to England; it was she alone that must bear the weight and burden of the empire; she alone must pour out the ocean of wealth necessary for the defence of it: Ireland, and other parts, might empty their little urns to swell the tide: they might wield their little puny tridents; but the great trident that was to move the world, must be grasped by England alone, and dearly it cost her to hold it. Independence of legislature had been granted to Ireland; but no other independence could Great Britain give her, without reversing the order and decree of nature: Ireland could not be separated from England; she could not exist without her; she must ever remain under the protection of England, *her guardian angel.*"

There was another Irishman in the English House of Commons, who did not see the matter altogether in this light. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, speaking of Mr. Orde, the English Secretary for Ireland, with his insidious propositions, said:—"Ireland newly escaped from harsh trammels and severe discipline, was treated like a high-mettled horse, hard to catch; and the Irish Secretary was sent back to the field to soothe and coax him, with a sieve of provender in the one hand and a bridle in the other." When the propositions, as altered, had passed the Commons, and were brought into the House of Lords, it was curious to see the question treated, not as a matter of commerce, but as a project for a future *union;* which in fact it was. Lord Lansdowne treated "the idea of a union as a thing impracticable. High-minded and jealous as were the people of Ireland, we must first learn whether they will consent to give up their distinct empire, their Parliament, and all the honors which belong to them." After debate, however, the resolutions passed the Lords by a great majority. Mr. Pitt then brought in a bill, founded upon them, which was carried, and was followed up by an address to his majesty, voted by both Houses of Parliament, wherein they acquainted him with what they had done, and that it remained for the Parliament of Ireland to judge and decide thereupon. On the 12th of August Mr. Secretary Orde moved the House for leave to bring in a bill, which was a mere transcript of that moved by the English minister. The debates on this occasion, and more especially on the side of opposition, were long and animated. After a vehement debate, which lasted eighteen hours, the House divided at nine in the morning, upon the motion of Mr. Orde to bring in the bill. Ayes, 127; noes, 108. Such a division, upon a preliminary stage, was equivalent to a defeat; and on the Monday following (15th of August) Mr. Orde moved the first reading of the bill, and that it should be printed, declaring at the same time that he did not intend to make any further progress in the business during the present session. He had completed his duty respecting that measure.

In short, the bill was adjourned, and finally lost. On the same 15th of August Mr. Flood moved a resolution:—"*Resolved*, That we hold ourselves bound not to enter into engagement to give up the sole and exclusive right of the Parliament of Ireland, in all cases whatsoever, as well externally as commercially and internally." The bill was withdrawn: Mr. Flood withdrew his motion; and from that hour Mr. Pitt determined to lay his plans for the final extinguishment of Irish nationality and its total absorption into that of Great Britain; in other words, for the "Union."

When the Duke of Rutland again met the Parliament in January, 1785, his speech intimated that there was a strong desire on the part of Government to revive the question of the Commercial Propositions: but there now began to be a considerable organized opposition to the Castle—an opposition which had afterwards to be "broken down" by the usual and well-understood methods.

Mr. Conolly and some other gentlemen of great landed property in the country, who had been much in the habit of supporting Government, now appeared to have taken a decided part in the opposition to the Duke of Rutland's administration. On the same day the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Parnell) stated that the debt of the nation was £3,044,167; on which Mr. Conolly observed, that the expenses of Government every year increased: that the minister came regularly to that House to complain of the deficiency in the revenue, and demanded a loan, which was granted on his promise of future economy: at last the revenue was raised by new taxes to equal the expense, and still the expense had increased; he (as also Mr. Grattan) insisted upon the necessity of making a stand against the growth of expense, or else their constitution and commerce were at an end. Accordingly, on the 9th of February, Mr. Conolly moved the following resolutions: 1st, That the House did in the last session grant certain new taxes, estimated at £140,000 *per annum*, for the purpose of putting an end to the accumulation of debt. 2d, That should the said taxes be continued it was absolutely necessary that the expenses of the nation should be confined to her annual income. After a warm and long debate, there appeared upon a division 73 for Mr. Conolly's resolutions, and 149 against them. This was extremely discouraging, and even provoking, to the people out of doors who had those taxes to pay: especially as every one knew that those who in Parliament voted against all retrenchment and economy were themselves continually swelling the public expenditure by soliciting pensions or by complaisantly voting to one another immense sums of the people's money.

However, the Patriots, in the same session, returned to the charge—this time against the intolerable pension list.

Mr. Forbes led the van on the attack, and on the 6th of March moved the House, after a very animated speech, that the present application and amount of pensions on the civil establishment, were a grievance to the nation, and demanded redress. The motion produced a very interesting debate; but it shared the same fate as the bill he afterwards introduced to limit the amount of pensions, which was lost by a majority of 134 against 78. This bill was most strenuously opposed by Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Mason, Mr. George Ponsonby, the attorney-general, and the most leading men on the treasury bench, as a direct and indecent invasion of the royal prerogative, The attorney-general asserted, that the principle of the bill went to the most dangerous extent of any bill that had ever come before Parliament; it went to rob the crown of its responsibility in the disposal of the public money, and to convey it to that House, and even to the House of Peers. He then begged leave to remind the members of what happened after the passing of their favorite vote of 1757. The members of that House caballed together, forming themselves into little parties, and voting to each other hundreds of thousands. And as no Government could go on without the aid of their leaders, it cost that nation more to break through that *puisne* aristocracy, which had made a property of Parliament, than what it would by the pension list for many years. On the side of the Patriots, all the old arguments were urged with redoubled force against the pension list. Mr. Grattan

gave great offence by the strong and harsh assertion, with which he closed his speech on Mr. Forbes's motion, viz.: "*If he should vote that pensions were not a grievance, he should vote an impudent, an insolent, and a public lie.*"

Mr. Curran took a brilliant part in this debate. Alluding to the various classes of foreign and domestic knaves who were the objects of the royal bounty, he said:—"This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain; every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection; it teaches that sloth and vice may eat that bread, which virtue and honesty may starve for after they had earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support, which they are too proud to stoop to earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list, that are like the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in all his glory. In fine, it teaches a lesson, which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus, that it is sometimes good not to be over-virtuous: it shows, that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the crown increases also; in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us."

The remaining subject of difference between the ministry and the Patriots in that session, was upon the police bill, which had been for a considerable time a favorite object with Government to carry, in order to strengthen their interest in the city of Dublin, which, from the days of Dr. Lucas, they had felt declining. It was conceived by the opposition, that if the bill were carried for the city of Dublin, it would in the next session be extended to every part of the kingdom: and it was also generally considered, that the report of popular risings and Popish conspiracies against the Protestant Ascendency, had been industriously exaggerated for the purpose of intimidating the Parliament into the adoption of that strong measure* of government.

Mr. Conolly took a leading part in opposing the police bill, which he observed, under the specious pretence of giving police, went to take away constitution. He was still positive, that he was well-founded in his opinion; that the conduct of the administration was inimical to the constitution. The temperance of the Volunteers since the noble duke's administration, deserved their grateful approbation. When they were misguided, and adopted measures, which he conceived improper, he was not backward in avowing himself against their proceedings; but when he reflected, that the moment the Volunteers were told their conduct was disagreeable to Parliament, they retired to the country without a murmur, such conduct secured his admiration, and made him tenacious of their liberties; nor could their arms be placed in better hands than where they were.

There were several heated debates upon

* Sir Edward Crofton, in opposing this bill, said: "I have spoken of Mr. O'Connor in a former debate; and I am firmly persuaded that, as to that gentleman, matters have been extremely exaggerated and misrepresented. I know it has been mentioned as an affair that required the interference of Government; and that camps, cannon, and fortifications, were erected. It was also rumored, that the Roman Catholics were in open rebellion; this was an insidious, infamous, and false report, calculated to cast an undeserved reflection on a body of men remarkable for their loyalty to their sovereign, and their known attachment to the constitution; it was an illiberal and an infamous attack on a people distinguished for their peaceable demeanor, and was intended but to serve the purposes of this still more infamous bill.

"However great my knowledge may have been of the loyalty of the Roman Catholics of this country, yet I must confess, on this occasion, I was made a dupe to report; for from the gentleman, who had declared the county of Roscommon to be in a state of rebellion, I could scarcely believe but Government had authority for saying so; I confess, therefore, I felt for my property: and it was natural I should make every possible inquiry; I did so, and found there was no rebellion in the country; and also found the trifling disturbances, which had been so exaggerated, were only the effects of some whiskey, to which the country people had been treated, and which every gentleman knows operates on the lower order of people, as oil of rhodium does on rats; and what was very extraordinary, there was not a broken head on the occasion."

this bill: it was treated by opposition as a most unconstitutional job, a mere bill of patronage for ministerial purposes; although it must be allowed, that the secretary offered to alter whatever should be found objectionable in the committee, and some of the noxious clauses were withdrawn. Several petitions were presented against the bill, but received with ill grace. Amongst other petitions, one was presented from the freeholders of the county of Dublin, by Sir Edward Newenham, which the attorney-general moved to have rejected, as an insult to the House; and it was rejected by 118 against Sir Edward Newenham and Colonel Sharman. The attorney-general boasted of his indulgence in not moving a censure against the petitioners: but should not again be so gentle, if the offence were repeated. This was the most important bill passed during the session. It was the origin and nucleus of that immense standing army of police and constabulary which is absolutely under the control of the British Government, and has since proved the most efficient part of the garrison by which that Government holds military occupation of Ireland.

Government succeeded, during the session, in all the measures it insisted upon: so that on proroguing Parliament on the 18th of May, the viceroy was able gravely to pay them the usual compliment upon the salutary laws enacted in that session, and particularly the introduction of a system of police, as honorable proofs of their wisdom, moderation, and prudence. He moreover assured them, that his majesty beheld with the highest satisfaction the zeal and loyalty of the people of Ireland: and that he had his majesty's express commands, to assure them of the most cordial returns of his royal favor and parental affection.

It is painful to be obliged to admit that at this period (1787) five years of nominal independence had actually reduced Ireland to a condition of more helpless prostration at the feet of England than she had been before: that the policy of resuming one by one the liberties yielded for a moment to the demand of the Volunteers was either in operation or in preparation. Under Mr. Pitt's proposed commercial arrangements, Free Trade would no longer exist. The repeal of the perpetual Mutiny Bill would very soon matter little, when Government would have a standing army of police to overawe the "Lucasians" and reformers of Dublin; and which was certain to be established also in the provinces. The power of the Parliament was now unlimited as to originating its own laws; but for this very reason it had to be taken possession of in advance by the actual purchase of a commanding majority for the crown; so that the independent Parliament should still be, as described by Swift, always firm in its vocation, for the Court against the Nation. Indeed the melancholy necessity of keeping in pay a majority of Parliament is deduced by Lord Clare from the very fact of that Parliament's political independence. The Government was now, he said, at the mercy of that Parliament, and therefore had to propitiate it, or Government could not go on. His argument concludes in favor of a "union" with England, as a cure for all evils. "Such a connection" [as the present], said he, "is formed not for mutual strength and security, but for mutual debility. "It is a connection of distinct minds and distinct interests, generating national discontent and jealousy, and perpetuating faction and misgovernment in the inferior country. The first obvious disadvantage to Ireland is, that in every department of the state, every other consideration must yield to parliamentary power; let the misconduct of any public officer be what it may, if he is supported by a powerful parliamentary interest, he is too strong for the king's representative. A majority of the Parliament of Great Britain will defeat the minister of the day; but a majority of the Parliament of Ireland against the king's Government, goes directly to separate this kingdom from the British Crown. If it continues, separation or war is the inevitable issue; and therefore it is, that the general executive of the empire, as far as is essential to retain Ireland as a member of it, is completely at the mercy of the Irish Parliament; and it is vain to expect, so long as man continues to be a creature of passion and interest, that he will not avail himself of the critical and difficult situation, in which the executive Government of this kingdom must

ever remain, under its present constitution, *to demand the favors of the Crown, not as the reward of loyalty and service, but as the stipulated price, to be paid in advance, for the discharge of a public duty.* Every unprincipled and noisy adventurer, who can achieve the means of putting himself forward, commences his political career on an avowed speculation of profit and loss: and if he fail to negotiate his political job, will endeavor to extort it by faction and sedition, and with unblushing effrontery to fasten his own corruption on the king's ministers.—English influence is the inexhaustible theme for popular irritation and distrust of every factious and discontented man, who fails in the struggle to make himself the necessary instrument of it. Am I then justified in stating, that our present connection with Great Britain, is in its nature formed for mutual debility; that it must continue to generate national discontent and jealousy, and perpetuate faction and misgovernment in Ireland?" *

CHAPTER XXIII.

1787—1789.

Alarms and rumors of disturbances—Got up by Government—Act against illegal combinations—Mr. Grattan on Tithes—Failure of his efforts—Death of Duke of Rutland—Marquis of Buckingham, Viceroy—Independence of Mr. Curran—Mr. Forbes and the Pension List—Failure of his motion—Triumph of corruption—Troubles in Armagh County—"Peep-of-Day Boys"—"Defenders"—Insanity of the King—The Regency.

When Parliament met, according to the last adjournment on the 18th of January 1787, the lord-lieutenant particularly applied to them for their assistance in the effectual vindication of the laws, and the protection of society. On this part of his address Mr. Conolly made some very severe observations; distinctly, indeed, charging the Government with having invented, or at least grossly exaggerated, the rumors of disturbances at the south "to intimidate the Protestants of that kingdom, and to furnish an immediate pretext for the unconstitutional police-bill:"—and "that the first thing that could be called a disturbance induced him to think Government had a hand in it." This involves a charge against the Government so atrocious and revolting—calumniating the forlorn and friendless Catholics of Munster to produce an alarm of threatened insurrection and thus be the more readily armed with a great police force, that it would be difficult to believe it, if we did not know, from subsequent events, that this kind of procedure is familiar to the British Government in Ireland, and forms one of its chief agencies. There were several statements and counter-statements as to the existence and extent of these alleged riots. Mr. Curran who then, and always, took the part of the oppressed, said: "Is it any wonder, that the wretches whom woful and long experience has taught to doubt, and with justice to doubt, the attention and relief of the legislature, wretches that have the utmost difficulty to keep life and soul together, and who must inevitably perish, if the hand of assistance were not stretched out to them, should appear in tumult? No, sir, it is not. Unbound to the sovereign by any proof of his affection, unbound to Government by any instance of its protection, unbound to the country, or to the soil, by being destitute of any property in it, 'tis no wonder that the peasantry should be ripe for rebellion and revolt: so far from matter of surprise, it must naturally have been expected.

"The supineness of the magistrates, and the low state of the commissions of the peace throughout the kingdom, but particularly in the county of Cork, should be rectified. A system of vile jobbing was one of the misfortunes of that country: it extended even to commissions of the peace: how else could the report of the four and twenty commissions of the peace, sent down to the county of Clare in one post, be accounted for? Even the appointment of sheriffs was notoriously in the hands of government; and through

* This famous speech is only cited in this place to show how very coolly a Lord Chancellor of Ireland could explain and avow the existence, the necessity and the whole mechanism of the corrupt management of the Irish Parliament. As an argument for a union, his speech may have its value, but it is much better as an argument for total separation. Those who thought, with his Lordship that England must *some how* rule over Ireland naturally became unionists: those who thought that Ireland should rule herself, and that if all her people formed one united nation she could both govern and protect herself, became still more logically *united Irishmen.*

jobbing, sheriffs themselves could not be trusted: two sheriffs ran away last year with executions in their pockets, and the late high sheriff of the county of Dublin had absconded."

There were indeed local disturbances, as in the first days of Whiteboyism, provoked solely by the tithe-devouring clergymen and by the intolerable oppressions of the landlords; but in no way partaking of an insurrectionary organization, nor directed to revolutionary ends. Mr. Fitzgibbon, then attorney-general, told Parliament some marvellous tales. He blamed the landlords as the chief cause of the disturbances; and said "he knew, that the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords. He knew that, far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they had not food or raiment for themselves; the landlord grasped the whole, and sorry was he to add, that not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords had been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid. It would require the utmost ability of Parliament to come to the root of those evils." He closed by moving a resolution—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that some further provisions by statute are indispensably necessary to prevent tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more adequate and effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths."

A bill for these purposes was soon after brought in by Fitzgibbon, and after sharp debates, and a vigorous opposition from Mr. Conolly and others; was read a second time, committed by a very large majority, and passed.

Mr. Grattan who, while he desired to see the laws enforced, was yet very sensible of the unendurable oppressions practised on the peasantry, brought up on the 13th of March the whole subject of tithes, which he considered a disgrace to the Protestant Church as well as a grievous burden to the Catholic people. He moved the following resolution: "That if it appear, at the commencement of the next session of Parliament, that public tranquillity has been restored in those parts of the kingdom that have lately been disturbed, and due obedience paid to the laws, this House will take into consideration the subject of tithes, and endeavor to form some plan for the honorable support of the clergy, and the ease of the people."

Mr. Secretary Orde differed from Mr. Grattan, and insisted, that in the existing circumstances of the country it was impossible in any degree to hold out an expectation, that the House would even enter upon the subject. Hereupon arose a warm debate; and there were not wanting honorable members to affirm that the established Church was no burden on the people, and that rectors and vicars rather saved money to a Catholic parish than otherwise. It may be conceived how Grattan's gall rose when he heard such arguments as these. "It has been said," he exclaimed, that the exoneration of potatoes from tithe would be of no advantage to the poor. Where had gentlemen learned that doctrine? Certainly not in the report of Lord Carhampton. Or would they say, that taking sixteen shillings an acre off potatoes is no benefit to the miserable man who depends on them as his only food?"

Mr. Grattan persisted with the motion for a committee to inquire whether any just cause of complaint existed among the people of Munster, or of Kilkenny or Carlow on account of tithe, or the collection of tithe. His speech upon this occasion is considered as one of his master-pieces, both of reason and eloquence. It produced a great effect upon the country; none whatever upon the House. Only forty-nine voted for Grattan's motion; but 121 gave their voice against all inquiry. The poor peasantry were left at the mercy, as before, of the tithe-priests and proctors, and of the grinding landlords; and so remain, without improvement to this day. They felt that there was no Parliament for them, no law, no protection, no sympathy; and we cannot but agree with Mr. Curran that the only wonder would have been if they did *not* occasionally set fire to a parson's stack yard, or that they did not cut off a tithe-proctor's ears when they met him in a convenient place.

The Duke of Rutland died in October 1787: died, it is said, in consequence of his excesses and debauchery. He was a good-natured and jovial nobleman, and more than sustained the hospitable character of Dublin Castle. As for public business, he committed all that to the management of those around him, experienced intriguers who knew better than he how "to do the king's business." And as there was but one machinery known which was capable of making public business move in Ireland; and as the viceroy's advisers felt it their duty to be liberal at the nation's expense, the cost of Government rapidly increased during his viceroyalty. In the very year of his death, for example, the pension list was increased by additional grants to the amount of £8,730 over what it had been the year before. The Duke of Rutland was succeeded by the Marquis of Buckingham, who met the Parliament for the first time on the 17th of January 1788. In the address of the Commons in reply to his speech, Mr. Parsons objected to one clause, which gave unqualified approbation to the public course of the late viceroy, and seemed therefore to bind the House to pursue the same measures. He remarked on the largely increased expenses and the enormous pension list, and remarked that neither in the speech from the throne, nor in the address, was the word *economy* to be found. He moved an amendment, but of course it was negatived without a division. It may be said, in general, of the administration of the Marquis of Buckingham, that it was conducted on the same principle (or negation of principle) and by the same unprincipled men as that of the Duke of Rutland. It was thought advisable to purchase a few patriots. What communications the marquis made to his converts cannot now be stated with commercial exactitude; but he certainly inaugurated his term of office by persuading to silence some noisy members of the opposition. On this occasion it is agreeable to record an honorable trait of one of those patriots whose memory is dearly cherished in Ireland, John Philpot Curran. Amongst other proselytes, that went over to the new viceroy, was Mr. Longfield, who had considerable parliamentary interest; he and the friends he introduced had uniformly opposed the late administration: amongst these was Mr. Curran, who having been brought into Parliament by Mr. Longfield, could not bend his principles to the pliancy of his friend, or take a subordinate part in supporting an administration, whose intended measures were made a secret: he therefore purchased a seat in a vacant borough, and offered it to Mr. Longfield for any person whose principles were at his command. Thus did Mr. Curran retain his seat and parliamentary independence: and Mr. Longfield was enabled to fulfil his engagements with the minister, for his own and his dependant's votes in Parliament.

Early in this first session, Mr. Forbes made another effort against the pension list, which had become his special subject. He had been taunted on a former occasion with making his attacks too general, instead of denouncing particular examples; and a sporting member of the Castle party had assured him that the man "who fires at a whole covey does not hit a feather." He now desired, that a list of the pensions granted since the last session of Parliament might be read. He then objected to a pension of £1000, to James Brown, Esq., late prime sergeant, on the principle only of its being granted to a member of the House during pleasure. He remarked, that by the English act for further securing the liberties of the subject, it was provided, that after the accession of the present family to the throne, no pensioner during pleasure, should sit or vote in the House of Commons. The people of Ireland had a right to participate with the inhabitants of Great Britain, in all the benefits and privileges of that act, and the Bill of Rights. He moved, "that this pension was a misapplication of the revenue." He also on the same day mentioned the pension of £640 to Thomas Higinbotham for life, adding, that he was astonished that so large a portion of the public money should be disposed of without the knowledge or privity of the chancellor of the exchequer; and that for such a transaction all the servants of the crown should deny any responsibility; he then objected to a pension of £1200 per annum to Robert Ashwood, for the life of his son, and also two other pensions of £300 each, and one of £200 to the

same person, for lives of his other children. He stated, that a pension of £2000 per annum had been granted in the year 1755, for the life of Frederick Robinson; that the family of Robinson had lately sold that pension to Mr. Ashworth, and had influence with Government sufficient to prevail on the minister to change the life in the grant, and to insert the lives of the young children of Mr. Ashworth in the place of Mr. Robinson; that this management was now become a frequent practice; and that thereby a grant of a pension for life operated as a lease for lives with a covenant of perpetual renewal.

He then moved that the above pension "was an improvident disposition of the revenue." It is almost needless to add that all Mr. Forbes' motions were negatived without a division. Nothing, perhaps, can better illustrate the shameless character of the universal venality than the timid objection made by a ministerial member against the *necessity* of doubling pensions to members of Parliament. Sir Henry Cavendish, though he declared his unqualified devotion to that administration, yet remarked, that doubling the pensions of members might be avoided, "for," said he, "suppose it appears that £400 a year are annexed to the name of a member of this House, and that no particular cause could be assigned for the grant, may it not be conjectured, that it was made for his service in that House, and if so, an additional pension is unnecessary, for he that has £400 a year for his vote, will not refuse voting though he were to be refused £400 a year more."—(Par. Debates, vol. viii.) In truth it would be irksome and unprofitable to record these many unavailing efforts of the patriots to restrain the progress of public corruption, but that the revelations made on such occasions exhibit the whole machinery by which Irish government was carried on, or could have been carried on for a single week: and show that British rule in that country consisted simply in making the Irish people pay large salaries to certain men for representing and betraying them.

It is just, however, to the honest Irishmen in that corrupt assembly to signalize and remember their useless but heroic efforts against the deluge of corruption.

The most violent attack upon the minister, during this session of Parliament, was made on the 29th of February, when Mr. Forbes moved his address to the crown, in order, at least, to leave to posterity, on the face of their journals, the grievances under which the people labored in the year 1788. He prefaced his motion by a very interesting speech founded on facts, to be collected from the journals of the House, or from authentic documents then lying on the table. He travelled over much of his former arguments against the prodigality of the late administration, which had increased the pension list by £26,000. He took that opportunity of giving notice, that he meant next session to offer a bill to that House for the purpose of creating a responsibility in the ministers of Ireland, for the application of the revenue of that kingdom. The only authority under which the vice treasurer then paid any money, was a king's letter, countersigned by the commissioners of the English treasury. He adverted with marked censure, to the addition of £2000 to the salary of the secretary in the late administration, and to the large sums expended in the purchase and embellishment of his house in the Phœnix Park, and to the present intent of granting a pension of £2000 to that very secretary for life: which was establishing a most mischievous precedent for such grants to every future secretary. He was sorry to hear the ostensible minister avail himself of the same argument which his predecessors had successfully used for the last ten years in resisting every attack upon the pension list. He then enlarged upon the pernicious consequences of placing implicit confidence in the administration; and supported his thesis by the following historical illustrations.

From the year 1773 to 1776, confidence in the administration of that day had cost this nation £100,000 in new taxes, and £440,000 raised by life annuities. In 1778, confidence in the administration cost £300,000 in life annuities; a sum granted for the purpose of defence, and which produced on an alarm of invasion, one troop of horse, and half a company of invalids. In 1779 the then secretary, for the purpose of opposing a measure for relief against the abuses of the pension list, read in this House an ex-

tract of a letter from the Secretary of State in England, expressive of the determination of the then English ministry, not to increase the pension list; confidence was placed in the administration of the day, and it cost the country £13,000 in new pensions, granted by the same secretary. In April, 1782, on the arrival of the principal of the new administration, confidence, in the first instance, was neither asked nor granted; certain measures were proposed by the Commons and the people, they were granted, and the country was emancipated. In 1785, confidence in the administration of that day, cost Ireland £140,000 new taxes to equalize the income and expenditure; but the grant produced £180,000 excess of expenses. The same confidence cost £20,000 per annum for a police establishment, which it had been proved at their bar contributed to the violation, instead of the preservation of the peace of the metropolis.

The same confidence, he said, cost this nation last year £100,000, charged for buildings and gardens in the Phœnix Park: in fine they might place nearly two-thirds of the national debt to the account of confidence in the administration of the day. He then moved an address to his majesty setting forth the entire abuse of the pension system: that on the 1st of January, 1788, the list of pensions had increased to £96,289 per annum, *exclusive of military pensions, and charges under the head of incidents on the civil establishment, and additional salaries to sinecure officers*—both of which were substantially pensions; and that this made an amount much greater than the pension list of England. It was in vain: the bribed majority listened to Mr. Forbes with a complacent smile; and again his motion fell without a division.

After another attempt of Mr. Grattan to get a committee on tithes, Parliament was prorogued unexpectedly on the 14th of April, to the surprise and irritation of the people. The natural quickness of their sensations was accelerated by disappointment, when they found, that all that was done relative to tithes was, to provide for the clergy what some of them had lost by retention of the tithes in the two preceding years, and to secure to them forever a tithe of hemp of 5s. per acre. The failure in every popular attempt of the Patriots, went but a little way to soothe the ruffled minds of the distressed peasantry in the provinces, or of the middling and higher orders in the metropolis and larger towns. Notwithstanding the increase of peace officers under the police bill, it was sarcastically observed, that his excellency had the peace and tranquillity of the country deeply at heart, for that, upon the slightest appearance of interruption, he was sure to call in the aid of the military.

The attention of the public began at this moment to be turned away from the futile parliamentary contests to scenes which were taking place in the northern county of Armagh. The Catholics, once almost extirpated from that and some neighboring counties, had again increased and multiplied there. This had been caused in a great measure by the large emigration of Protestants to America, leaving extensive regions nearly dispeopled. Many Catholics with their families, who had been starving on the bare mountains of Connaught and Donegal began to venture back to the pleasant valleys where their fathers had dwelt, and offered to become tenants to deserted farms. Landlords accepted these tenants, for want of Protestants, and they were followed by others. Protestant farmers were thus exposed to competition, to the manifest injury of the Protestant interest; and much ill-feeling, and some violent collisions had been the consequence. At length, in 1784, the Protestants formed themselves in Armagh County, into a secret association calling itself Peep-of-Day Boys, in allusion to their custom of repairing at that hour to the houses of the Catholics, dragging them out of bed and otherwise maltreating them. Even the furious Protestant partisan, Sir Richard Musgrave, gives this account of the banditti in question:—"They visited the houses of their *antagonists* at a very early hour in the morning to search for arms; and it is most certain that in doing so they often committed the most wanton outrages—insulting their persons and breaking their furniture," etc. Of course human nature could not endure this treatment, and the Catholics of Armagh formed a counter-associa-

tion, which they called by a name quite as descriptive as the other, "The Defenders." Many encounters soon took place, and sometimes in considerable numbers: but as the Catholics were then greatly a minority of the population of the county, were very poor, and could scarcely procure any arms—which, besides, it was against the law for them to possess—it is not wonderful if the advantage rested generally, though not always, with the Protestant aggressors.

Either for the purpose or under the pretence of checking the spirit of turbulence and outrage, in the year recourse again was had to the raising of some Volunteer corps, by way of strengthening, as it was said, the arm of the civil magistrate. It was not in the nature of things, that these Volunteer corps, into which they refused to admit any Catholic, should not be more obnoxious to the Defenders, than to the Peep-of-Day Boys: for although they should not have shown favor or affection to any description of men disturbing the public tranquillity, yet it was the first part of their duty to disarm the Defenders (being Papists), and in their arms had they for some time found their only safety and defence against their antagonists. Some occasional conflicts happened both between the Defenders and Peep-of-Day Boys, and between the Defenders and the Volunteers. As a corps of Volunteers in going to church at Armagh passed by a Catholic chapel, a quarrel arose with some of the congregation, and stones were thrown at the Volunteers. After service, instead of avoiding the repetition of insult by taking another route, the Volunteers procured arms, returned to the spot, and a conflict ensued, in which they killed some of the Catholic congregation. In consequence of these rencounters, and the Defenders procuring and retaining what firearms they could, the Earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, published a manifesto against all Papists who should assemble in arms, and also against any person who should attempt to disarm them without legal authority. In addition to these efforts, some of the Peep-of-Day Boys sought also to disarm their antagonists by means of the law: they accordingly indicted some of the Defenders at the summer assizes of 1788; but Baron Hamilton quashed the indictments, and dismissed both parties with an impressive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love. The Defenders about this time were charged with openly sending challenges both to the Peep-of-Day Boys and the Volunteers to meet them in the field; the fact was, that the Defenders certainly did look upon them both as one common enemy combined to defeat and oppress them: whilst, therefore, this open hostility between the two parties subsisted and rankled under the daily festering sore of religious acrimony, the Defenders, who knew themselves armed against law, though in self-defence against the Peep-of-Day Boys, became the more anxious to bring their antagonists to an open trial of strength, rather than remain victims to the repeated outrages of their domiciliary visits, or other attempts to disarm them. Thus a private squabble between peasants gradually swelled into a village brawl, and ended in the religious war of a whole district.

These Protestant Peep-of-Day Boys were called also "Protestant Boys," and in some districts "Wreckers." The association of these plundering banditti afterwards developed itself into the too-famous organization of "Orangemen," which in our own day has counted among its accomplices an uncle of Queen Victoria, has made riots in Canada, and has wrecked Catholic churches and burned convents in the United States.

King George the Third, who never had much mind, this year lost the little he had, and was pronounced insane by the court physicians. Then at once arose the question of the regency. The Prince of Wales was then twenty-six years of age; and was associated politically and socially with Whigs; an association by no means creditable to them. But though not creditable, it might be useful to his friends, if he were now to be recognized regent, with full powers of royalty. On the other hand Mr. Pitt and the Tories saw constitutional objections. Mr. Fox opposed the motion of Mr. Pitt for an examination of constitutional precedents, inasmuch as the minister knew there were no precedents applicable to the case; and contended that the heir apparent, being of full age, could and ought to exercise all the

functions of royalty by his own inherent right: Mr. Pitt replied that during the sovereign's natural life, the heir apparent was no more entitled to the regency than any other subject in the kingdom; and that it was "little less than treason" to affirm the contrary. Mr. Burke supported the Whig view of the subject; that is, maintained the right of the prince to regency with full powers. The administration, however, was quite sure of a majority in both Houses; and this availed more than all the constitutional arguments in the world.

The whole question could have but little interest for the Irish nation; because whoever should be king or regent in England, the course of British government in this country would have continued precisely the same, so far as any real interest of the people was concerned: but there were unhappily Whigs and Tories in Ireland also; and on this occasion, as ever since, the Irish parties attached themselves to their respective party connections in England. It was known also that the powerful interests of the houses of Leinster, Shannon, and Tyrone, the Fitzgeralds, Boyles, and Beresfords were Whigs; being, not unnaturally, attached to the party which had supported in England the claim of Ireland to legislative independence. Some statesmen, therefore, very soon saw the probability of a collision between the two Parliaments upon the regency. Indiscreet anticipations of such a difference had already been expressed in debate. Lord Loughborough, for example, who took the lead of opposition in the Peers, amongst other arguments in support of the prince's inherent right, strongly urged the inconveniency and mischief, which might arise from the contrary doctrine, when it should come to be acted upon by the independent kingdom of Ireland. Was it remembered, said his lordship, that a neighboring kingdom stood connected with us, and acknowledged allegiance to the British crown. If once the rule of regular succession were departed from by the two Houses, how were they sure, that the neighboring kingdom would acknowledge the regent, whom the two Houses would take upon themselves to elect. The probability was, that the neighboring kingdom would depart, in consequence of our departure, from the rule of hereditary succession, and choose a regent of their own, which must lead to endless confusion and embarrassment.

But in answer to this part of Lord Loughborough's speech, Lord Chancellor Thurlow lamented, that any remarks should have fallen from the noble and learned lord respecting Ireland, because he considered them as not unlikely, *Spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas!* Such vague and loose suggestions could answer no useful purpose, but might produce very mischievous consequences. He declared, that he had every reliance on the known loyalty, good sense, and affection of that country, and felt no anxiety on the danger of Ireland's acting improperly.

In fact, after long and violent debates in the English Lords and Commons, Mr. Pitt's measure of a limited regency was carried in England. The limitations were indeed very great: as the regent's power was not to extend to "the granting of any office in reversion, or to granting for any other term than during his majesty's pleasure, any pension or any office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behavior; nor to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage." While the debates in England were pending, peremptory instructions were received by the viceroy, Lord Buckingham, to procure (with "unlimited discretion" as to the means)* from the Irish Parliament a formal recognition, that whomsoever Great Britain should appoint as regent, should, *ipso facto*, be received in Ireland with all the restrictions and limitations imposed upon the regent in Great Britain; with peremptory orders to convene the Parliament the instant his excellency could answer for a majority for carrying such recognition. Unusual exertions to gain over the members to that point were used by all the means, which the Castle influence, aided at that time by the British treasury, could command. Threats also were circulated, and generally credited (not rashly, as

* This statement concerning "unlimited discretion" is made on the authority of Mr. Plowden, a very careful and conscientious inquirer. Besides, if the fact had never been affirmed, it would be in itself too probable to admit of much doubt.

experience afterwards proved) that whoever possessing place or pension, should vote against the minister, would forfeit, or be deprived. Yet it was soon apparent that the canvass of the Castle would fail of success on this important and perilous occasion. The Marquis of Buckingham had grown extremely unpopular amongst the leaders of Irish politics; and it was universally believed that his government was going to be of very short duration. In short it was previously known, that Government would be left in a minority on the question: they therefore deferred the evil day as long as possible, and convened the Parliament only on the 5th of February, after the whole plan had been settled, and submitted to by the prince in England. On an emergency so pressing, the lord-lieutenant, who at no time had been popular, now found himself importuned and harassed beyond bearing: the death of Sir William Montgomery and Lord Clifden, who held lucrative places under Government, brought upon him a greedy swarm of applicants who imposed their extortionate demands with an arrogance in proportion to the value now known to be set upon a single vote at the Castle. The truth seems to be that this lord-lieutenant, with all his "unlimited discretion" had not places and pensions and money sufficient to insure the needful majorities. If the Castle majority deserted the viceroy, then, it was not on account of any fault on his part, but rather on account of his one virtue—which they could never forgive—economy of the public money. In a debate which arose in the House, while this regency question was still awaiting decision, and in which the administration of the Marquis of Buckingham was made the subject of severe comment, Mr. Corry admitted a large increase of salary in his appointment (surveyor of the ordnance), but could at the same time show some savings to the public in his department, which would fully justify whatever alteration had been made: the intention of the alteration was to place the management in the hands of men, who might be supposed above the little arts of plunder and peculation, which had before disgraced the department much to the public loss. He had ever opposed the extension of pensions, and opposition to that practice was one of the conditions on which he had accepted of office: but he could not see that the Marquis of Buckingham deserved censure because a bill to limit pensions had been opposed in his administration. The majority of the House stood pledged to oppose the bill: but the marquis *had not added a pension to the list.* This was not indeed altogether correct; as he had agreed to a pension of £2000 in favor of Mr. Orde, of the "Commercial Propositions." Mr. Grattan, in the same debate, said, "The expenses of the Marquis of Buckingham were accompanied with the most extraordinary professions of economy, and censures on the conduct of the administration that immediately preceded him; he had exclaimed against the pensions of the Duke of Rutland, a man accessible undoubtedly to applications, but the most disinterested man on earth, and one whose noble nature demanded some, but received no indulgence from the rigid principles or professions of the Marquis of Buckingham. He exclaimed against his pensions, and he confirmed them: he resisted motions made to disallow some of them; and he finally agreed to a pension for Mr. Orde, the secretary of the Duke of Portland's administration, whose extravagance was at once the object of his invective and his bounty: he resisted his pension, if report says true; and having shown that it was against his conscience, he submitted. Mr. Orde can never forgive the marquis the charges made against the man he thought proper to reward: the public will never forgive the pension given to a man the marquis thought proper to condemn." What was even worse than this, and what the Castle statesmen of that day could still less forgive, it appears, from the same speech of Mr. Grattan, that "while the Marquis of Buckingham was professing a disinterested regard for the prosperity of Ireland, he disposed of the best reversion in Ireland *to his own family;* the only family in the world that could not with decency receive it, as he was the only man in the world who could not with decency dispose of it to them."

After this it will not appear wonderful that the high and mighty aristocratic houses of Ireland, with all their train and influence, abandoned the Castle in this important crisis.

Mr. Grattan, of course, and most of the Patriot minority, would have voted with the English Whigs at any rate. It is just to admit that many of the Irish Whigs would have done the same, independently of all considerations of interest and patronage; but when to these powerful parties was added the crowd of political merchants and vote-sellers who could not hope to be paid, or to be paid enough, it is not strange that the "king's business" was not efficiently done.

The 11th of February, 1789, was the great day of contest upon the Regency of Ireland: Mr. Grattan and Mr. Fitzgibbon took the lead on the opposite sides: the House being in committee on the state of the nation, after some preliminary conversation, in which the plan of the Castle was candidly avowed by Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. Grattan said, that the right honorable gentleman had stated the plan of the Castle to be limitation and a bill. He proposed to name for the regency of that realm, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; in that they perfectly agreed, and only followed the most decided wishes of the people of Ireland; they were clear, and had been so from the first, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales ought, and must be the regent; but they were also clear, that he should be invested with the full regal power; plenitude of royal power. The limitations, which a certain member proposed to impose, were suggested with a view to preserve a servile imitation of the proceedings of another country, not in the choice of a regent, which was a common concern, but in the particular provisions and limitations, which were not a common concern, but in the particular circumstances of the different countries. The bill, or instrument which he called a bill, was suggested on an opinion, that an Irish act of Parliament might pass without a king in a situation to give the royal assent, and without a regent appointed by the Irish Houses of Parliament to supply his place. The idea of limitation, he conceived to be an attack on the necessary power of Government; the idea of his bill was an attack on the King of Ireland. They had heard the Castle dissenting from their suggestion. It remained for them to take the business out of their hands, and confide the custody of the great and important matter to men more constitutional and respectable. The Lords and Commons of Ireland, and not the Castle, should take the leading part in this great duty. The country gentlemen, who procured the constitution, should nominate the regent. He should submit to them the proceedings they intended in the discharge of that great and necessary duty. Mr. Grattan contended that the proper course was not a bill, but an address, citing the authority of the address to the Prince of Orange on the abdication of King James.

Mr. Conolly then rose and said, that on that melancholy occasion, which every gentleman in and out of office lamented, and none more sincerely than he did, it had fallen to the lot of the two Houses to put into the kingly office a substitute for their beloved sovereign; and there seemed to be but one mind, which was to make that substitute the illustrious person who had, of all others, the greatest interest in preserving the prerogative of the crown, and the constitution of the realm.

He entirely coincided in the plan Mr. Grattan had proposed, because he was convinced it was consonant to the constitution, and such as his royal highness, to whom he should then move an address, must necessarily approve. He hoped they would be unanimous on the occasion. He therefore moved the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a humble address be presented to his royal highness to take upon himself the government of this realm, during the continuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name of his majesty to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging."

The motion was seconded by Mr. George Ponsonby.

Several of the former friends of the Castle supported the address, when Mr. Fitzgibbon (who was still attorney-general, afterwards Earl of Clare) rose to oppose it. He made

this question, as he made every question, an occasion to inculcate the idea of a legislative union, which was even then his great political aim, and continued to be so until he attained it.

He maintained, that the crown of Ireland and the crown of England were inseparably and indissolubly united; and that the Irish Parliament was perfectly and totally independent of the British Parliament.

The first position was their security; the second was their freedom; and when gentlemen talked any other language than that, they either tended to the separation of the crowns, or to the subjugation of their Parliament; they invaded either their security or their liberty; in fact, the only security of their liberty was their connection with Great Britain, and gentlemen who risked breaking the connection, must make up their minds to a union. God forbid he should ever see that day; but if ever the day on which a separation should be attempted, should come, he should not hesitate to embrace a union rather than a separation.

Under the Duke of Portland's government the grievances of Ireland were stated to be:

The alarming usurpation of the British Parliament;

A perpetual mutiny bill;

And the powers assumed by the privy council.

These grievances were redressed, and in redressing them they passed a law repealing part of Poynings'. By their new law they enacted, that all bills, which should pass the two Houses in Ireland, should be certified into England, and returned under the great seal of England, without any addition, diminution, or alteration whatsoever, should pass into law, and no other. By this they made the great seal of England essentially and indispensably necessary on the passing of laws in Ireland: they could pass no act without first certifying it into England, and having it returned under the great seal in that kingdom, insomuch that were the King of England and Ireland to come in person, and to reside in Ireland, he could not pass a bill without its being first certified to his regent in England, who must return it under the seal of that kingdom before his majesty could even in person assent to it. That if the House should by force of an address, upon the instant, and without any communication with England, invest a regent with powers undefined, when the moment of reflection came, it would startle the boldest adventurers in England; and then he reminded gentlemen of the language they held with England in the day they asserted their freedom: "Perpetual connection; common fortune; we will rise or fall with England; we will share her liberty, and we will share her fate." Did gentlemen recollect the arguments used in England to justify the fourth proposition of the commercial treaty? Ireland, said they, having a Parliament of her own, may think fit to carry on a commerce, and regulate her trade by laws different from, perhaps contradictory to, the laws of Great Britain. How well founded that observation was, they would prove, if they seized the first opportunity that offered of differing from Great Britain on a great imperial question; certainly if it be the scheme to differ on all imperial questions, and if that be abetted by men of great authority, they meant to drive them to *a union*, and the method they took was certainly more effectual to sweep away opposition, than if all the sluices of corruption were opened together, and deluged the country's representatives: for it was certain nothing less than the alternative of separation could ever force a union.

Suppose the prince did not accept the regency in England; suppose their address should reach him before he was actually invested with royal powers in England, in what situation would you put him? They would call on him, in defiance of two acts of Parliament, which made the crowns inseparable, to dethrone the king his father. They would call upon him to do an act now, at which hereafter his nature would revolt. They were false friends of the Prince of Wales, who should advise him to receive an address, that might give him cause to curse the hand which presented it. He knew that liberties indecent in the extreme had been taken with the name of that august personage. He knew it had been whispered, that every man who should vote against the address, would be considered as voting against him and treating him with disrespect; but if any man had had the guilt

and folly to poison his mind with such an insinuation, he trusted to his good sense to distinguish his friends; he would trust to his good sense to determine, whether they were his friends who wished to guard the imperial rights of the British crown, or they who would stake them upon the momentary and impotent triumph of an English party. What matter to the prince, whether he received royal authority by bill or by address? Was there a man who would presume to libel him, and to assert, that the success of that measure would be a triumph to him?

There was a feature in the proceeding which, independent of every other objection to it, did in his mind make it highly reprehensible, and that was, that he considered it as a formal appeal from the Parliament of England to that of Ireland. Respecting the parties who made that appeal he should say nothing: but although there might be much dignity on their part in receiving the appeal, he could not see any strong symptoms of wisdom in it; because by so doing he should conceive we must inevitably sow the seeds of jealousy and disunion between the Parliaments of the two countries; and though he did not by any means desire of the Parliament of that country implicitly to follow the Parliament of England, he should suppose it rather a wise maxim for Ireland always to concur with the Parliament of Great Britain, unless for very strong reasons indeed they were obliged to differ from it. If it were to be a point of Irish dignity to differ with the Parliament of England to show their independence, he very much feared that sober men in that country, who had estates to lose, would soon become sick of independence. The fact was, that constituted as it was, the Government of that country, never could go on, unless they followed Great Britain implicitly in all regulations of imperial policy. The independence of their Parliament was their freedom; their dependence on the crown of England was their security for that freedom; and gentlemen, who professed themselves, that night, advocates for the independence of the Irish crown, were advocates for its separation from England,

They should agree with England in three points:—one king, one law, one religion. They should keep these great objects steadily in view, and act like wise men: if they made the Prince of Wales their regent, and granted him the plenitude of power, in God's name let it be done by bill; otherwise he saw such danger, that he deprecated the measure proposed. He called upon the country gentlemen of Ireland; that that was not a time to think of every twopenny grievance, every paltry disappointment sustained at the Castle of Dublin; if any man had been aggrieved by the viceroy, and chose to compose a philippic on the occasion, let him give it on the debate of a turnpike bill, where it would not be so disgraceful to the man who uttered it, and to those who would not listen to him, as it would be on the present occasion.

On the 17th the address was agreed upon by both Houses. Its principal clause was in these words:—

"We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your royal highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm during the continuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on behalf his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging."

On the 19th both Houses waited on the lord-lieutenant, requesting him to transmit it to the prince. He refused to do so. On the day following Mr. Grattan moved in the House "that his excellency the lord-lieutenant having thought proper to decline to transmit to His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, the address of both Houses of Parliament, a competent number of members be appointed by this House, to present the said address to his royal highness."

This was carried by a large majority; was sent up to the Lords, who concurred, and named the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Charlemont to accompany the members of the other House who should be appointed to join them in presenting the address.

Mr. Grattan then moved, "that it be *Resolved*, That his excellency the lord-lieutenant's answer to both Houses of Parliament, requesting him to transmit their address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is

ill advised, contains an unwarrantable and unconstitutional censure on the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, and attempts to question the undoubted rights and privileges of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Ireland."

On the 25th of February the committee of the two Houses of Parliament, having arrived in London, proceeded to Carlton House and presented the address. They were most graciously received: but two days before, the king had recovered from his malady. It was thus unnecessary for the prince either to accept or reject the offer made to him by the Irish Parliament. He congratulated them on the happy change in his majesty's health, and assured them of the "gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart." This dangerous dispute was thus ended for that time. Its dangers were twofold. First, the prince might have refused the regency with limited powers—in that case the English Parliament would certainly have made the queen regent: and the prince might have accepted the Irish regency with unlimited powers: there would then have been two regents, and two *separate* kingdoms. Secondly, the prince might have accepted the regency precisely on the terms offered him in each country: he would then have been a regent with limited powers in England, and with full royal prerogative in Ireland; unable to create a peer in England, but with power to swamp the House with new peerages in Ireland; unable to reward his friends with certain grants, pensions, and offices in England, but able to quarter them all upon the revenue of Ireland. The peril of such a condition of things was fully appreciated both by Mr. Pitt, and by his able coadjutor in Ireland, Mr. Fitzgibbon. They drew from it an argument for the total annihilation of Ireland by a legislative union. Others who watched events with equal attention, found in it a still sounder argument for total separation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1789.

Unpopularity of Buckingham—Formation of an Irish character—Efforts of Patriots in Parliament—All in vain—Purchasing votes—Corruption—Whig Club—Lord Clare on Whig Club—Buckingham leaves Ireland—Pension List—Peep-of-Day Boys and Defenders—Westmoreland, Viceroy—Unavailing efforts against corruption—Material prosperity—King William's Birthday—French Revolution.

Ireland may possibly have had worse viceroys than the Marquis of Buckingham; but scarcely one so intensely unpopular. He was parsimonious and extravagant—that is, he saved pennies, and squandered thousands of pounds; yet did not squander them on the right persons. He talked economy and practised the most reckless profusion, yet in an underhand, indirect manner which made him no friends and many enemies. In manner he was extremely reserved, whether from pride or from a natural coldness of disposition. In short, he was in every way unsuited to the Irish temperament: for there had lately been formed gradually a marked Irish character, even amongst the Protestant colonists before the era of Independence, and still more notably since that time. Gentlemen born in this country, and all whose interests and associations were here, no longer called themselves Englishmen born in Ireland, as Swift had done. The same powerful assimilating influence which had formerly made the Norman settlers, Geraldines and De Burghs "more Irish than the Irish" after two or three generations, had now also acted more or less upon the very Cromwellians and Williamites; and there was recognizable in the whole character and bearing even of the Protestants a certain dash of that generosity, levity, impetuosity, and recklessness which have marked the Celtic race since the beginning. They were capable of the most outrageous depravity and of the highest honor and rectitude; of the most insolent, ostentatious venality and corruption, as well as of the noblest, proudest independence. The formation of this modern composite Irish character is of course attributable to the gradual amalgamation of the privileged Protestant colonists with the *con-*

verted Irish, who had from time to time conformed to the established church, to save their estates, or to possess themselves of the property of non-conforming neighbors. This was a large and increasing element in the Protestant colony ever since the time of Elizabeth; and of such families came the Currans, Dalys, Doyles, Conollys, as well as the higher names O'Neil, O'Brien, Burke, Roche, Fitzpatrick. The ancestors of these families, in abandoning their Catholic faith, could not let out all their Celtic blood, and that blood permeated the whole mass of the population, and often broke out and showed its origin, even in men partly of English descent, or at least of English names. Grattan, for example, in the character of his intellect and temperament, was as purely Celtic as Curran himself. In truth it had become very difficult to determine the ethnological distinction between the inhabitants of this island; and surnames had long ceased to be a safe guide: because ever since the "Statutes of Kilkenny" in the 15th century, thousands of Irish families, especially of those residing near or in the English Pale had changed their names in obedience to those statutes, that they might have the benefit of the English law in their dealings with the people of the Pale. They had assumed surnames, as prescribed by the statute, either from some trade or calling, as Miller, Taylor, Smith,—or from some place, as Trim, Slane, Galway,—or from some color, as Gray, Green, White, Brown. Gradually their original clan-names were lost; and it soon became their interest to keep up no tradition even of their Irish descent. Of one of the families in this category, undoubtedly came Oliver Goldsmith, whose intensely Irish nature is a much surer guide to his origin than the trade-surname of Goldsmith adopted under the statute.

It has been said that surnames were no sure guide to origin: but in one direction surnames were, and are, nearly infallible: —a Celtic surname is a sure indication of Celtic blood, because nobody ever had any interest in assuming or retaining such a patronymic, all the interests and temptations being the other way. But an English surname is no indication at all of English descent, because for several centuries—first under the Statutes of Kilkenny, afterwards under the more grievous pressure of the Penal Code, all possible worldly inducements were held out to Irishmen to take English names and forget their own.*

From so large a mingling of the Celtic element even in the exclusive Protestant colony had resulted the very marked Irish character which was noticed, though not with complacency, by English writers of that period:—and to this character the cold, dry, and narrow Marquis of Buckingham was altogether abhorrent. During the agitation of the regency question, he had succeeded in creating two new offices of great emolument: one by the separation of the excise and revenue board, which provided a place for a Beresford; another by appointing an additional commissioner to the Stamp-office. "About this time also," as Mr. Plowden says maliciously, "his excellency found it necessary to restore to the officers in barracks their wonted allowance of *firing*, which in a former fit of subaltern economy he had stopped from them. This pitiful stoppage had been laid on to the great discontent of the army, and being very ungraciously removed the alleviation was received without gratitude." Mr. Grattan, in a debate on this administration, says:—

"His great objection to the Marquis of Buckingham, was not merely that he had been a jobber, but a jobber in a mask! his objection was not merely, that his administration had been expensive, but that his expenses were accompanied with hypocrisy: it was the affectation of economy, attended with a great deal of good, comfortable, substantial jobbing for himself and his friends. That led to another measure of the Marquis of Buckingham, which was the least ceremonious, and the most sordid and scandalous act of self interest, attended with the sacrifice of all public decorum; he meant the disposal of the reversion of the place of the chief remembrancer to his brother, one of

* It would be a curious study to trace the history of Irish family names. For the first three centuries after the Norman invasion under Henry II., the movement was quite in an opposite direction: and De Burghs became Mac Williams, De Berminghams Mac Feorais, the Fitzurses, Mac Mahons; and Norman barons became chiefs of clans, forgot both French and English, rode without stirrups, and kept the upper lip unshaven.

the best, if not the very best office in the kingdom, given in reversion to an absentee, with a great patronage and a compensation annexed. That most sordid and shameless act was committed exactly about the time when the kingdom was charged with great pensions for the bringing home, as it was termed, absentee employments. That bringing home absentee employments was a monstrous job; the kingdom paid the value of the employment, and perhaps more; she paid the value of the tax also. The pensioner so paid was then suffered to sell both to a resident, who was free from the tax: he was then permitted to substitute new and young lives in the place of his own, and then permitted to make a new account against the country, and to receive a further compensation, which he was suffered in the same manner to dispose of."

It was undoubtedly, in part, owing to the excessive unpopularity of this viceroy that the short remainder of his government was so little satisfactory to himself and his employers in London; and that the Patriots were able to gain some trifling advantages; not indeed to such an extent as to accomplish a single reform or abate a single abuse, but at least to shake the regular venal parliamentary majorities and alarm the Government. As the late gloomy prospect of a change in the Irish administration had driven many gentlemen to the opposition benches, Mr. Grattan was willing to avail himself of the earliest fruits of their conversion; accordingly, on the third of March, 1789, he offered to the House a resolution which he thought absolutely necessary, from a transaction which had lately taken place. He thought it necessary to call the attention of the House to certain principles, which the gentlemen, with whom he had generally the honor to coincide, considered as the indispensable condition, without which no government could expect their support, and which the present Government had resisted.

The first was a reform of the police: at present the institution could only be considered as a scheme of patronage to the Castle, and corruption to the city; a scheme which had failed to answer the end of preserving public peace, but had fully succeeded in extending the influence of the Castle.

Another principle much desired, was to restrain the abuse of pensions by a bill similar to that of Great Britain. That principle, he said, Lord Buckingham had resisted, and his resistance to it was one great cause of his opposing his Government. To this he would add another principle, the restraining revenue officers from voting at elections: this, he observed, was a principle of the British Parliament, and it was certainly more necessary in Ireland, from what had lately taken place, where, by a certain union of family interests, counties had become boroughs, and those boroughs had become private property.

But the principle to which he begged to call the immediate attention of the House was, that of preventing the great offices of the state from being given to absentees: that was a principle admitted by all to be founded in national right, purchased by liberal compensation, and every departure from it must be considered as a slight to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, who certainly were better entitled to the places of honor and trust in their own country, than any absentee could possibly be; but besides the slight shown to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, by bestowing places of honor, of profit, and of trust on absentees, the draft of money from this country, the institution of deputies (a second establishment unnecessary, were the principals to reside), the double influence arising from this raised the abuse into an enormous grievance. Mr. Grattan concluded with a motion to condemn this last practice.

A very warm debate ensued, in which Mr. Corry and some other gentlemen admitted the principle of the resolution, although they opposed its passing, because it was a censure on the Marquis of Buckingham. To get rid of the question, an adjournment was moved and carried by a majority of 115 against 106. Thus early had the old majority began to fall into their former ranks. Still the superiority of votes bore no proportion to 200 and upwards, of which the former full majorities consisted. Mr. Grattan, accordingly, on the following day (4th of March) moved for leave to bring in *a bill for the better securing the freedom of election for members to serve in Parlia-*

ment, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majesty's revenue from giving their votes at such election.

But none of the measures proposed by Mr. Grattan could be carried in that House. In fact the deserting members of the majority were soon whipped back into their ranks: for on the 14th of March the lord-lieutenant made a speech to both Houses, officially informing them of the full recovery of the king. It was immediately apparent that Mr. Pitt was again supreme; and it was even intimated very plainly that the members of either House who had concurred in the address to the prince, or who had voted for a censure on the conduct of the marquis, should be made to repent of their votes.

The House having by this time been nearly marshalled into their former ranks, Mr. Grattan thought it useless to divide them on the second reading of the place bill, on the 30th of April; it was negatived without a division. The only subject particularly interesting to the history of Ireland, which came before Parliament during the remainder of that session, was the subject of tithes: Mr. Grattan having presented to the House, according to order, a bill to appoint commissioners for the purpose of inquiring into the state of tithes in the different provinces of that kingdom, and to report a plan for ascertaining the same: he followed up his motion with a very elaborate, instructive, and eloquent speech upon this important national object. The House adjourned from the 8th to the 25th of May, on which day the lord-lieutenant prorogued the Parliament, and made a speech of a general nature, without a word of reference to any of the extraordinary circumstances of the session.

The administration, alarmed by the late symptoms of disaffection, and by the renewed combination of the powerful aristocratic houses, as exhibited in the proceedings on that regency question, now set itself deliberately to purchase back votes in detail, and again to check the Irish oligarchical influence. It has been already mentioned, in the account of Lord Townshend's administration, that he, at a very heavy expense to the nation, broke up an aristocracy which before his time had monopolized the whole power of the Commons and regularly bargained for terms with every new representative for managing the House of Commons. Mr. Fitzgibbon (and no man knew better) now admitted, *that this manœuvre cost the nation upwards of half a million:* that is, that he had paid or granted so much to purchase that majority in Parliament, by which he governed to the end of his administration.

Mr. Grattan, some years afterwards, commenting on this declaration of Fitzgibbon's and the astonishing scene of corruption which followed it, broke out in this fierce language:—"*Half a million, or more, was expended some years ago to break an opposition; the same, or a greater sum may be necessary now:* so said the principal servant of the crown. The House heard him: I heard him: he said it standing on his legs to an astonished and an indignant nation; and he said it in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on; the peerage was sold; the caitiffs of corruption were everywhere; in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, whose thresholds were worn by the members of the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all."

Indeed no bounds were now set, either to the corruption or to the proscription. The Government kept no measures with its enemies, and had nothing to refuse to its friends. Mr. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, and real governor of the country, was a man as audacious, as resolute, and nearly as eloquent as Grattan himself. It is impossible to deny to the man, on this and on subsequent occasions, a certain tribute of admiration for his potent will and fiery manhood, and all the credit which may be supposed due to a bold, out-spoken, insolent defiance and disdain of every sentiment of public conscience. Under his advice and superintendence, market-overt was held for votes and influence; prices of boroughs, and of parts of boroughs, of votes, titles, and peerages were brought to a regular tariff. Not a peerage, not an honor, nor a place

nor pension was disposed of but expressly for engagements of support in Parliament. And every little office or emolument that could be resumed by Government was granted upon a new bargain for future services. But this was not enough: proscription of enemies was to go hand in hand with reward of service. It mattered not, that in response to the atrocious threat of punishing those who had opposed the Government, the famous "Round Robin" was signed by the leading peers and most illustrious commoners of Ireland, denouncing this attempt at intimidation and coercion. It was signed by the Duke of Leinster, the Archbishop of Tuam, and eighteen peers, as well as by Grattan, Conolly, Curran, the Ponsonbys, O'Neill, Charles Francis Sheridan, Langrishe, Ogle, Daly, and many others; and declared that any such proscription was an attack on the independence of Parliament, and was in itself sufficient ground for relentless opposition against any government. The bold attorney-general was not to be intimidated by this—the Duke of Leinster himself, who held an office of high rank, was forthwith dismissed: Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. George Ponsonby, the Earl of Shannon, and a dozen other high officials, who had supported the regency of the Prince of Wales were unceremoniously treated in like manner. At the same time the offices were given, or rather sold to others, for past or future service; and Fitzgibbon himself, who had indeed earned, and who was yet to earn, all the favors which the British Government can heap on one man, was made Lord Chancellor. Good working majorities were now secure, and "the king's business" was to be done in future without fail and with a high hand.

It seems very strange now, that Mr. Grattan and his friends should not have perceived the utter failure and futility of their great and famous achievement of '82 for any practical purpose in checking the deadly domination of England. It is strange that he in particular, who had always avowed himself in favor of full emancipation to the Catholics, did not at last come to the conclusion that the only hope of the country lay, not in Parliament, but in preparation for armed resistance by a *united* nation. In short, the wonder is, that it was not Grattan himself who invented the association of *United Irishmen*. He, with his powerful political following could have given to that organization a consistency and a power such as it never possessed, and might have made of Ninety-eight a greater Eighty-two. But in fact he shunned all extra-parliamentary action, and denounced the United Irish to the last. He was so proud of the achievement of Eighty-two that he never could be brought to see its imperfection. Besides, there grows up in members of Parliament, after some years' habit of working in that body, a kind of superstitious reverence for it; an unwillingness to acknowledge any political vitality out-of-doors, and a morbid idea that the eyes of the universe are upon that House, or at least ought to be. Here he stood, after eight years of "independence," confronting an independent Parliament, of whom one hundred and four were bribed as placemen or pensioners, and about a hundred and twenty more owned by proprietors of boroughs, vainly fulminating his indignant protests against corruption—*all* his efforts to reform any abuse whatever, totally defeated—his Volunteers well got rid of, and succeeded by a militia under immediate control of the crown, and a police force in the metropolis to make sure that no popular demonstrations should ever again attempt to overawe that "independent Parliament;" and yet he could not think of admitting the only rational conclusion—that the united people should be organized to take the government out of hands so incompetent or so vile.

But although the Patriotic party did not go the length of revolutionary projects, they felt the necessity of combining and organizing their parliamentary forces. The "Round Robin" was the parent of the "Whig Club." The leaders of opposition had found it advisable, in order to consolidate their force into a common centre of union, to establish a new political society under the denomination of the Whig Club; an institution highly obnoxious to the Castle: they adopted the same principles, were clad in the same uniform of blue and buff, and professedly acted in concert with the Whig Club of England. At the head of this club were the Duke of

Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Forbes, both the Messieurs Ponsonby, Mr. Curran, and a number of leading members of opposition in both Houses. It was a rendezvous and round of cabinet dinners for the opposition. Here were planned and arranged all the measures for attack on the ministry. Each member had his measure or his question in turn; the plans of debate and manœuvre were preconcerted, and to each was assigned that share in the attack which he was most competent to perform. This club, aided by some popular newspapers, announced its days of dining, proclaimed its sentiments in the shape of resolutions, and enforced them in the press by articles and paragraphs. Some men afterwards well known as United Irishmen, became members of the Whig Club; especially Archibald Hamilton Rowan a gentleman of property in the county of Down, and James Napper Tandy, the Volunteer Artillery commander, who was admitted by acclamation. Fitzgibbon (Earl of Clare), in his celebrated speech for the Union—which is the most valuable historic document concerning the events of his day (on the side of plunder, corruption, and English domination)—thus, with vindictive sarcasm, speaks of the buff-and-blue club:—"The better to effectuate the great national objects of a limitation of the pension list, an exclusion of pensioners from the House of Commons, a restriction of placemen, who should sit there, and a responsibility for the receipt and issue of the public treasury, a Whig Club was announced in a manifesto, signed and countersigned, charging the British Government with a deliberate and systematic intention of sapping the liberties and subverting the Parliament of Ireland. All persons of congenial character and sentiment were invited to range under the Whig banner, for the establishment and protection of the Irish constitution, on the model of the Revolution of 1688; and under this banner was ranged such a motley collection of congenial characters, as never before were assembled for the reformation of the state. Mr. Napper Tandy was received by acclamation, as a statesman too important and illustrious to be committed to the hazard of a ballot. Mr. Hamilton Rowan also repaired to the Whig banner. Unfortunately, the political career of these gentlemen has been arrested; Mr. Tandy's by an attainder of felony, and an attainder of treason; Mr. Hamilton Rowan's by an attainder of treason. The Whig secretary, if he does not stand in the same predicament, is now a prisoner at the mercy of the crown, on his own admission of his treason; and if I do not mistake, the whole society of Irish Whigs have been admitted, *ad eundem*, by their Whig brethren of England. In the fury of political resentment, some noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank in this country stooped to associate with the refuse of the community, men whose principles they held in abhorrence, and whose manners and deportment must always have excited their disgust."

There was public thanksgiving in the churches of Dublin for the king's recovery: and in the Catholic chapel of Francis Street a solemn high mass was performed "with a new grand *Te Deum* composed on the occasion by Giordani. The Catholics were still unrecognized by the law, as citizens or members of civil society, and existed only 'by connivance;' but some Catholic writers tell us with complacency, as a happy instance of the increasing liberality of the times, that several of the first Protestant nobility and gentry assisted at this mass. Plowden says, 'So illustrious an assemblage had never met in a Catholic place of worship in that kingdom since the Reformation. Besides the principal part of their own nobility and gentry, there were present on the occasion the Duke of Leinster, the Earls and Countesses of Belvedere, Arran, and Portarlington, Countesses of Carhampton and Ely, Lords Tyrone, Valentia, and Delvin, Mr. D. La Touche and family, Mr. Grattan, Major Doyle, Mrs. Jeffries, Mrs. Trant, and several other persons of the first distinction.'"

In the month of June of this year the Marquis of Buckingham went to Cork, stayed for a day at the villa of Mr. Lee at Black Rock, and from thence quietly embarked for England. He never returned; and it was observed by Mr. O'Neill in the House of Commons "that if he had not taken a back-stairs departure from the

kingdom, he would have been greeted on his retreat in a very different manner from what he had been on his arrival." Of the course of this bad viceroy's government we find no better summary than that given by Mr. Grattan in a speech delivered while Lord Buckingham still sat in Dublin Castle.

"This was the man; you remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearse of the Duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car, drawn by public credulity; on one side fallacious hope, and on the other many-mouthed profession: a figure with two faces, one turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the people; and with a double tongue, speaking contradictory languages.

"This minister alights; justice looks up to him with empty hopes, and peculation faints with idle alarms; he finds the city a prey to an unconstitutional police—he continues it; he finds the country overburdened with a shameful pension list—he increases it; he finds the House of Commons swarming with placemen—he multiplies them; he finds the salary of the secretary increased to prevent a pension—he grants a pension; he finds the kingdom drained by absentee employments, and by compensations to buy them home—he gives the best reversion in the country to an absentee, his brother; he finds the Government at different times had disgraced itself by creating sinecures to gratify corrupt affection—he makes two commissioners of the rolls, and gives one of them to another brother; he finds the second council to the commissioners put down because useless—he revives it; he finds the boards of accounts and stamps annexed by public compact—he divides them; he finds the boards of customs and excise united by public compact—he divides them; he finds three resolutions, declaring that seven commissioners are sufficient—he makes nine; he finds the country has suffered by some peculations in the ordnance—he increases the salaries of offices, and gives the places to members of Parliament."

Before dismissing the Marquis of Buckingham and his viceroyalty, it is right to add that during his government the pension list, already enormous, was increased by new pensions to the amount of £13,000 a year.* It was a good argument, morally, for reform, but a still better argument, materially and practically, against reform. Parliamentary patriots might have seen that they were moving in a vicious circle: the more irresistible, logical, and argumentative were their assaults on the citadel of corruption, the more impregnable became that citadel, by means of the very corruption itself: and it must be admitted that although the Marquis of Buckingham absconded, like any defaulting bank officer from Ireland, he left British policy in full, successful, and triumphant operation.

On the 30th of June, 1789, Fitzgibbon, the new lord chancellor, and Mr. Foster the Speaker of the House, were sworn in lords-justices. The Marquis of Buckingham resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Westmoreland.

In the last year of the Buckingham ad-

* This being mere matter of account, says Mr. Grattan, I extract it from the papers laid before Parliament. Appendix to the 13th vol. Journ. Com., p. 271.

A list of all Pensions placed on the Civil Establishment during the period of the Marquis of Buckingham's Administration, with an account of the total Amount thereof.

Fitzherbert Richards, Esq.	£400
James Cavendish, Esq.	150
Harriet Cavendish.	150
Lionel, Lord Viscount Strangford.	400
Robert Thornton, Esq.	800
Right Honorable Thomas Orde.	1700
Duke of Gloucester.	4000
Georgina, Viscountess Boyne.	500
Lady Catherine Marlay.	800
Honorable Rose Browne.	800
Walter Taylor.	800
Francis d'Ivernois.	800
David Jebb, Esq.	800
Lady Catherine Toole.	200
Thomas Coughlan, additional.	200
William, Viscount Chetwynd, additional.	200
Charles, Viscount Ranelagh, and Sarah, Viscountess Ranelagh, his wife, and survivor.	400
Lucia Agar, Viscountess Clifden, and Emily Anne Agar her daughter, and survivor.	800
Sir Henry Mannix, Bart.	500
Sir Richard Johnstone, Bart., and William Johnstone, Esq., his son, and survivor	800
Sarah Hernon.	70
Elizabeth Hernon.	70
Henry Loftus, Esq.	800
Diana Loftus.	800
William Colville, Esq.	600
	£13,040

ministration, the violent feuds of the Peep-of-Day-Boys and Defenders had taken almost the proportions of a small civil war. Many of the Protestant landlords in Armagh and Tyrone Counties diligently fomented and embittered these disputes, "with the diabolical purpose," says Mr. Plowden, "of breaking up the union of the Protestants and Catholics, which had been effected by serving together as Volunteers, and was one of the effects of that system, which the Government appeared most to dread. Reports were industriously set afloat, and greedily credited by most Protestants of the county of Armagh, who long had been pre-eminent amongst their brethren for their zealous antipathy to Popery, that if Catholics, who had obtained arms, and learned the use of them during the war, were permitted to retain them, they would soon be used in erecting Popery on the ruins of the Protestant religion. The Defenders had long and frequently complained, that all that efforts to procure legal redress against the outrages committed upon them by the Peep-of-Day Boys were unavailing: that their oppressors appeared to be rather countenanced, than checked by the civil power; and that the necessity of the case had driven them into counter-combinations to defend their lives and properties against these uncontrolled marauders. Whilst these petty, but fatal internal hostilities were confined chiefly to the county of Armagh, it appears that the Defenders had generally remained passive according to their first institution and appellation: and that they only became aggressors, when they afterwards were compelled to emigrate from their country. Their hostility was now at its height; Government sent down two troops to quell them, but above fifty on both sides had been killed in an affray before the horse arrived. Tranquillity lasted whilst the troops remained. But it was impossible that a large assemblage of men, void of education, prudence, or control, should long remain together without mischief."

The "Defenders," that is the luckless Catholics of those northern counties, struggling only to live by their labor; surrounded by a larger population of insolent and ferocious Protestant farmers, remained *always*, as their name imports, strictly on the defensive. They never were mad enough to became "aggressors" at all: and Mr. Plowden, in the passage just cited, falls into the not unusual error of Catholic writers, who are so determined to be impartial that they lean to the party which they abhor. It is right to understand once for all—and we shall have but too many occasions of illustrating the fact—that in all the violent and bloody contentions which have taken place between the Catholics and Protestants of Ulster from that day to the present, without any exception, the Protestants have been the wanton aggressors. It was with the utmost difficulty that Catholics could procure arms; but they knew that their Protestant neighbors were all armed. They knew also that if there were to be any examination into the facts before justices of the peace, or at the assizes, they were sure to meet a bitter, contemptuous hostility on the bench and in the jury-box; and witnesses ready to swear that a Popish funeral was a military parade, and a faction-fight an insurrection. Therefore it was not in the nature of things that such an oppressed race should voluntarily seek a collision, or should resort to violence save in the utmost extremity of almost despairing resistance. It is true also, that from the very origin of Peep-of-Day Boys (who afterwards ripened into Orangemen), down to the present moment (1867), many of the greatest proprietors in Ulster, peers and commoners, have carefully stimulated the ferocity of the ignorant Protestant yeomanry by their own insolent behavior towards the oppressed people, and especially by inculcating and enlarging upon all the dreadful details of that bloody fable, the "Popish Massacre" of 1641. Sir John Temple's horrible romance was a fifth gospel to the "Ascendency" of the North; and was often enlarged upon (like the other four) by clergymen in their pulpits, to show that it is the favorite enjoyment of Papists to rip up Protestant women with knives; to murder the mothers and then to put the infants to their dead mother's breast, and say: "*Suck, English bastard!*"—to delude men out of houses by offers of quarter, and then to cut their throats, and so on. Indeed when the con-

scientious Dr. Curry published his examination of the histories of that pretended massacre, his friends feared for his life: it was held proof positive, in his day, of a design to "bring in the Pretender," if one presumed to deny or doubt the terrible drowning of Protestants at Portadown bridge—or to question the fact of their ghosts appearing in the river at night, breast-high in the water, and shrieking "*Revenge! Revenge!*" From such historic literature as this were derived the opinions formed of Catholics by Peep-of-Day Boys, and by their worthy successors the Orangemen. The baleful seeds of hatred and iniquity sown thus in the minds of benighted Protestants, by those who ought to have taught them better, fell in congenial soil, and grew, flourished, and ripened, as we shall soon have to narrate, in a harvest of bloody fruit.

The Earl of Westmoreland's administration was precisely like that of his predecessors. It was observed in Parliament by several of the opposition members "that it was but a continuance of the former administration under a less unpopular head." Major Doyle said (10 Parl. Deb., p. 233): "The same measures were continued by the present viceroy, as if some malicious demon had shot into him the spirit of his departed predecessor, and that the Castle of Dublin was only the reflected shadows of the Palace of Stowe."

It is truly irksome to follow the unavailing parliamentary struggles made by a few faithful Irishmen in those days; and the commemoration of them might well be dispensed with but for the pride and pleasure which we cannot but feel in the knowledge that even in that dark day there were some glorious intellects and noble hearts in Ireland, who, environed around and almost overwhelmed by the deluge of scoundrelism, yet did hold up the standard of rectitude and call upon the demoralized nation to follow that standard. It was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. We find in the parliamentary debates, during the session of 1790, the same sort of series of motions for committees, or for resolutions, against corruption, against increase of pensions and the like, with which the country was now familiar. It was familiar also with the uniform defeat of all those efforts. Mr. Curran, for example, moved, "That a humble address should be presented to his majesty, praying that he would order to be laid before that House the particulars of the causes, consideration, and representations, in consequence of which the boards of stamps and accounts had been divided, with an increase of salary to the officers; also, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate to that House the names of the persons who recommended that measure."

In his speech in support of this motion, Curran assailed the purchased majority with some of that biting and devouring sarcasm which the court so much dreaded, and which—had Curran been purchasable—would have insured him the highest price.

"He brought forward that motion," he said, "not as a question of finance, not as a question of regulation, but as a penal inquiry, and the people would now see, whether they were to hope for help *within these walls.*" He rose in an assembly of three hundred persons, one hundred of whom had places or pensions; in an assembly, one-third of whom had their ears sealed against the complaints of the people, and their eyes intently turned to their own interest; he rose before the whisperers of the treasury, the bargainers and the runners of the Castle: he addressed an audience, before whom was holden forth the doctrine, that the crown ought to use its influence on the members of that House.

He rose to try when the sluices of corruption had been let loose upon them, whether there were any means left to stem that torrent.

The debate broke out into great intemperance on both sides: the division upon the motion was 81 in support, and 141 against it.

Mr. Curran's doubt "whether there was hope for help within those walls," was plainly ripening into a certainty, that there was none.

In the same way we find the indefatigable Mr. Forbes again trying his place bill and pension bill. This time he moved for an address to the king, setting forth the shabby details which he had long busied himself in

bringing to light:—how there was an immense increase in the pension list, of pensions granted to members of that House, at the pleasure of the crown. How "an addition of £300 per annum, has been lately granted to the salary of the custommer of Kinsale, to commence from the 29th of September, 1789; and a further addition of £200 payable on a contingency, both for the life of the present possessor: an office which has been for years considered as useless and obsolete, to which no duty whatsoever is annexed, nor any attendance required. That an addition of £400 per annum has been lately granted to the salary of comptroller of the pipe, though £53 10*s.* has for years been considered as an adequate compensation for the discharge of the duties of That office. That an addition of £150 per annum has also been lately granted to the barrack-master of Dublin. *That the persons to whom those additional salaries have been granted, are all members of this House.*" And so forth; things which the king and Mr. Pitt, his minister, knew very well; which they intended; in which they meant to persevere; and which they called governing the country. Of course the address to the king was negatived by a large majority: the "comptroller of the pipe" and the customer of Kinsale were not likely to vote for a measure which would deprive their little families of bread. Mr. Grattan spoke on this motion of Forbes: but perhaps the most notable passage in the debate is the short, nervous speech of Mr. O'Neil, which plainly showed that he, too, despaired of effecting any thing in Parliament, and foresaw another kind of struggle. Mr. O'Neil said "he thought it wholly unnecessary for gentlemen on the other side to adduce a single argument upon any question, while they had an omnipotent number of 140 to support them. On the subject of influence, the denial of it, he said, was ridiculous, as there was not a lady then sitting at tea in Dublin, who, if she were told that there were 120 men in that House, composed of placemen and pensioners, would not be able to say how the question would be decided, as well as the tellers on the division. He said the very first act in every session of Parliament, which was the bill of supply, went to raise the interest for a million and a half of money for ministers to divide amongst themselves. I do say, and I said it prophetically," continued he, "that the people will resist it. The members of this House bear but a small proportion to the people at large. There are gentlemen outside these doors, of as good education and of as much judgment of the relative duties of representation, as any man within doors, and matters are evidently ripening, and will shortly come to a crisis." Mr. O'Neil was right: but he and Mr. Grattan, and others who acted with them, are never to be forgiven, that they did not help matters to come to a crisis, and did not preside over and guide that crisis when it came.

The remainder of this shameful Parliament is little worthy of commemoration. Mr. George Ponsonby moved a resolution against places and pensions; defeated by a large majority. Mr. Grattan, filled with the same *sæva indignatio* which once gnawed the heart of Swift, astonished the House by a speech calling for impeachment of ministers, concluding with this motion, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire, in the most solemn manner, whether the late or present administration have entered into any corrupt agreement with any person or persons, to recommend such person or persons to his majesty as fit and proper to be by him made peers of this realm, in consideration of such person or persons giving certain sums of money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to serve in Parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconsistent with the independence of Parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the land." It was defeated by the usual majority; 144 against, and 82 for the motion. A few days after, Mr. Grattan was provoked to utter one of his audacious speeches in the House. It was in one of the debates on Mr. Forbes' motion:—"Sir, I have been told it was said, that I should have been stopped, should have been expelled the Commons, should have been delivered up to the bar of the Lords for the expressions delivered that day.

"I will repeat what I said on that day: I said that his majesty's ministers had sold the peerages, for which offence they were

impeachable. I said they had applied the money for the purpose of purchasing seats in the House of Commons for the servants or followers of the Castle, for which offence I said they were impeachable. I said they had done this, not in one or two, but in several instances, for which complication of offences I said his majesty's ministers were impeachable, as public malefactors, who had conspired against the common weal, the independence of Parliament, and the fundamental laws of the land; and I offered, and dared them to put this matter in a course of inquiry. I added, that I considered them as public malefactors, whom we were ready to bring to justice. I repeat these charges now, and if any thing more severe were on a former occasion expressed, I beg to be reminded of it, and I will again repeat it. Why do you not expel me now? Why not send me to the bar of the Lords? Where is your adviser? Going out of the House I shall repeat my sentiments, that his majesty's ministers are guilty of impeachable offences; and advancing to the bar of the the Lords, I shall repeat those sentiments, or if the Tower is to be my habitation, I will there meditate the impeachment of these ministers, and return not to capitulate, but to punish. Sir, I think I know myself well enough to say, that if called forth to suffer in a public cause, I will go farther than my prosecutors, both in virtue and in danger."

All similar efforts failed in the same manner; effecting nothing but an occasional opportunity of discharging a torrent of indignant invective against the solid phalanx of Castle members, equally insensible to invective, to sarcasm, to shame, and to conscience; and the Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, 1790; the viceroy assuring them in his speech from the throne that "he had great pleasure in signifying his majesty's approbation of the zeal they had shown for the public interest, and the dispatch with which they had concluded the national business." Three days after the Parliament was dissolved.

But although the Parliament of the "independent" kingdom of Ireland was in so wofully corrupt a condition, yet we find that in material prosperity the country continued to advance. The population had increased very rapidly, and it is estimated, for the year 1788, at 4,040,000, an increase of a million and a half in twenty years. This is a sure sign of general ease and abundance of the necessaries of life. The revenue was also increasing fully in proportion to the increase of people; and the Catholics, being now empowered to hold longer leases, and to take mortgages on money lent, had well improved their limited opportunities, and were become in all the towns an opulent and influential portion of the people. Yet the Catholics, while personally they were respected, were as a body both oppressed and insulted. Of the four millions, they were more than three; yet this great mass of people, the original and rightful owners of all the land, were still a proscribed race, still under the full operation of the most odious of the penal laws, excluded from Parliament, from the franchise, from the professions, from the corporations, from the juries, from the magistracy, from all civil and military employment. Public ceremonials were calculated and devised with the special design to humiliate them, and remind them of the high national estate from which they had fallen; and even in those proud days of the Volunteering, the anniversaries of their fatal defeats were regularly celebrated in Dublin by the high officers of state with all possible civic and military pomp. The author of the "Irish Abroad and at Home" tells us, from his own recollections:—"King William's birth-day (the 4th of November) was observed with great ceremony. Within my own recollection, and even till the period of the Union, on each 4th of November, the troops composing the garrison of Dublin marched from their respective barracks to the Royal Exchange, and there turning to the right up to the Castle, and to the left to the college, lined the streets, Cork Hill, Dame Street, and College Green, on each side the way.

"At the same time the lord-lieutenant would be holding a levee; a drawing-room wound up the observances, at which the nobility, the bishops, the members of the House of Commons (the Speaker at their head), the judges, the bar, the provost, vice-provost, and fellows of Trinity College, the lord mayor, aldermen, and other public

functionaries were present. The levee over, the lord-lieutenant issued in his state-carriage and with great pomp from the Castle, passed down the line of streets, and round the statue of King William, and then returned to the Castle; followed also in carriages by the great officers of state, the bishops, the Houses of Lords and Commons, and those of the gentry who had been present at the levee."

But as the Catholics advanced in prosperity and increased in numbers, this condition of inferiority in their own native land became more and more intolerable to them: the complete failure of the constitutional "independence" of '82 was creating amongst the more rational Protestants a desire of uniting themselves with the powerful Catholic masses; a "Catholic Committee" had now been for some years in existence, connived at by Government, and on the whole there was a considerable ferment in the public mind at the moment when, on the 14th of July, 1789, all Europe rang and shook with the downfall of the Bastile. Within three weeks after, on the memorable 4th of August, feudality and privilege were suddenly struck down and swept away: in that most aristocratic of countries all men became suddenly equal in one night; and the great French Revolution was in full career.

CHAPTER XXV.

1790—1791.

New election—New peers—Sale of peerages—Motion against Police Bill—Continual defeats of Patriots—Insolence of the Castle—Progress of French Revolution—Horror of French principles—Burke—Divisions amongst Irish Catholics—Wolfe Tone—General Committee of Catholics—Tone goes to Belfast—Establishes first United Irish Club—Dublin United Irish Club—Parliamentary Patriots avoid them—Progress of Catholic Committee—Project of a Convention—Troubles in County Armagh.

Notwithstanding the progress which had been made by the people in political knowledge and spirit, stimulated by the mighty events then going forward in France, yet the influence of the Castle prevented any great change in the return of members to the new Parliament. The dissolution took place on the 8th of April, 1790, and the new Parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin on the 20th of May, but before that time, was further prorogued to the 10th of July, when it met for dispatch of business.

Such of the constituencies as were really free to *elect*, of course took care to send to Parliament all the most prominent reformers. Grattan, Forbes, Curran, Ponsonby, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, occupied their old places on the opposition bench. We find among the new members several noted names. A certain young Major Wellesley was returned for the borough of Trim, afterwards called to high destinies under the title of Duke of Wellington. Jonah Barrington was member for Tuam: he had seen the rise, and was destined to chronicle the Rise and Fall, of the Irish nation. Arthur O'Connor came as member for Philipstown: his name will appear again in this narrative. Robert Stewart came as one of the members for Down County; and had an opportunity of studying the modes of buying and selling in that great mart of votes and influences; opportunities which he improved with the zeal of a clerk in a commercial house learning his business. We shall see that he spent the season of his apprenticeship profitably. In the mean time, it is interesting to record that this gentleman sought his election, and was returned, expressly as an avowed reformer and patriot; and that on the hustings at Downpatrick he took the following pledge:—"That he would in and out of the House, with all his ability and influence, promote the success of a bill for amending the representation of the people; a bill for preventing pensioners from sitting in Parliament, or such placemen as cannot sit in the *British* House of Commons; a bill for limiting the numbers of placemen and pensioners and the amount of pensions; a bill for preventing revenue-officers from voting at elections; a bill for rendering the servants of the crown in Ireland responsible for the expenditure of the public money," etc.,—in short, all the measures of reform which were at that time the ostensible objects of the opposition.

The purpose of convening the Parliament was to obtain a vote of credit: accordingly the chancellor of the exchequer moved for a vote of credit for £200,000, to be ap-

plied by the lord-lieutenant towards the expense of Government.

On the 24th of the month his majesty's answer to the address of the Commons was communicated to the House, which was strongly expressive of his satisfaction at their determination to support the honor of his crown, and the common interest of the empire, at that important crisis: the Parliament was then prorogued, and did not meet for the dispatch of business till the 20th of January, 1791. In the autumn, Mr. Secretary Hobart went over to England, as it was generally presumed, to concert the plan of the next parliamentary campaign with the British cabinet. It was also rumored, that the Irish government having in the widest plenitude adopted the principles and system of Lord Buckingham's administration, the right honorable secretary had also much consultation with that nobleman. Lord Westmoreland in the mean time was not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity, the want of which in his predecessor he felt very strongly operating upon his own government. In a country excursion for nearly nine months he visited most of the nobility through the kingdom: his excellency and his lady on all solemn occasions appeared clad in Irish manufactures: just as in our own day an ameliorative viceroy has sometimes condescended to wear a "poplin waistcoat." We are even told that Lord Westmoreland further increased his popularity by giving permission to represent "The Beggar's Opera," which was then a favorite of the Dublin people, but the representation of which had been prohibited in Lord Buckingham's time.

The business of this session differed very little from that of the last before the dissolution. The Patriots appeared rather to have lost, than acquired, strength by the new election. Their number did not at any time during the course of this session exceed fourscore. But their resolution to press all the questions which they had brought forward in the last Parliament, appeared more violently determined than ever; insomuch, that Mr. George Ponsonby in replying to Mr. Cook, assured him, that the hope he had expressed of gentlemen on his side of the House not bringing forward those measures, which they had done for some sessions past, was a lost hope, for that nothing but the hand of death or success should ever induce them to give up their pursuit. Accordingly Mr. Ponsonby, on the 3d of February, moved as usual for a select committee to inquire into the pension list. It was got rid of by a motion for adjournment. Then Mr. Grattan, supported by Mr. Curran, renewed the charge upon its practice of selling peerages: it was rejected by 135 against 85.

Mr. Curran then moved the following resolution, in which he was seconded by Mr. Grattan, viz.: "That a committee be appointed, consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament, who do not hold any employment or enjoy any pension under the crown, to inquire in the most solemn manner, whether the late or present administration have, directly or indirectly, entered into any corrupt agreement with any person or persons, to recommend such person or persons to his majesty for the purpose of being created peers of this kingdom, in consideration of their paying certain sums of money, to be laid out in the purchase of seats for members to serve in Parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconsistent with the independence of Parliament, and in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

The ministerial members on all these occasions loudly complained of the reiteration of the old charges even without new arguments to support them; they strongly insisted that no particular facts were alleged, much less proved; and that general fame, surmise, and assertion, were no grounds for parliamentary impeachments, or any other solemn proceedings in that House. Mr. Grattan, before answering the objections advanced against the motion, adverted to the general dull and empty declamation uttered by the advocates of a corrupt government against the defenders of an injured people.

Four times, had those advocates told them, they had brought this grievance forth, as if grievances were only to be matter of public debate when they were matters of novelty; or as if grievances were trading questions for a party or a person to press, to sell, and

to abandon; or as if they came thither to act farces to please the appetite of the public, and did not sit there to persevere in the redress of grievances, pledged as they were, and covenanted to the people on these important subjects.

Under these continual defeats of every generous effort to abate a single evil or injustice, it seems to have been some satisfaction to the members of the opposition to indulge at least in violent philippics. Mr. Grattan, for instance, in making a renewed effort against the unconstitutional police system:—Ministers had, he said, resorted to a place army and a pensioned magistracy: the one was to give boldness to corruption in Parliament, and the other to give the minister's influence patronage in the city. Their means were, this police establishment: the plan they did not entirely frame: they found it. A bill had shown its face in the British House of Commons for a moment, and had been turned out of the doors immediately: a scavenger would have found it in the streets of London: the groping hands of the Irish ministry picked it up, and made it the law of the land.

The motion against the police was negatived by what Mr. Grattan called the *dead majority*. Next the opposition tried another favorite measure—to prevent placemen and pensioners from having seats in Parliament; in other words, that the "dead majority" should be turned out-of-doors and deprived of their daily bread. This measure was supported as usual by Mr. Forbes, and of course by the same arguments: there was nothing new to say: there was the evil visible before them; or rather the 104 evils, each with its bribe in its pocket, wrung from the earnings of those people whose legislature they poisoned. But the Castle members were utterly disgusted with these threadbare topics; they called for something new; and so Mr. Mason had the cool audacity to say, that having opposed this bill every session for thirty years, he would not weary the House with fresh arguments against it: his decided opinion was, that the influence of the crown was barely sufficient to preserve the constitution, and to prevent it from degenerating into the worst of all possible governments, a democracy.

Indeed, the terror of this democracy, and the manifest peril to oligarchical government both in England and in Ireland, arising from the thundering French revolution and its reverberations through many millions of hearts in the two islands—these were the considerations that rendered the supporters of Government more sternly resolute to maintain every part of their system as it stood. Reformers of any abuse began about this time to be called "Jacobins," and the "Mountain;" and it was intended for the most ribald abuse, to charge a person with advocating the *Rights of Man*.

Equally violent and equally unsuccessful were the four remaining attacks made by the gentlemen of the opposition: viz., Mr. Grattan's motion for the encouragement of the reclaiming of barren land; on the first reading of the pension bill; the second reading of the responsibility bill; and Mr. George Ponsonby's motion respecting *fiats* for levying unassessed damages upon the parties' *affidavits* of their own imaginary losses.

We must now turn away for a time from these eloquent futilities in Parliament. It is difficult now to analyze the strong political passion which seized upon all the public, as the mighty drama of French Revolution swept upon its way. The year 1791 stimulated that passion to the greatest height. The great theatrical performance of the federation of all mankind in the Champ de Mars, had taken place on the 14th of July of the last year, when the King of France had sworn to maintain the constitution. The church lands had been sold for the use of the public: Mirabeau, the great tribune, was dead, and the last hope of conciliation between the people and the crown, died with him. Then the great coalition of Europe against France was formed; and the king attempted his flight beyond the Rhine. Every thing betokened both war and invasion coming from abroad, and the approaching triumph at home of the Jacobin Republicans, with the usual violence and slaughter which attend such immense changes. It was impossible to look on at these things unmoved. Two fierce parties were at once formed in Ireland, the one Republican, the other anti-Gallican.

The sympathy which several of the armed corps and other public bodies exultingly expressed with the assertors of civil freedom in those countries, was obnoxious to Government, and it became the system of the Castle to affix a marked stigma upon every person who countenanced or spoke in favor of any measure that bore the semblance of reform or revolution. Even the ardor for commemorating the era of 1688, was attempted to be damped; the word *liberty* always carried with it suspicion, often reprobation. In proportion to the progress of the French revolution to those scenes, which at last outraged humanity, were some efforts in favor of the most constitutional liberty resisted in Parliament, as attempts to introduce a system of French equality. Such was the general panic, such the real or assumed execration of every thing that had a tendency to democracy, that comparatively few of the higher orders through the kingdom retained, or avowed, those general Whig principles, which two years before that man was not deemed loyal, who did not profess.

Mr. Burke by his book on the French revolution, published in the year 1790, had worked a great change in the public mind, and the few in the upper walks of life, who did not become his proselytes, merely retaining their former principles, were astonished to find their ranks thinned and their standard fallen.

The Catholics also could not possibly remain insensible to the great events of the time: but the effect produced upon them was a strangely complex kind. As a grievously oppressed race they could not but sympathize with the oppressed peasantry and middle classes of France as they struck off link after link of the feudal chain: but on the other hand the Irish Catholics, not like the French, had remained deeply attached to their religion, the only consolation they had: and the French "Civil Constitution" for the clergy, and sale of church lands, were represented to them as anti-religious, and dangerous to faith and morals. Publications were circulated upon the conservative tendencies of the Catholic religion * to render its followers loyal, peaceable, and dutiful subjects. Pastoral instructions were published by the Catholic bishops in their respective dioceses, in favor of loyal subordination and against "French principles." On the other hand, the trading Catholics in the towns, and such of the country population as were readers of books, were very generally indoctrinated with sentiments of extreme liberalism. It was not to be expected, they thought, that *they* could be "loyal" to a Government which they knew only by its oppressions and its insults: it was not likely that they would be indignant against the French for abolishing *tithes*, nor for selling out in small farms the vast domains of the emigrant nobles. On the whole therefore a very large proportion of the Catholics looked to the proceedings of the French with admiration and with hope. As for the Irish Dissenters, who were much more numerous than the Protestants of the established church, they were *Gallican* and republican to a man.

Considering that the only real enemy of Ireland, both then and ever since, was the English Government, it was very unfortunate that the divisions amongst the Catholics themselves, and the hereditary estrangement and aversion between them and the Presbyterians, made it next to impossible to create a united Irish nation, with one sole bond, and one single aim, the destruction of British government in this island. This, however, was precisely the great task undertaken by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young Protestant lawyer of Dublin; of English descent by both the father's side and the mother's, a graduate of Trinity College, and who at the time when he first flung himself into the grand revolutionary scheme of associating the Catholics to the body of the nation, was not personally acquainted with a single individual of that creed. It is needless to say that Tone had been a democrat from the very commencement—that is from the commencement of the French revolution. In his narrative of his own life, Tone has given so clear an account of the dissensions which broke up the Catholic Committee, the circumstances which led to his own alliance with the Catholic body, and the first formation of the clubs of "United Irishmen," that

* One of the most noted of these publications was one called "The Case Stated," by Mr. Plowden.

it may here be presented in his own words, in a slightly abridged form :—

"The General Committee of the Catholics, which, since the year 1792, has made a distinguished feature in the politics of Ireland, was a body composed of their bishops, their country gentlemen, and of a certain number of merchants and traders, all resident in Dublin, but named by the Catholics in the different towns corporate to represent them. The original object of this institution was to obtain the repeal of a partial and oppressive tax called quarterage, which was levied on the Catholics only, and the Government, which found the committee at first a convenient instrument on some occasions, connived at its existence. So degraded was the Catholic mind at the period of the formation of their committee, about 1770, and long after, that they were happy to be allowed to go up to the Castle with an abominable slavish address to each successive viceroy, of which, moreover, until the accession of the Duke of Portland, in 1782, so little notice was taken that his grace was the first who condescended to give them an answer; and, indeed, for above twenty years, the sole business of the General Committee was to prepare and deliver in those records of their depression. The effort which an honest indignation had called forth at the time of the Volunteer Convention, in 1783, seemed to have exhausted their strength, and they sunk back into their primitive nullity. Under this appearance of apathy, however, a new spirit was gradually arising in the body, owing, principally, to the exertions and the example of one man, John Keogh, to whose services his country, and more especially the Catholics, are singularly indebted. In fact, the downfall of feudal tyranny was acted in little on the theatre of the General Committee. The influence of their clergy and of their barons was gradually undermined, and the third estate, the commercial interest, rising in wealth and power, was preparing, by degrees, to throw off the yoke, in the imposing, or, at least, the continuing of which the leaders of the body, I mean the prelates and aristocracy, to their disgrace be it spoken, were ready to concur. Already had those leaders, acting in obedience to the orders of the Government which held them in fetters, suffered one or two signal defeats in the committee, owing principally to the talents and address of John Keogh; the parties began to be defined, and a sturdy democracy of new men, with bolder views and stronger talents, soon superseded the timid counsels and slavish measures of the ancient aristocracy. Every thing seemed tending to a better order of things among the Catholics and an occasion soon offered to call the energy of their new leaders into action.

"The Dissenters of the North, and more especially of the town of Belfast, are from the genius of their religion and from the superior diffusion of political information among them, sincere and enlightened Republicans. They had ever been foremost in the pursuit of parliamentary reform, and I have already mentioned the early wisdom and virtue of the town of Belfast, in proposing the emancipation of the Catholics so far back as the year 1783.

"The Catholics, on their part, were rapidly advancing in political spirit and information. Every month, every day, as the revolution in France went prosperously forward, added to their courage and their force, and the hour seemed at last arrived, when, after a dreary oppression of about one hundred years, they were once more to appear on the political theatre of their country. They saw the brilliant prospect of success which events in France opened to their view, and they determined to avail themselves with promptitude of that opportunity, which never returns to those who omit it. For this, the active members of the General Committee resolved to set on foot an immediate application to Parliament, praying for a repeal of the penal laws. The first difficulty they had to surmount, arose in their own body; their peers, their gentry (as they affected to call themselves), and their prelates, either seduced or intimidated by Government, gave the measure all possible opposition; and, at length, after a long contest, in which both parties strained every nerve, and produced the whole of their strength, the question was decided on a division in the committee, by a majority of at least six to one, in favor of the intended application. The triumph of the young democracy was complete;

but, though the aristocracy was defeated, it was not yet entirely broken down. By the instigation of Government they had the meanness to secede from the General Committee, to disavow their acts, and even to publish in the papers, that they did not wish to embarrass the Government by advancing their claims of emancipation. It is difficult to conceive such a degree of political degradation; but what will not the tyranny of an execrable system produce in time? Sixty-eight gentlemen, individually of high spirit, were found, who, publicly, and in a body, deserted their party, and their own just claims, and even sanctioned this pitiful desertion by the authority of their signatures. Such an effect had the operation of the penal laws on the minds of the Catholics of Ireland, as proud a race as any in all Europe! *

"The first attempts of the Catholic Committee failed totally; endeavoring to accommodate all parties, they framed a petition so humble that it ventured to ask for nothing, and even this petition they could not find a single member of the legislature to present; of so little consequence, in the year 1790, was the great mass of the Irish people! Not disheartened, however, by this defeat, they went on, and in the interval between that and the approaching session, they were preparing measures for a second application. In order to add a greater weight and consequence to their intended petition, they brought over to Ireland Richard Burke, only son of the celebrated Edmund, and appointed him their agent to conduct their application to Parliament. This young man came over with considerable advantages, and especially with the *éclat* of his father's name, who, the Catholics concluded, and very reasonably, would, for his sake, if not for theirs, assist his son with his advice and directions. But their expectations in the event proved abortive. Richard Burke, with a considerable portion of talent from nature, and cultivated, as may be well supposed, with the utmost care by his father, who idolized him, was utterly deficient in judgment, in temper, and especially in the art of managing parties. In three or four months' time, during which he remained in Ireland, he contrived to embroil himself, and, in a certain degree, the committee, with all parties in Parliament, the opposition as well as the Government, and ended his short and turbulent career by breaking with the General Committee. That body, however, treated him respectfully to the last, and, on his departure, they sent a deputation to thank him for his exertions, and presented him with the sum of two thousand guineas.

"It was pretty much about this time that my connection with the Catholic body commenced, in the manner which I am about to relate.

"Russell * had, on his arrival to join his regiment at Belfast, found the people so much to his taste, and in return had rendered himself so agreeable to them, that he was speedily admitted into their confidence, and became a member of several of their clubs. This was an unusual circumstance, as British officers, it may well be supposed, were no great favorites with the republicans of Belfast. The Catholic question was, at this period, beginning to attract the public notice; and the Belfast Volunteers, on some public occasion, I know not precisely what, wished to come forward with a declaration in its favor. For this purpose, Russell, who, by this time, was entirely in their confidence, wrote to me to draw up and transmit to him such a declaration as I thought proper, which I accordingly did. A meeting of the

* Mr. Tone's account of the secession of the sixty-eight members from the General Committee is not sufficiently explanatory. Mr. Plowden, an excellent authority on this point, says that it was caused chiefly by dissatisfaction on account of "public acts of Communication of Protestants in the North with France." In particular, the people of Belfast had sent an address of warm congratulation to the society of "Friends of the Constitution" at Bordeaux; and had received an eloquent reply. Communications of this kind, says Plowden, "gave particular offence to Government, who manifested great jealousy and diffidence towards all persons concerned in them." It was to express their horror of co-operating in any degree with such men and measures, that the men of landed property and the prelates seceded. The seceders shortly after presented to the lord-lieutenant a petition or address, which went no farther than a general expression of submissiveness and respect to Government, "throwing themselves and their body on their humanity and wisdom." This was called tauntingly the "Eleemosynary Address."

* Thomas Russell, Tone's most intimate friend and comrade.

corps was held in consequence, but an opposition unexpectedly arising to that part of the declarations which alluded directly to the Catholic claims, that passage was, for the sake of unanimity, withdrawn for the present, and the declarations then passed unanimously. Russell wrote me an account of all this, and it immediately set me to thinking more seriously than I had yet done upon the state of Ireland. I soon formed my theory, and on that theory I have unvaryingly acted ever since.

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman, in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter—these were my means. To effectuate these great objects, I reviewed the three great sects. The Protestants I despaired of from the outset, for obvious reasons. Already in possession, by an unjust monopoly, of the whole power and patronage of the country, it was not to be supposed they would ever concur in measures, the certain tendency of which must be to lessen their influence as a party, how much soever the nation might gain. To the Catholics I thought it unnecessary to address myself, because, as no change could make their political situation worse, I reckoned upon their support to a certainty; besides, they had already begun to manifest a strong sense of their wrongs and oppressions: and, finally, I well knew that, however it might be disguised or suppressed, there existed in the breast of every Irish Catholic, an inextirpable abhorrence of the English name and power. There remained only the Dissenters, whom I knew to be patriotic and enlightened; however, the recent events at Belfast had showed me that all prejudice was not yet entirely removed from their minds. I sat down accordingly, and wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the Dissenters, and which I entitled "An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland," the object of which was to convince them that they and the Catholics had but one common interest, and one common enemy: that the depression and slavery of Ireland was produced and perpetuated by the divisions existing between them, and that, consequently, to assert the independence of their country, and their own individual liberties, it was necessary to forget all former feuds, to consolidate the entire strength of the whole nation, and to form for the future but one people. These principles I supported by the best arguments which suggested themselves to me, and particularly by demonstrating that the cause of the failure of all former efforts, and more especially of the Volunteer Convention in 1783, was the unjust neglect of the claims of their Catholic brethren. This pamphlet, which appeared in September, 1791, under the signature of a Northern Whig, had a considerable degree of success. The Catholics (*with not one of whom I was at the time acquainted*) were pleased with the efforts of a volunteer in their cause, and distributed it in all quarters. The people of Belfast, of whom I had spoken with the respect and admiration I sincerely felt for them, and to whom I was also perfectly unknown, printed a very large edition, which they dispersed through the whole North of Ireland, and I have the great satisfaction to believe that many of the Dissenters were converted by my arguments. It is like vanity to speak of my own performances so much; and the fact is, I believe that I am somewhat vain on that topic; but, as it was the immediate cause of my being made known to the Catholic body, I may be, perhaps, excused for dwelling on a circumstance which I must ever look upon, for that reason, as one of the most fortunate of my life. As my pamphlet spread more and more, my acquaintance amongst the Catholics extended accordingly. My first friend in the body was John Keogh, and through him I became acquainted with all the leaders, as Richard McCormick, John Sweetman, Edward Byrne, Thomas Braughall, in short, the whole sub-committee, and most of the active members of the General Committee. It was a kind of fashion this winter (1791) among the Catholics to give splendid dinners to their political friends, in and out of Parliament, and I was always a guest, of course. I was invited to a grand

dinner, given to Richard Burke, on his leaving Dublin, together with William Todd Jones, who had distinguished himself by a most excellent pamphlet in favor of the Catholic cause, as well as to several entertainments, given by clubs and associations. I was invited to spend a few days in Belfast, in order to assist in framing the first club of United Irishmen, and to cultivate a personal acquaintance with those men whom, though I highly esteemed, I knew as yet but by reputation. In consequence, about the beginning of October, I went down with my friend Russell, who had, by this time, quit the army, and was in Dublin, on his private affairs. That journey was by far the most agreeable and interesting one I had ever made: my reception was of the most flattering kind, and I found the men of the most distinguished public virtue in the nation, the most estimable in all the domestic relations of life: I had the good fortune to render myself agreeable to them, and a friendship was then formed between us which I think it will not be easy to shake. It is a kind of injustice to name individuals, yet I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of observing how peculiarly fortunate I esteem myself in having formed connections with Samuel Neilson, Robert Simms, William Simms, William Sinclair, Thomas McCabe: I may as well stop here; for, in enumerating my most particular friends, I find I am, in fact, making out a list of the men of Belfast most distinguished for their virtue, talent, and patriotism. To proceed. We formed our club, of which I wrote the declaration, and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland. At length, after a stay of about three weeks, which I look back upon as perhaps the pleasantest in my life, Russell and I returned to Dublin, with instructions to cultivate the leaders in the popular interest, being Protestants, and, if possible, to form, in the capital, a club of United Irishmen. Neither Russell nor myself was known to one of those leaders; however, we soon contrived to get acquainted with James Napper Tandy, who was the principal of them, and, through him, with several others, so that, in a little time, we succeeded, and a club was accordingly formed, of which the Honorable Simon Butler was the first chairman, and Tandy the first secretary. The club adopted the declaration of their brethren of Belfast, with whom they immediately opened a correspondence. It is but justice to an honest man who has been persecuted for his firm adherence to his principles, to observe here, that Tandy, in coming forward on this occasion, well knew that he was putting to the most extreme hazard his popularity among the corporations of the city of Dublin, with whom he had enjoyed the most unbounded influence for near twenty years; and, in fact, in the event, his popularity was sacrificed. That did not prevent, however, his taking his part decidedly: he had the firmness to forego the gratification of his private feelings for the good of his country. The truth is, Tandy was a very sincere Republican, and it did not require much argument to show him the impossibility of attaining a republic by any means short of the united powers of the whole people; he therefore renounced the lesser objects for the greater, and gave up the certain influence which he possessed (and had well earned) in the city, for the contingency of that influence which he might have (and well deserves to have) in the nation. For my own part, I think it right to mention, that, at this time, the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of my speculations. My object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government, to which I was led by a hatred of England, so deeply rooted in my nature, that it was rather an instinct than a principle. I left to others, better qualified for the inquiry, the investigation and merits of the different forms of government, and I contented myself with laboring on my own system, which was luckily in perfect coincidence as to its operation with that of those men who viewed the question on a broader and juster scale than I did at the time I mention."

Wolfe Tone was shortly after, on the recommendation of John Keogh, appointed secretary to the "General Committee" of the Catholics, and long labored zealously in their service. But he was not content with mere Catholic agitation. He and his friends continued with unabated zeal in the organi-

zation of the United Irish Society, which he hoped to see swallow up all others.

On the 30th of December, 1791, the United Irishmen of Dublin held a special session, at which they approved of a circular letter which was calculated to encourage similar societies; and to it they annexed a declaration of their political sentiments, and the test which they had taken as a social and sacred compact to bind them more closely together. They also, in their publications, animadverted severely upon the sixty-four addressers. The general disposition to republicanism which appeared in the publications and whole conduct of these new societies, became daily more and more obnoxious to Government: they were chiefly composed of Dissenters: yet several leading men amongst them were Protestants of the established church: it was believed and, constantly preached up by the Castle, that this new, violent, and affectionate attachment of the Dissenters for their Roman Catholic brethren, proceeded not from any sentiment of liberality or toleration, but purely to engage the co-operation of the great mass of the people the more warmly in forwarding the several popular questions lately brought before Parliament.

The truth is that the patrician "Patriots" of Parliament were quite shy of association with the members of the new societies. Some of them were alarmed about French principles of democracy, which could scarcely be expected to be agreeable to a privileged class: others thought that the United Irishmen and the existing Catholic Committee both consisted of low people; and they were possessed by that general aversion felt by members of Parliament against all extra-parliamentary movements.

From that time shyness, jealousy, and distrust subsisted between those new societies and the Whig Club, though the agents and writers for Government attempted to identify their views, measures, and principles, as appears by the newspapers, and other publications of that day. Tone, on his side, who had wholly given up Parliament as a thing not only useless but noxious to the nation, felt the utmost resentment at the members of the opposition for any longer keeping up the delusion of parliamentary patriotism, and avowed that he respected more the Castle members themselves. "They want," said he, "at least one vice, hypocrisy."

The Catholic General Committee had new life infused into it, through the energy of Keogh and the labors of Wolfe Tone.

"There seems," says Tone in his sanguine way "from this time out, a special Providence to have watched over the affairs of Ireland, and to have turned to her profit and advantage the deepest laid and most artful schemes of her enemies. Every measure adopted, and skilfully adopted, to thwart the expectations of the Catholics, and to crush the rising spirit of union between them and the Dissenters, has, without exception, only tended to confirm and fortify both, and the fact I am about to mention, for one, is a striking proof of the truth of this assertion. The principal charge in the general outcry raised in the House of Commons against the General Committee was, that they were a self-appointed body, not nominated by the Catholics of the nation, and, consequently, not authorized to speak on their behalf. This argument, which, in fact, was the truth, was triumphantly dwelt upon by the enemies of the Catholics; but, in the end, it would have perhaps been more fortunate for their wishes, if they had not laid such a stress upon this circumstance, and drawn the line of separation so strongly between the General Committee and the body at large. For the Catholics throughout Ireland, who had hitherto been indolent spectators of the business, seeing their brethren of Dublin, and especially the General Committee, insulted and abused for their exertions in pursuit of that liberty which, if attained, must be a common blessing to all, came forward as one man from every quarter of the nation, with addresses and resolutions, adopting the measures of the General Committee as their own, declaring that body the only organ competent to speak for the Catholics of Ireland, and condemning, in terms of the most marked disapprobation and contempt, the conduct of the sixty-eight apostates, who were so triumphantly held up by the hirelings of Government as the respectable part of the Catholic community. The question was now fairly decided. The aristocracy shrunk back in disgrace and obscurity, leav-

ing the field open to the democracy, and that body neither wanted talents nor spirit to profit by the advantages of their present situation.

"It is to the sagacity of *Myles Keon, of Keonbrook, County Leitrim*, that his country is indebted for the system on which the General Committee was to be framed anew, in a manner that should render it impossible to bring it again in doubt whether that body were or not the organ of the Catholic will. His plan was to associate to the committee, as then constituted, two members from each county and great city, actual residents of the place which they represented, who were, however, only to be summoned upon extraordinary occasions, leaving the common routine of business to the original members, who, as I have already related, were all residents of Dublin. The committee, as thus constituted, would consist of half town and half country members; and the elections for the latter he proposed should be held by means of primary and electoral assemblies, held, the first in each parish, the second in each county and great town. He likewise proposed, that the town members should be held to correspond regularly with their country associates, these with their immediate electors, and these again with the primary assemblies. A more simple and, at the same time, more comprehensive organization could not be devised. By this means the General Committee became the centre of a circle embracing the whole nation, and pushing its rays instantaneously to the remotest parts of the circumference. The plan was laid, in writing, before the General Committee by Myles Keon, and, after mature discussion, the first part, relating to the association and election of the country members, was adopted with some slight variation; the latter part, relating to the constant communication with the mass of the people, was thought, under the circumstances, to be too hardy, and was, accordingly, dropped *sub silentio*."

This was a project for a regular convention of delegates, which was then a measure perfectly legal, as indeed it still is in England.

On the proposal for this convention there was immediate alarm and almost frantic rage on the part of the Ascendency: for the Catholics were by this time over three millions; and the representatives of such a mass of people, meeting in Dublin, and backed by the active sympathies of the fast-growing United Irish Society, were likely to be perilous to the Government at a moment of such high political excitement. Grand juries and town corporations passed violent resolutions against it, and pledged themselves to resist and suppress it. But the committee had taken counsel's opinion, and felt quite secure on the legal ground. Some of the further proceedings may most fitly be given in the words of Wolfe Tone's own narrative, with which we must then part company, not without regret: for his "Autobiography" breaks off here:—*

"This (1792) was a memorable year in Ireland. The publication of the plan for the new organizing of the General Committee gave an instant alarm to all the supporters of the British Government, and every effort was made to prevent the election of the country members; for it was sufficiently evident that, if the representatives of three millions of oppressed people were once suffered to meet, it would not afterwards be safe, or indeed possible, to refuse their just demands. Accordingly, at the ensuing assizes, the grand juries, universally, throughout Ireland, published the most furious, I may say frantic, resolutions, against the plan and its authors, whom they charged with little short of high treason. Government, likewise, was too successful in gaining over the Catholic clergy, particularly the bishops, who gave the measure at first very serious opposition. The committee, however, was not daunted; and, satisfied of the justice of their cause, and of their own courage, they labored, and with success, to inspire the same spirit in the breasts of their brethren throughout the nation. For this purpose, their first step was an admirable one. By their order, I drew up a state of the case, with the plan for the organization of the committee annexed, which was laid before Simon Butler and Beresford Burton, two lawyers of great eminence, and, what was of consequence here, king's counsel, to know

* Some parts of his journals indeed will be found most valuable references farther on.

whether the committee had in any respect contravened the law of the land, or whether, by carrying the proposed plan into execution, the parties concerned would subject themselves to pain or penalty. The answers of both the lawyers were completely in our favor, and we instantly printed them in the papers, and dispersed them in handbills, letters, and all possible shapes. This blow was decisive as to the legality of the measure. For the bishops, whose opposition gave us great trouble, four or five different missions were undertaken by different members of the sub-committee, into the provinces, at their own expense, in order to hold conferences with them, in which, with much difficulty, they succeeded so far as to secure the co-operation of some, and the neutrality of the rest of the prelates. On these missions the most active members were John Keogh and Thomas Braughall, neither of whom spared purse nor person where the interests of the Catholic body were concerned. I accompanied Mr. Braughall in his visit to Connaught, where he went to meet the gentry of that province at the great fair of Ballinasloe. As it was late in the evening when we left town, the postillion who drove us, having given warning, I am satisfied, to some footpads, the carriage was stopped by four or five fellows at the gate of Phœnix Park. We had two cases of pistols in the carriage, and we agreed not to be robbed. Braughall, who was at this time about sixty-five years of age, and lame from a fall off his horse some years before, was as cool and intrepid as man could be. He took the command, and by his orders I let down all the glasses, and called out to the fellows to come on, if they were so inclined, for that we were ready; Braughall desiring at the same time *not to fire, till I could touch the scoundrels.* This rather embarrassed them, and they did not venture to approach the carriage, but held a council of war at the horse's heads. I then presented one of my pistols at the postillion, swearing horribly that I would put him instantly to death if he did not drive over them, and I made him feel the muzzle of the pistol against the back of his head; the fellows on this took to their heels and ran off, and we proceeded on our journey without further interruption. When we arrived at the inn, Braughall, whose goodness of heart is equal to his courage, and no man is braver, began by abusing the postillion for his treachery and ended by giving him half a crown. I wanted to break the rascal's bones, but he would not suffer me, and this was the end of our adventure.

"All parties were now fully employed preparing for the ensuing session of Parliament. The Government, through the organ of the corporations and grand juries, opened a heavy fire upon us of manifestoes and resolutions. At first we were like young soldiers, a little stunned with the noise, but after a few rounds we began to look about us, and seeing nobody drop with all this furious cannonade, we took courage and determined to return the fire. In consequence, wherever there was a meeting of the Protestant Ascendency, which was the title assumed by that party (and a very impudent one it was), we took care it should be followed by a meeting of the Catholics, who spoke as loud, and louder than their adversaries, and, as we had the right clearly on our side, we found no great difficulty in silencing the enemy on this quarter. The Catholics likewise took care, at the same time that they branded their enemies, to mark their gratitude to their friends, who were daily increasing, and especially to the people of Belfast, between whom and the Catholics the union was now completely established. Among the various attacks made on us this summer, the most remarkable for their virulence, were those of the grand jury of Louth, headed by the Speaker of the House of Commons; of Limerick, at which the Lord Chancellor assisted; and of the corporation of the city of Dublin; which last published a most furious manifesto, threatening us, in so many words with a resistance by force. In consequence, a meeting was held of the Catholics of Dublin at large, which was attended by several thousands, where the manifesto of the corporation was read and most ably commented upon by John Keogh, Dr. Ryan, Dr. McNeven, and several others, and a counter-manifesto being proposed, which was written by my friend Emmet, and incomparably well done, it was carried unan-

imously, and published in all the papers, together with the speeches above mentioned; and both speeches and the manifesto had such an infinite superiority over those of the corporation, which were also published and diligently circulated by the Government, that it put an end, effectually, to this warfare of resolutions.

"The people of Belfast were not idle on their part; they spared neither pains nor expense to propagate the new doctrine of the union of Irishmen, through the whole North of Ireland, and they had the satisfaction to see their proselytes rapidly extending in all directions. In order more effectually to spread their principles, twelve of the most active and intelligent among them subscribed £250 each, in order to set on foot a paper, whose object should be to give a fair statement of all that passed in France, whither every one turned their eyes; to inculcate the necessity of union amongst Irishmen of all religious persuasions; to support the emancipation of the Catholics; and, finally, as the necessary, though not avowed, consequence of all this, to erect Ireland into a republic, independent of England. This paper, which they called, very appositely, the *Northern Star*, was conducted by my friend Samuel Neilson, who was unanimously chosen editor, and it could not be delivered into abler hands. It is, in truth, a most incomparable paper, and it rose, instantly, on its appearance, with a most rapid and extensive sale. The Catholics everywhere through Ireland (I mean the leading Catholics) were, of course, subscribers, and the *Northern Star* was one great means of effectually accomplishing the union of the two great sects, by the simple process of making their mutual sentiments better known to each other.

"It was determined by the people of Belfast to commemorate this year the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile with great ceremony. For this purpose they planned a review of the Volunteers of the town and neighborhood, to be followed by a grand procession, with emblematical devices, etc. They also determined to avail themselves of this opportunity to bring forward the Catholic question in force, and, in consequence, they resolved to publish two addresses, one to the people of France, and one to the people of Ireland. They gave instructions to Dr. Brennan to prepare the former, and the latter fell to my lot. Brennan executed his task admirably, and I made my address, for my part, as good as I knew how. We were invited to assist at the ceremony, and a great number of the leading members of the Catholic Committee determined to avail themselves of this opportunity to show their zeal for the success of the cause of liberty in France, as well as their respect and gratitude to their friends in Belfast. In consequence, a grand assembly took place on the 14th of July. After the review, the Volunteers and inhabitants, to the number of about 6,000, assembled in the Linen-Hall, and voted the address to the French people unanimously. The address to the people of Ireland followed, and, as it was directly and unequivocally in favor of the Catholic claims, we expected some opposition, but we were soon relieved from our anxiety, for the address passed, I may say, unanimously: a few ventured to oppose it indirectly, but their arguments were exposed and overset by the friends to Catholic emancipation, amongst the foremost of whom we had the pleasure to see several Dissenting clergymen of great popularity in that county."

It will be seen that on the whole some progress was already made, and much more was soon to be expected in harmonizing the Catholics and Dissenters, at least in the towns. A harder task remained—to make peace between them in the country. In the County Armagh, Peep-of-Day Boys were growing more ferocious, and of course, the Defenders more strongly organized for resistance. As before, the country gentlemen of that county, as ignorant and savage a race of squires as any in Ireland, took part with the aggressors. At an assizes, in 1791, the grand jury passed a resolution declaring that there had sprung up among the Papists "a passion for arming themselves, contrary to law"—and that this was matter of serious alarm, etc. As the usual pretext of the visits of the Protestant Boys, "Wreckers," and other such banditti was to search for arms, such a resolution of the grand jury was neither more nor less than an invitation to continue such visits, and an assurance of

protection to the "Wreckers." These troubles had now extended considerably into Tyrone, Down, and Monaghan Counties: and it stirs indignation even at this day to think of so many wretched families always kept in wakeful terror; lying down in fear and rising up with a heavy heart, or perhaps flying to the desolate mountains by the light of their own burning cabins.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1791—1792.

Principles of United Irish Society—Test—Addresses—Meeting of Parliament—Catholic relief—Trifling measure of that kind—Petition of the Catholics—Rejected—Steady majority of two-thirds for the Castle—Placeholding members—Violent agitation upon the Catholic claims—Questions put to Catholic Universities of the Continent—Their answers—Opposition to project of Convention—Catholic question in the Whig Club—Catholic Convention in Dublin—National Guard.

The first clubs of "United Irishmen" were perfectly legal and constitutional in their structure, in their action, and in their aims; and so continued until the new organization was adopted in 1795. They consisted, both in Belfast and in Dublin, of Protestants chiefly, though many eminent Catholics joined them from the first. The first sentence of the constitution of the first club, at Belfast, is in these plain and moderate words.

"1st. This society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty."

Recollecting the hopeless character of the Irish Parliament of that day, one can scarcely pretend that it did not need "reform;" and as it most certainly would never reform itself, unless acted upon strongly by an external pressure, the idea seems to have been reasonable to endeavor to procure a union of power amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion for that end. It was too clear also that a Parliament so constituted never would emancipate the Catholics—that is, never would tolerate a "brotherhood of affection" or a "communion of rights." It was therefore extremely natural for patriotic Protestants, who felt that Ireland was their country, and no longer a colony but a nation, to take some means of assuring their fellow countrymen, the Catholics, that they at least did not wish to perpetuate the degradation and exclusion of three millions of Irishmen; and thereupon to concert with them some common action for getting rid of this incurable oligarchy, which was the common enemy of them all. This was the whole meaning and purpose of the society for more than three years; and its means and agencies were as fair, open, and rational as its objects. Addresses, namely, to the people of Ireland, and sometimes to Reform clubs in England and in Scotland; articles in the newspapers, particularly in the *Northern Star;* and the promotion of an enlarged personal intercourse between the two sects who had lived in such deadly estrangement for two centuries. When they met one another face to face, worked together in clubs and meetings, visited one another's houses, fondled one another's children, there could not but grow up somewhat of that feeling of "Brotherhood" which is the first word of their constitution, the very cardinal principle of their society.

But this "Brotherhood"—what was it but the French *fraternité!* And their "Civil, political, and religious liberty" was a phrase which to the ear of Government sounded of *égalité* and the *Champ-de-Mars.* The whole of the programme given above, which looks to-day so just and sensible, was then felt to be reeking all over with "French principles." The Government therefore kept an eye steadily on these societies, as will soon appear in the sequel.

The Dublin club, which was formed in November of the same year, 1791, adopted the same declaration of principles, or constitution; but added a "test," which was nothing but a solemn engagement to be taken by each new member—"that he would persevere in endeavoring to form a brotherhood of affection amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion," etc., and "that he would never inform on or give evidence against any member of this or similar societies for any act or expression of theirs done or made collectively or indi-

vidually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation,"—in other words, that if brotherhood amongst Irishmen, and the claim of civil and religious liberty should be made a crime by law (as it was but too likely) he would not inform upon his comrades for their complicity in those crimes.

From this time active correspondence was carried on. A strong address, written by Dr. Drennan, was sent by the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the delegates for promoting a reform in Scotland, in which this sentence occurs—one of many similar suggestions which were undoubtedly intended to lead the way to something more and better than a reform in Parliament. "If Government has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitution, let them coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and not, by an obstinate adherence to them, drive that people *into Republicanism.*" There was another address from the same body, to "the Volunteers of Ireland" (for the wreck of that organization still existed in some places), adopted at a meeting of which Drennan was chairman, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, secretary, and containing still stronger expressions. This document became in 1794 the subject of a prosecution for seditious libel against Rowan the secretary, who was convicted by a carefully packed jury of his enemies, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of five hundred pounds.

In the mean time, parliamentary proceedings were going forward, much in their usual way. A session opened on the 19th of January, 1792; but it is impossible now to take much interest in following the futile efforts of the opposition. Mr. Grattan, who carefully avoided the United Irishmen, could still at least abuse the Government in terms of eloquent scurrility, and did not fail to do so, in moving an amendment to the address:—"By this *trade* of Parliament the king was absolute: his will was signified by both Houses of Parliament, who were then as much an instrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment. Like a regiment they had their adjutant, who sent to the infirmary for the old, and to the brothel for the young; and men thus carted as it were into that House to vote for the minister, were called the representatives of the people."

The country, as well as the ministers had heard all this abuse before, and had begun almost to regard it as a discharge of blank cartridge. Yet the session is in some measure notable for a trifling Catholic Relief measure, introduced by Sir Hercules Langrishe, and rather unexpectedly supported by the Government. In fact it was evident to the English Government that the Catholics were becoming a real element for good or for evil in this Irish nation: they had refused to be extirpated; refused to be brutalized by ignorance, for they would fly to the ends of the earth for education; they had so well profited also by the petty and grudging relaxations already granted them, that a large proportion of them were rich and influential; they were, in short, a power to be conciliated if that could be cheaply done, and so detached from "French principles" and made grateful to the Government. It is not, therefore, surprising to find Mr. Secretary Hobart (of course by orders from England) seconding the motion of Langrishe for leave to bring in this bill. Sir Hercules thus defines the objects of his bill for the Catholics:—

1st. He would give them the practice and profession of the law, as a reasonable provision, and application of their talents to their own country.

2dly. He would restore to them education, entire and unrestrained, because a state of ignorance was a state of barbarity. That would be accomplished by taking off the necessity for a license, as enjoined by the act of 1782.

3dly. He would draw closer the bonds of intercourse and affection, by allowing intermarriage, repealing that cruel statute which served to betray female credulity, and bastardize the children of a virtuous mother.

4thly. He would remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices, which were so necessary to assist and promote trade. He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for removing certain restraints and disabilities under which his majesty's Roman

Catholic subjects labor, from statutes at present in force."

This bill was prepared and concerted by its author in concert with Edmund Burke; and was perhaps as liberal in its provisions as any bill which could at that moment be presented with any chance of success: yet, meagre as it was, it called forth a storm of bigoted and brutal opposition. The General Committee of the Catholics—Edward Byrne, Esq. in the chair—held a meeting and passed some resolutions, which it is somewhat humiliating to read, but which were certainly politic in the circumstances. Here is the document:—

"*Dublin, February 4th*, 1792.

"General Committee of Roman Catholics. Edward Byrne, Esq. in the Chair.

"*Resolved*, That this committee has been informed, that reports have been circulated, that the application of the Catholics for relief, extends to *unlimited and total emancipation*; and that attempts have been made, wickedly and falsely, to instil into the minds of the Protestants of this kingdom an opinion, that our applications were preferred in a tone of menace.

"*Resolved*, That several Protestant gentlemen have expressed great satisfaction on being individually informed of the real extent and respectful manner of the applications for relief; have assured us, that nothing could have excited jealousy, or apparent opposition to us, from our Protestant countrymen, but the above-mentioned misapprehensions.

"*Resolved*, That we therefore deem it necessary to declare, that the whole of our late applications, whether to his majesty's ministers, to men in power, or to private members of the legislature, as well as our intended petition, neither did, nor does contain any thing, or extend further, either in substance or in principle, than the four following objects:

"1st. Admission to the profession and practice of the law.

"2d. Capacity to serve in county magistracies.

"3d. A right to be summoned, and to serve on grand and petty juries.

"4th. The right of voting in counties *only for Protestant members of Parliament*; in such a manner, however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder should not vote, unless he either rented and cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per annum, *in addition* to his forty shillings freehold; or else possessed a freehold to the amount of twenty pounds a year."

That is to say, the Catholic Committee found itself obliged earnestly to disavow the sacrilegious thought of being allowed to vote on the same qualification as the Protestant forty-shilling freeholders; disclaimed with horror the idea of voting for Catholic members of Parliament; and publicly declared to Parliament and to all mankind that they did not presume to aspire to "total emancipation." But humble and scanty as their claim was, it was more than the Langrishe bill proposed to grant them. There was no provision in it for admitting them to the elective franchise upon any terms whatever. The committee prepared a petition, which was signed by some of the most respectable mercantile men of Dublin, and while the bill was in progress, the petition was presented by Mr. Egan. This gave rise to a conversation on the following Monday (20th February). On that day Mr. David La Touche moved, that the petition of the Roman Catholic committee, presented to the House on the preceding Saturday, should be read by the clerk: it was read, and he then moved, that it should be rejected. The motion was seconded by Mr. Ogle. The greater part of the House was very violent for the rejection of the petition. Some few, who were against the prayer of the petition, objected to the harsh measure of rejection. Several of the opposition members supported Mr. La Touche's motion. Even Mr. G. Ponsonby, on this occasion voted against his friend Mr. Grattan. The solicitor-general attempted to soften the refusal to the Catholics by moving, that the prayer of the petition, as far as it related to a participation of the elective franchise should not then be complied with. The attorney-general and some other stanch supporters of Government had spoken similar language; that they hoped quickly to see all religious distinctions and restrictions

done away, but that the fulness of time was not yet come. Mr. Forbes, the Hon. F. Hutchinson, Colonel (now Lord) Hutchinson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Hardy, and Mr. Grattan spoke strongly against the motion and in favor of admitting the Catholics to a share in the elective franchise. Much virulent abuse was heaped upon that part of the body of Roman Catholics which was supposed to be represented by the Catholic Committee. At a very late hour the House divided, 208 for rejecting the petition, and 23 only against it. Then Mr. La Touche moved, that the petition from the society of the United Irishmen of Belfast, should be also rejected: and the question being put was carried with two or three negatives.

The bill itself passed quietly through the committee; and on the third reading, Sir Hercules Langrishe congratulated the country on the growth of the spirit of liberality. The growth was slow, and the liberality was rather narrow: nor would this measure deserve mention—as it was soon superseded by a much larger one—but to show the very humble and unpretending position taken by the only body then representing the Catholics. It must be remembered, too, that war in Europe was by this time imminent and certain; and though England had not yet formally joined the coalition against France, that event was becoming daily more inevitable; and the Government was very desirous, as usual in such moments of danger, to send a message of peace to Ireland, and to show the three millions of Catholics that their real friends were, not those "fraternal" United Irishmen, but Mr. Pitt and the Earl of Westmoreland.

Upon all other questions, the state of parties in Parliament continued nearly the same that it had been for many years; that is, the Castle was always certain of more than a two-thirds majority. Mr. G. Ponsonby, after an elaborate argument, moved for leave to bring in a bill repealing every law which prohibited a trade from Ireland with the countries lying eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; which was lost by 156 votes against 70. On the same day, Mr. Forbes, faithful to his special mission, brought forward his regular Place and Pension bills: they were both put off to a distant day, without a division, though not without some debate. Indeed these attacks on the places and pensions were now more intolerable to the Government and its supporters than ever before; and they were louder than ever in their reprobation of such Jacobin movements, as a manifest attempt to diminish the royal prerogative and bring in French principles.

A singular motion was made this session, which merits notice as an illustration of the shameless and desperate corruption of the times. Mr. Browne moved to bring in a bill to repeal an act of the last session touching the "weighing of butter, hides, and tallow" in the city of Cork, and the appointment of a weighmaster in that city. This office had long been in the gift of the corporation of the city, and the corporation had always found one weighmaster more than enough: but the Government, in pursuance, said Mr. Browne, of their settled policy of "creating influence," had taken the appointment, split it into three parts, and bestowed it on *three members of Parliament.* Mr. Grattan seconded the motion. It was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer on the express ground that it was an "insult to the crown," and therefore a manifest piece of French democracy and infidelity, intended to overthrow the throne and the altar. There was a sharp debate, in which Patriots said many cutting things; and at half-past two in the morning the motion was negatived without a division. Is it wonderful that the minds of honest people were now altogether turned away from such a Parliament? It was prorogued on the 18th of April. The Speaker, in his address to the viceroy, speaks of one gratifying fact, "the extension of trade, agriculture, and manufactures, which has with a rapid and uninterrupted progress raised this kingdom to a state of prosperity and wealth never before experienced in it." But at the same time he let his excellency know, that this prosperity "would soon cease" if they did not carefully cherish the blessed constitution in church and state. "Its preservation, therefore," he continued, "must ever be the great object of their care, and there is no principle on which it is founded so essential to its preservation, nor more justly

dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that which has settled the throne of these realms on his majesty's illustrious house; on it, and on the provisions for securing a Protestant Parliament, depends the Protestant Ascendency, and with it the continuance of the many blessings we now enjoy."

It appears from the studied allusions to the Protestant Ascendency, which in the speech of the Speaker were evidently aimed against the petition of the Catholics for a participation in the elective franchise, that Mr. Foster wished to raise a strong and general opposition to that measure throughout the country: but the speech of the lord-lieutenant imported, that the Government, moved by the impulse of the British councils, was disposed rather to extend than contract the indulgences to the Roman Catholics. His majesty approved of their wisdom in the liberal indulgences that had been granted, but suggested no apprehensions of danger to the Protestant interest, which had been almost a matter of course in all viceregal speeches, to the great comfort of the "Ascendency."

This year was a season of most vehement agitation and discussion upon the Catholic claims. That body, was, of course, greatly dissatisfied with the miserable measure of relief granted by the shabby bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe. Mr. Simon Butler, chairman of the Dublin society of United Irishmen, published, by order of that society, a "Digest of the Popery Laws," bringing into one view the whole body of penalties and disabilities to which Catholics still remained subject after all the small and nibbling attempts or pretences of relief. The pamphlet thus truly sums up the actual condition of the Catholics at that moment, after Sir Hercules Langrishe's Act:—

"Such is the situation of three millions of good and faithful subjects in their native land! Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the state, civil or military; excluded from all the benefits of the constitution in all its parts; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities; expelled from grand juries, restrained in petit juries; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment, occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience; from the bench, from the bank, from the exchange, from the university, from the college of physicians: from what are they not excluded? There is no institution which the wit of man has invented or the progress of society produced, which private charity or public munificence has founded for the advancement of education, learning, and good arts, for the permanent relief of age, infirmity, or misfortune, from the superintendence of which, and in all cases where common charity would permit, from the enjoyment of which the legislature has not taken care to exclude the Catholics of Ireland. Such is the state which the corporation of Dublin have thought proper to assert, 'differs in no respect from that of the Protestants, save only in the exercise of political power;' and the host of grand juries consider 'as essential to the existence of the constitution, to the permanency of the connection with England, and the continuation of the throne in his majesty's royal house.' A greater libel on the constitution, the connection, or the succession, could not be pronounced, nor one more pregnant with dangerous and destructive consequences, than this, which asserts, that they are only to be maintained and continued by the slavery and oppression of three millions of good and loyal subjects."

At the same time the General Committee prepared a "Declaration," of Catholic tenets on certain points with regard to which people of that creed had long been wantonly belied: such as keeping of faith with heretics; the alleged pretension of the Pope to absolve subjects from their allegiance; of clergymen to dispense them from oaths, and the like. All these alleged doctrines the Declaration indignantly and contemptuously denied; and it was signed universally throughout Ireland by clergy and laity. To the Declaration was added a republication of the well-known "Answers of six Catholic Universities abroad to the queries which had been propounded to them, at the request of Mr. Pitt, three years before, on behalf of the English Catholics." The universities were those of Paris, Louvain, Alcala,

Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid. The queries and the answers form a highly important document for the history of the time. We give the queries in full, and an extract or two from the answers—only premising that Mr. Pitt sought these declarations, not to satisfy his own mind, because he was too well informed to need this, but only to stop the mouths of benighted country gentlemen and greedy Ascendency politicians, who would be sure to bawl out against the concessions to Catholics which he in that perilous time and for political reasons was determined to grant.

THE QUERIES.

1. Has the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his majesty's subjects, from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

And the six universities responded unanimously and simultaneously in the negative upon all the three points. The answers are all exceedingly distinct and categorical. That of the university of Alcala, in Spain, may serve as a specimen :—

"To the first question it is answered—That none of the persons mentioned in the proposed question, either individually, or collectively in council assembled, have any right in civil matters; but that all civil power, jurisdiction, and pre-eminence are derived from inheritance, election, the consent of the people, and other such titles of that nature.

"To the second it is answered, in like manner—That none of the persons above-mentioned have a power to absolve the subjects of his Britannic majesty from their oaths of allegiance.

"To the third question it is answered—That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with heretics, or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

"Signed in the usual form. March 17th, 1789."

The learned doctors of some of these universities could not refrain, while they gave their answers, from administering a rebuke to those who asked such questions. For instance, the Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, "Having been requested to give an opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but is struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this 18th century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom [England] that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives."

The publication of the Catholic Declaration, with the opinions of the universities, was very far indeed from satisfying the theologians of the Protestant interest; especially as there came forth at the same time the detailed plan for electing delegates this year to the Convention of Catholics which had already been decided upon. These Papists were evidently preparing to rise a little out of their abject humility. The Protestant theologians thought themselves too acute to be imposed upon by all those fine protestations of Papists, and professions made by Popish universities. Since when, they desired to know, was it held that the declaration of persons charged with systematic perfidy—that they were persons who keep faith—was held to be evidence of their good character? They also cited examples of the Pope having actually, in former ages, absolved, or attempted to absolve subjects from their allegiance. Besides, was it not well known that those universities in France and Spain were full of Popish doctors, who would desire nothing better than to delude the minds of unsuspecting Irish Protestants, and so pave the way for the overthrow of the Protestant Church, resumption of forfeited estates, and fulfilment of Pastorini's prophecies! It seems to have been more especially the "plan" for election of dele-

gates to the Catholic Convention that excited the alarm and wrath of the "Ascendency."

Immediately on the appearance of this plan, a general outcry was raised against it; sedition, tumult, conspiracy, and treason, were echoed from county to county, from grand jury to grand jury. Some legislators, high in the confidence of their sovereign, and armed with the influence of station and office, presided at those meetings, and were foremost in arraigning measures, upon the merits of which in another place and in another function they were finally to determine.

The exaggerated and alarming language of most of the grand juries imported, that the Catholics of Ireland were on the eve of a general insurrection, ready to hurl the king from his throne, and tear the whole frame of the constitution to pieces.

The Leitrim grand jury denominated the plan "An inflammatory and dangerous publication," and stated, "that they felt it necessary to come forward at that period to declare, that they were ready to support, with their lives and fortunes, their present most valuable constitution in church and state; and that they would resist, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of any body of men, however numerous, who should presume to threaten innovation in either."

The grand jury of the county of Cork denominated the plan "An unconstitutional proceeding, of the most alarming, dangerous, and seditious tendency; an attempt to over-awe Parliament;" they stated their determination to "protect and defend, with their lives and property, the present constitution in church and state." That of Roscommon, after the usual epithets of "alarming, dangerous, and seditious," asserted that the plan called upon the whole body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to associate themselves in the metropolis of that kingdom, upon the model of the national assembly of France, which had already plunged that devoted country into a state of anarchy and tumult unexampled in any civilized nation: they stated it to be "an attempt to over-awe Parliament;" they mentioned their serious and sensible alarms for the existence of their present happy establishment in church and state; and their determination, "at the hazard of every thing dear to them, to uphold and maintain the Protestant interest of Ireland."

The grand jury of Sligo *Resolved*, "that they would, at all times, and by every constitutional means in their power, resist and oppose every attempt then making, or thereafter to be made, by the Roman Catholics, to obtain their elective franchise, or any participation in the government of the country." And that of Donegal declared, that though "they regarded the Catholics with tenderness, they would maintain, at the hazard of every thing dear to them, the Protestant interest of Ireland."

The grand jury of Fermanagh, professing also "the warmest attachment to their Roman Catholic brethren," felt it, however, necessary to come forward at that period to declare, that they were "ready with their lives and fortunes to support their present invaluable constitution in church and state." And that of the County of Derry, after expressing their apprehensions lest that proceeding "might lead to the formation of a hierarchy (consisting partly of laity) which would destroy the Protestant Ascendency, the freedom of the elective franchise, and the established constitution of this country," tendered their lives and fortunes to support the happy constitution as established at the revolution of 1688. A very great majority of the leading signatures affixed to those resolutions, were those of men either high in the government of the country, or enjoying lucrative places under it, or possessing extensive borough interest.

The grand jury of the county of Louth, with the Speaker of the House of Commons at their head, declared, "that the allowing to Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to serve in Parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, was incompatible with the safety of the Protestant establishment, the continuance of the succession to the crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, and finally tended to shake, if not destroy, their connection with Great Britain, on the continuance and inseparability of which depended the happiness and prosperity of that kingdom; that they would op-

pose every attempt towards such a dangerous innovation, and that they would support with their lives and fortunes the present constitution, and the settlement of the throne on his majesty's Protestant house." The freeholders of the county of Limerick charged the Catholic Committee with an intention to over-awe the legislature, to force a repeal of the penal laws, and to create a Popish democracy for their government and direction in pursuit of whatever objects might be holden out to them by turbulent and seditious men. They then instructed their representatives in Parliament, "at all events, to oppose any proposition which might be made for extending to Catholics the right of elective franchise:" at this meeting the chancellor was present. The corporation of Dublin in strong terms denied the competency of Parliament to extend the right of franchise to the Catholics, which they called "alienating their most valuable inheritance;" and roundly asserted against the fact, that "the last session of Parliament left the Roman Catholics in no wise different from their Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the exercise of political power."

Some of the grand juries indignantly rejected the proposals made to them of coming to any resolutions injurious to their Catholic brethren. Agents had been employed to tamper with every grand jury that met during the summer assizes. Nothing could tend more directly than this measure of pre-engaging the sentiments of the country against three millions of its inhabitants, to raise and foment discord and disunion between Protestants and Catholics. Counter-resolutions, answers and replies, addresses and protestations, were published and circulated in the public papers from some grand jurymen, and from many different bodies of Catholics; several bold and severe publications appeared during the course of the summer, not only from individuals of the Catholic body, but from the friends of their cause amongst the Protestants. It is scarcely questionable but that the virulent and acrimonious opposition raised against the Catholic petition for a very limited participation in the elective franchise, enlivened the sense of their grievances, opened their views, and united their energies into a common effort to procure a general repeal of the whole Penal Code.

The General Committee of the Catholics, and the United Irish Society were unavoidably coming closer together. In a debate of the committee, Mr. Keogh, a gentleman of great manliness of character as well as power of intellect, fairly said that for a late publication (Digest of the Popery Laws), the United Irishmen and their respected chairman, Mr. Simon Butler, demanded their warmest gratitude.*

At that time the United Irish Society was the only association of any kind which even admitted a Catholic into its ranks. No Catholic could be in the Whig Club; nor would it even permit the Catholic question to be agitated there. This point was decided in a singular debate of the Whig Club in November, 1792, when Mr. Huband, having proposed that the sense of the meeting should be taken upon the course to be pursued by members with respect to Catholic claims—

Some gentlemen decidedly asserted, that they did not think the Catholic question ought to be mentioned or discussed in the Whig Club. They were averse to their having any concern in it, and one went so far as to say, that if it were admitted to be debated in that society, he would with his own hand strike his name out of the list of the members.

* Mr. Plowden, in an apologetic sort of way, says upon this occasion, "It was natural for persons staggering under oppression cordially to grasp every hand that held out relief." Nothing can be more provoking than the affectation of "loyalty" to the House of Hanover which certain Catholic writers, previous to emancipation, thought it needful to make. Plowden, in another place, speaking of the same publication made by the United Irishmen, says:—"It would be unfair, if the historian were to represent the transactions of a particular period from consequences that appeared at a distant interval of time, and the subsequent fate of many of the actors in the scenes. It is his duty faithfully to represent them as they really passed at the time. Merit and demerit can only attach from previous or co-existing circumstances; not from the posthumous issue engendered in the womb of time by future base and unavowed connections. It was not because an individual was guilty of treason in the year 1798, that every previous act or transaction in which that individual was concerned for the twenty, ten, or five preceding years, was affected with the venom of his latter crime."

On which Mr. A. Ham. Rowan observed, that he would be as tenacious as any other gentleman, of remaining in any society where improper subjects were proposed for discussion; but that for his part, he would not hesitate to strip off his Whig Club uniform, and throw it to the waiter, if the Catholic question were deemed an unfit subject for their discussion.

Mr. W. Brown called the attention of gentlemen to the purpose of their association. They placed themselves in the front of the public cause, to further it, not to stop its further progress; the second principle of their declaration was, a solemn engagement to support the rights of the people, etc. Who, said he, are the people? I dare any gentleman to name the people of Ireland without including the Roman Catholics. What! is it a question, shall three millions of Irishmen continue slaves or obtain their freedom! Is it a question to be deserted by men professing patriotism, professing to redress the public oppression, pledged to stand together in defence of their country's liberties? No; it is not.

To desert the cause of the Catholics, would be to desert the principles of their institution, it would be to deserve the calumny thrown against them by their enemies, that they were an opposition struggling for power, not a band of patriots for the public weal; it would rob their names of honor, their rank and wealth of consequence, and it would finally sink them from a station of political importance, down to the obscurity and insignificance of an interested and impotent party.

On the question being put, whether the Catholic question should be taken into consideration or not on Wednesday fortnight, it was negatived on a division by thirteen.

The long-talked-of Convention of the Catholics was actually held in December of this year: the elections of delegates had been regularly and quietly held, in pursuance of the "plan," and the first meeting of the delegates assembled at Tailors' Hall, Dublin, on the 2d of December, 1792; two hundred delegates being present.

While this peaceable convention was holding its meetings, another phenomenon appeared in Dublin, which gave still greater uneasiness both to the "Ascendency" and to the Castle. The National Guard, a new military body, was arrayed and disciplined in Dublin. They wore green uniforms, with buttons engraved with a harp, under a cap of liberty, instead of a crown. Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy; they affected to address each other by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French. This corps was in high favor with the populace, and was always cordially greeted as they appeared in the street or on parade. Government really felt alarm: a general insurrection was apprehended: they pretended to have information of the particular nights fixed for that purpose. The magistrates, by order of Government, patrolled the streets with bodies of horse each night. It was given out from the Castle, that the custom-house, the post-office, and the jail, were the first places to be attacked; and that the signal for rising was to have been the pulling down of the statue of King William in College Green with ropes. Many other false rumors of conspiracies and assassinations were set afloat. In the mean while the National Guards, and all the Volunteer corps of Dublin, were summoned to assemble on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of universal liberty. The summons began with an affectation of Gallicism, "*Citizen Soldier.*" However, the meeting was prevented; and Government issued a proclamation, on the 8th of December, against their assembling. The National Guards did not assemble; and the only persons who appeared on parade were, A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer.

This Catholic Convention, and this National Guard appeared dangerous in the eyes of Fitzgibbon (now Earl of Clare)—the object of his life was the legislative union, and he foresaw that unless conventions of delegates and associations of armed citizens were prohibited and prevented by law, that great measure never could be carried. Accordingly his busy brain was already busy in maturing a series of measures to deprive all Irishmen, whether Protestant or Catholic, of every means of expressing their wishes by delegates, and every means of asserting their rights by arms.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1792—1793.

The Catholic Convention—Reconciliation of differences amongst the Catholics—Their deputation to the king—Successes of the French fortunate for the Catholics—Dumouriez and Jemappes—Gracious reception of the Catholic deputation—Belfast mob draw the carriage of Catholic delegates—Secret Committee of the Lords—Report on Defenders and United Irishmen—Attempt of committee to connect the two—Lord Clare creates "alarm among the better classes"—Proclamation against unlawful assemblies—Lord Edward Fitzgerald—French Republic declares war against England—Large measure of Catholic relief immediately proposed—Moved by Secretary Hobart—Act carried—Its provisions—What it yields, and what it withholds—Arms and gunpowder act—Act against conventions—Lord Clare the real author of British policy in Ireland as now established—Effect and intention of the "Convention act"—No such law in England—Militia bill—Catholic Committee—No reform—Close of session.

The Catholic Convention met under rather favorable auspices. In the course of the summer a reconciliation or coalition had been generally effected between the committee and several of the sixty-four addressers, including bishops. Convinced that his majesty's ministers in England were disposed to favor their pretensions, it was found political in the body to act in concert; and to this accommodating disposition and desire of internal union, is to be attributed the moderation of the public acts of that convention. They framed a petition to the king, which was a firm though modest representation of their grievances: it was signed by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan on behalf of themselves and the other Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by the several delegates for the different districts which they respectively represented. They then proceeded to choose five delegates to present it to his majesty: the choice fell upon Sir Thomas French, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, and Mr. Bellew. These gentlemen went by short seas: in their road to Donaghadee they passed through Belfast in the morning, and some of the most respectable inhabitants waited upon them at the Donegal Arms, where they remained about two hours: upon their departure, the populace took their horses from their carriages and dragged them through the town amidst the liveliest shouts of joy and wishes for their success.* The delegates returned these expressions of affection and sympathy, by the most grateful acknowledgements and assurances of their determination to maintain that union which formed the strength of Ireland. On the 2d of January, 1793, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland attended the levee at St. James's, were introduced to his majesty by Mr. Dundas, secretary of state for the home department, and had the honor of presenting their humble petition to his majesty, who was pleased most graciously to receive it.

His majesty had his reasons. Fortunately for the Catholics, England was at this moment in a condition of extreme difficulty and peril. She was already engaged in the coalition of European powers to crush the new-born Hercules of France. The French, under Dumouriez, had happily driven back the Prussian invaders from the passes of the Argonne. Dumouriez had followed up his successes, entered Belgium and gained over the Austrians the glorious victory of Jemappes. The King of France had already been removed from his throne to the Temple prison; and on the very day when the King of England was so graciously receiving the Catholic delegates, that unhappy French monarch was awaiting his trial, sentence, and execution at the hands of his people: all of which took place a few days afterwards. This event was to be the signal for England to enter actively into the war. Ever since August of last year the British Court had refused all communication with M. Chauvelin, the French envoy, and he was finally dismissed from England immediately on the arrival of news of King Louis' exe-

* Of this extraordinary demonstration, never exampled before, and never imitated since, Wolfe Tone says:—"Whatever effect it might have on the negotiation in England, it certainly tended to raise and confirm the hopes of the Catholics at home. 'Let our delegates,' said they, 'if they are refused, return by the same route.' To those who look beyond the surface it was an interesting spectacle, and pregnant with material consequences, to see the Dissenter of the North drawing, with his own hands, the Catholic of the South in triumph, through what may be denominated the capital of Presbyterianism. However repugnant it might be to the wishes of the British minister, it was a wholesome suggestion to his prudence, and when he scanned the whole business in his mind, was probably not dismissed from his contemplation."

cution. War, therefore, was now inevitable, and war on such a scale and against such a foe as would tax the utmost energies and resources of Great Britain. It was determined accordingly to endeavor to purchase the three millions of Irish Catholics, who make such excellent recruiting material; so that instead of having Irish brigades against them, they might have Irish regiments for them. It was also a part of this policy to detach the Catholics from the United Irishmen, to disgust them with "French principles," and predispose them to look favorably on the Legislative Union. The delegates returned from London, in the complacent language of Mr. Plowden:—"the welcome heralds of the benign countenance and reception they had received from the father of his people."

On the 10th of January, 1792, the Irish Parliament met. The speech from the throne recommended attention to the claims of the Catholics. The House of Lords very early in the session appointed a secret committee to inquire into the state of the nation, with special reference to the troubles in the North between Peep-of-Day Boys and Defenders. The Secret Committee made a most extraordinary report; in which they appear to find no criminal rioters in the North except the poor Defenders. "All, so far as the committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, poor ignorant laboring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion that they were assisting the Catholic cause." The committee further endeavored to connect in some way with those agrarian disturbers, the political demonstrations of the United Irishmen at Belfast and other towns. They report with high indignation:—

"That an unusual ferment had for some months past disturbed several parts of the North, particularly the town of Belfast and the county of Antrim; it was kept up and encouraged by seditious papers and pamphlets of the most dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconsiderable rates in Dublin and Belfast, which issued almost daily from certain societies of men or clubs in both those places, calling themselves committees under various descriptions, and carrying on a constant correspondence with each other. These publications were circulated amongst the people with the utmost industry, and appeared to be calculated to defame the Government and Parliament, and to render the people dissatisfied with their condition and with their laws. *The conduct of the French was shamefully extolled*, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations had been held up of their assistance by a descent upon that kingdom, and prayers had been offered up at Belfast from the pulpit, for the success of their arms, in the presence of military associations, which had been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men associated themselves in Dublin, under the title of the First National Battalion: their uniform was copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waistcoats and striped trousers, gilt buttons, impressed with a harp and letters importing 'First National Battalion,' no crown, but a device over the harp of a cap of liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats had been left at two shops in Dublin. Several bodies of men had been collected in different parts of the North, armed and disciplined under officers chosen by themselves, and composed mostly of the lowest classes of the people. These bodies were daily increasing in numbers and force, they had exerted their best endeavors to procure military men of experience to act as their officers, some of them having expressly stated, that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, had been sent within the last few months to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appeared could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms were drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night by candle-light, and attempts had been made to seduce the soldiery, which, much to the honor of the king's forces, had proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies was to procure a reform of Parliament; but the obvious intention of most of them appeared to be to over-awe the Parliament and the Government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbore mentioning the names of several persons, lest it should in any man-

ner affect any criminal prosecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who had come forward to give them information. The result of their inquiries was, that in their opinion it was incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity of that kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they pleased without any legal authority: and that the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the king's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes *or subscriptions*, etc.," ought not to be permitted.

It is very easy to see the object of this report: it was simply Lord Clare's method of preparing the way for his coercion acts, which were to apply not only to the Defenders but also to the United Irishmen and to the Catholic Convention itself.

The policy adopted towards the Catholics at that time took the form which it has worn ever since, and which may be described in four words—to conciliate the rich and to coerce the poor. This extravagant report of the Lords' committee, giving so overcharged a picture of the insurrectionary spirit of the North, was in order to create "alarm among the better classes," the uniform preparative for coercion and oppression in Ireland.

On the 31st of January the House of Commons took into consideration a proclamation of the lord-lieutenant and privy council, dated the 8th December last, for dispersing all *unlawful assemblies:* and Lord Headfort moved a vote of thanks to the viceroy for this proclamation "to preserve domestic tranquillity from those whose declared objects were *tumult, disaffection, and sedition.*" This occasioned some debate; but the address passed without a division. This proceeding of the House proves that the great Government majority in the House, as well as the Lords, were in full concurrence with the Government in favor of coercion. It is further interesting from an incident which befell at the close of the debate—Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in a very vehement tone, declared, "I give my most hearty disapprobation to that address, for I do think that the lord-lieutenant and the majority of this House, are the worst subjects the king has." A loud cry of "to the bar," and "take down his words," immediately echoed from every part of the House. The House was cleared in an instant, and strangers were not re-admitted for nearly three hours.

He was admitted to explain himself, and on his explaining, the House

"*Resolved, nem. con.*, That the excuse offered by the Right Hon. Edward Fitzgerald, commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for the said words so spoken, is unsatisfactory and insufficient:" and he was ordered to attend at the bar on the next day, when his apology was received, though not without a division upon its sufficiency: for receiving it, 135; against it, 66.—(12 *Par. Deb.*, p. 82.)

Mr. Grattan also expressed himself with some indignation in this debate, on the classing up the remnant of his old Volunteers along with such seditious company as United Irishmen and National Guards: for Mr. Secretary Hobart had read to the House, as part of the outrageous proceedings which had dictated the strong measure of the proclamation, a certain summons of the corps of goldsmiths, calling on the delegates of that corps to assemble and celebrate the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick (from Valmy), and the French victory in the Low Countries (Jemappes). Mr. Grattan was soon to learn that in the application of the new laws which were now to be enacted the remnant of the classic old Volunteers was to be held no more sacred than the most republican United Irish club, or the poorest lodge of Defenders.

On the 1st of February the French Republic declared war against England (which was now known to be the very head and heart of the coalition against France): and on the 14th of that month the Irish secretary, Mr. Hobart, presented a petition from some Catholics, and described at length the measure which he intended to introduce. A few days after, he brought in his "Relief Bill," and had it read a first time. It was opposed by Mr. Ogle, and by the famous Dr. Duigenan. Throughout its passage it was supported by the Court party, because it was a Court measure; and Mr. Grattan, Mr. Curran, and most of the opposition supported it, of course, Dr. Duigenan raked up several times all the most hideous accusations that ever bigotry had invented and ignorance

believed against Papists, in order to oppose the grant of any relief to such miscreants. On the second reading, Mr. G. Ponsonby and Mr. Latouche spoke against it. When the bill was in committee, Mr. George Knox, in a liberal and able speech moved, that the committee might be empowered to receive a clause to admit Roman Catholics to sit and vote in the House of Commons. Major Doyle seconded the motion, which was strongly supported by Mr. Daly, Col. Hutchinson, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. John O'Neil, Mr. Hardy, and some other gentlemen friendly to Catholic emancipation; it was, however, rejected upon a division by 163 against 69.

The bill finally passed both Houses and received the royal assent, on the 9th of April. This act, which was received with so much gratitude, and was extolled as such a triumph of liberality, enables Catholics to vote for members of Parliament—that is, for Protestant members and none other—admits them to the bar, that is, the outer bar—all the honors and high places of the profession being reserved for Protestants—enables them to vote for municipal officers—that is, Protestant officers exclusively—permits them to possess arms, provided they possess a certain freehold and personal estate, and take certain oaths, neither of which conditions applied to Protestants; allows them to serve on juries, but not to sit on parish vestries; admits them, under certain restrictions, to hold military and naval commissions, certain of the higher grades being excepted—and it subjects the exercise of most of these new privileges to the taking of a most insulting and humiliating oath. As this act (33 Geo. III., c. 21.) settled for thirty-six years the whole condition and relations of the Catholics, it is here given in full:—

"33 Geo. III., c. xxi.

"*An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.*

"*Whereas*, various acts of Parliament have been passed, imposing on his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion, many restraints and disabilities, to which other subjects of this realm are not liable; and from the peaceable and loyal demeanor of his majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects, it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued: *Be it therefore enacted*, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That his majesty's subjects, being Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or married to Papists or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or educating any of their children in that religion, shall not be liable or subject to any penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, charging, or discovering of their estates and property, real and personal, or touching the acquiring of property or securities affecting property; save such as his majesty's subjects of the Protestant religion are liable and subject to; and that such parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by persons in order to qualify themselves for voting at elections of members to serve in Parliament; and also such parts of all oaths required to be taken by persons voting at elections for members to serve in Parliament, as import to deny that the person taking the same is a Papist or married to a Papist, or educates his children in the Popish religion, shall not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be omitted by the person administering the same; and that it shall not be necessary, in order to entitle a Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion to vote at an election of members to serve in Parliament, that he should at, or previous to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any statute now in force to the contrary of any of the said matters in any wise notwithstanding.

"II. *Provided always, and be it further enacted*, That all Papists or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, who may claim to have a right of voting for members to serve in Parliament, or of voting for magistrates in any city, town corporate, or borough, within this kingdom, be hereby required to perform all qualifications, registries, and other requisites, which are now required of his majesty's Protestant

subjects, in like cases, by any law or laws now of force in this kingdom, save and except such oaths and parts of oaths as are herein before excepted.

"III. *And provided always*, That nothing hereinbefore contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or alter any law or act of Parliament now in force, by which certain qualifications are required to be performed by persons enjoying any offices or places of trust under his majesty, his heirs and successors, other than as hereinafter is enacted.

"IV. *Provided also*, That nothing herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend to give Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, a right to vote at any parish vestry for levying of money to rebuild or repair any parish church, or respecting the demising or disposal of the income of any estate belonging to any church or parish, or for the salary of the parish clerk, or at the election of any churchwarden.

"V. *Provided always*, That nothing contained in this act shall extend to, or be construed to affect any action or suit now depending, which shall have been brought or instituted previous to the commencement of this session of Parliament.

"VI. *Provided also*, That nothing herein contained, shall extend to authorize any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or possession, any arms, armor, ammunition, or any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns, or fire-arms, or to exempt such person from any forfeiture, or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armor, or ammunition, in the hands or possession of any Papist, or respecting Papists having or keeping such warlike stores, save and except Papists, or persons of the Roman Catholic religion, seized of a freehold estate of one hundred pounds a year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as Protestants now by law may; and also, save and except Papists or Roman Catholics possessing a freehold estate of ten pounds yearly value, and less than one hundred pounds, or a personal estate of three hundred, and less than one thousand pounds, who shall have at the session of the peace in the county in which they reside, taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled, '*An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*;' and also in open court, swear and subscribe an affidavit, that they are possessed of a freehold estate yielding a clear yearly profit to the person making the same of ten pounds, or a personal property of three hundred pounds above his just debts, specifying therein the name and nature of such freehold, and nature of such personal property, which affidavits shall be carefully preserved by the clerk of the peace, who shall have for his trouble a fee of sixpence, and no more, for every such affidavit; and the person making such affidavit, and possessing such property, may keep and use arms and ammunition as Protestants may, so long as they shall respectively possess a property of the annual value of ten pounds and upwards, if freehold, or the value of three hundred pounds if personal, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"VII. *And be it enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit under his majesty, his heirs and successors, in this kingdom; and to hold or take degrees, or any professorship in, or be masters or fellows of any college, to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin, and shall not be founded exclusively for the education of Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, nor consist exclusively of masters, fellows, or other persons to be named or elected on the foundation of such college, being persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion; or to hold any office or place of trust in, and to be a member of any lay-body corporate, except the College of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, without taking and subscribing the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration re-

quired to be taken, made, and subscribed, to enable any such person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church of Ireland, any law, statute, or by-law of any corporation to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled, 'An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him;' and also the oath and declaration following, that is to say:

"'I, A. B., do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion. I, A., B., do swear, that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for, or under the pretence of being a heretic; and I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence, or color, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess, that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey an order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order, but, on the contrary, I hold, that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto; I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or any priest, or of any person whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness, and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear, that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement and arrangement of property in this country as established by the laws now in being; I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege, to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom. So help me God.'

"VIII. *And be it enacted*, That Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, may be capable of being elected professors of medicine, upon the foundation of Sir Patrick Dunn, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"IX. *Provided always, and be it enacted*, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, lord high chancellor or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal of this kingdom, lord high treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, chief justice of the Court of King's Bench, or Common Pleas, lord chief baron of the Court of Exchequer, justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or baron of the Court of Exchequer, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, master or keeper of the rolls, secretary of state, keeper of the privy seal, vice-treasurer, or deputy vice-treasurer, teller and cashier of the Exchequer, or auditor general, lieutenant or governor, or custos rotulorum of counties, secretary to the lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, member of his majesty's most honorable privy council, prime sergeant, attorney-general, solicitor-general, second and third sergeants at law, or king's council, masters in chancery, provost or fellow of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin; postmaster-general, master, and lieutenant-general of his majesty's ordnance, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, generals on the staff, and sheriffs and sub-sheriffs of any county in this kingdom; or

any office contrary to the rules, orders, and directions made and established by the lord-lieutenant and council in pursuance of the act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of King Charles the Second, entitled, 'An act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act entitled, An act for the better execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of this kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there, and for making some alterations of, and additions unto the said act, for the more speedy and effectual settlement of this kingdom,' unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold. exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

"X. *Provided also, and be it enacted*, That nothing in this act contained shall enable any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

"XI. *And be it enacted*, That no Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, shall be liable or subject to any penalty for not attending divine service on the Sabbath day, called Sunday, in his or her parish church.

"XII. *Provided also, and be it enacted*, That nothing herein contained, shall be construed to extend to authorize any Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any person, who hath been or professed himself or herself to be a Protestant at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, and a Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, and that every Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage betwen two Protestants, or between any such Protestant and Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds to his majesty, upon conviction thereof.

"XIII. *And whereas* it may be expedient, in case his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall be pleased so to alter the statutes of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity near Dublin, and of the University of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to enter into or to take degrees in the said university, to remove any obstacle, which now exists by statute law; *be it enacted*, That from and after the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, it shall not be necessary for any person upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university, to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oath, save the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"XIV. *Provided always*, That no Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall take any benefit by or under this act, unless he shall have first taken and subscribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and set forth, and also the said oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled, 'An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him,' in some one of his majesty's four courts in Dublin, or at the general sessions of the peace, or at any adjournment thereof to be holden for the county, city, or borough wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit or dwell, or before the going judge or judges of assize in the county wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit and dwell, in open court.

"XV. *Provided always, and be it enacted*, That the names of such persons as shall so take and subscribe the said oath and declaration, with their titles and additions, shall be entered upon the rolls, for that purpose to be appointed by said respective courts; and that the said rolls once in every year shall be transmitted to, and deposited in the Rolls Office in this kingdom, to remain amongst the records thereof, and the masters or keepers of the rolls in this kingdom, or their lawful deputy or deputies, are hereby em-

powered and required to give and deliver to such person or persons so taking and subscribing the said oaths and declaration, a certificate or certificates of such person or persons having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, for each of which certificates the sum of one shilling and no more shall be paid.

"XVI. *And be it further provided and enacted*, That from and after the first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall at any time be capable of giving his vote for the electing of any knight or knights of any shire or county within this kingdom, or citizen or burgess to serve in any Parliament, until he shall have first produced and shown to the high sheriff of the said county, or his deputy or deputies, at any election of a knight or knights of the said shire, and to the respective chief officer or officers of any city, borough, or town-corporate, to whom the return of any citizen or burgess to serve in Parliament doth or shall respectively belong, at the election of any citizen or burgess to serve in Parliament, such certificate of his having taken and subscribed the said oath and declaration, either from the Rolls Office, or from the proper officer of the court in which the said oaths and declaration shall be taken and subscribed; and such person being a freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant so producing and showing such certificate, shall be then permitted to vote, as amply and fully as any Protestant freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant of such county, city, borough, or town-corporate, but not otherwise."

This law, it may be thought, saved tolerably well the main privileges of the odious "Ascendency;" and still left the two sects, or two nations in the relative position of a superior and an inferior *caste:* but the requirements of English policy at this time were absolute and undeniable. It was however felt by the thoroughgoing Protestants of Ireland to be a sore humiliation thus at last to have to acknowledge the civil existence of Papists at all, and that Papists no longer breathed altogether by "connivance." But the irritation of the Protestant interest was soothed by certain other measures which the Government carried through this session—the Gunpowder Act and the Convention Act. The Gunpowder Act, entitled "An act to prevent the importation of Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition into this Kingdom, and the removing and keeping of Gunpowder, Arms, and Ammunition without license," contained very oppressive provisions, authorizing magistrates and police to make searches for arms; and may be called the first of the regular series of "Arms Acts," with which Ireland is so familiar down to the present day. It was not at all opposed in Parliament: indeed, like all the other Arms Acts, it purported to be a temporary measure, to be in force only until the 1st of January, 1794, and the end of then next session of Parliament. The Government pretended that it was needed just at that time to defeat and suppress the seditious conspiracy which Lord Clare and the Committee of the Lords had discovered; but which did not then exist at all; and which afterwards was occasioned, or indeed rendered necessary, by the atrocious abuse of the very coercive laws which were said to be intended to defeat it.

But the second of these two acts, the Convention Act, Lord Clare's special and favorite measure, stamps that nobleman as the true author and creator of British policy in Ireland, from his own time until this hour. The bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Clare himself. Its real and plain object was to prevent the prevalence of the successful example of the Catholic Convention, and to anticipate a Convention which it was alleged that the United Irish Society was about to convene at Athlone.

This act (33 Geo. III., c. 29) to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his majesty or the Parliament, recites, that the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and declarations, and other addresses to the king, or to both or either Houses of Parliament, for alteration of mat-

ters established by law, for redress of alleged grievances in church and state, may be made use of to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder: and it enacts, that all such assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected, or otherwise constituted or appointed are unlawful assemblies, and that all persons giving or publishing notice of the election to be made of such persons or delegates, or attending, or voting or acting therein by any means, are guilty of a high misdemeanor. The act concludes with a declaration, "that nothing in it shall impede the undoubted right of his majesty's subjects to petition the king or Parliament for redress of any public or private grievance."

This measure gave rise to long and acrimonious debates. When it was in committee, Mr. Grattan made a vigorous speech against it: his chief objection to it was, that it was a false declaration of law, and deprived the subject of his constitutional right of petitioning effectually against grievances by rendering the previous measure of consultation and deliberation criminal. Especially he was indignant that it by implication condemned all previous conventions of delegates which had ever been held, including his own Volunteer Convention. He said—"This bill is said to be an expedient to restore peace; why then is it a *reflection?* Why do the preamble and declaration pronounce every man who has been a delegate, all the Volunteers, the delegates at Dungannon, the delegates of the convention, the committee of the lawyers' corps, and the corps that appointed that committee; the committee of the Catholics, their late conventions, and all the Catholics who appointed that convention—that is the whole Catholic body—offenders, men guilty of an unlawful assembly, and this moment liable to be prosecuted! For so much has the bill in object: not the peace of the country, but reflection on great bodies, the gratification of spleen at the expense of the constitution, by voting false doctrine into law, and the brightest passages of your history into unlawful assemblies. Gentlemen have conceived this bill an expedient to quell insurgents: let them read the bill. It is not a riot act; it does not go against riots that are, but conventions that are not. The title of the bill, as first brought in, was to prevent riots and tumults arising from conventions; but as the bill had nothing to say to riots, and no riots appeared to have arisen from conventions, such title was in decency dropped, and the object of the bill was now professed to be an act against conventions. Gentlemen said a national convention at Athlone was intended. He did believe that such a one had been intended some time ago, but that then it was not so; or if then intended, that it would be trifling and contemptible. His objection to the bill was, that it was a trick, making a supposed National Convention at Athlone, in 1793, a pretext for preventing delegation forever."

All opposition was vain. The Government had fabricated an *alarm*, purposely to get this act passed. Mr. Secretary Hobart's remarks on occasion of this debate, expose clearly enough the whole policy of the Government:—

Mr. Hobart declared, nothing gave him more pain, than that the debate on this bill should have extended to such length, or that it should, on the close of the session, create any thing like a disunion of sentiment. He declared that nothing but the very *alarming* state to which the country had been reduced by a spirit of popular commotion, excited by conventions, usurping the privileges of representation, and assuming to control Parliament, could have induced him to consent to the introduction of this bill; and even the nobleman, who had brought it into the other House, before he had done so, had considered it over and over again, and did not bring it forward until absolute necessity called for some effectual measure to stem the torrent of sedition, at a time when writs had been issued by the society called United Irishmen, for the purpose of assembling the convention at Athlone, and under a conviction, that if Parliament should break up without adopting the bill, which in his idea never did, nor never was intended to meddle with the constitutional rights of the people, the constitution itself might be subverted before Parliament could be assembled.

The act passed: on the final division, the teller in favor of the passage was Arthur

Wellesley. There is not, and never was, any such law in England. From that day to this, it has effectually prevented the people of Ireland from deliberating in an orderly and authoritative manner, by means of accredited delegates, upon their own affairs. It was afterwards the rock ahead which confronted O'Connell in all his agitation. This law it was which prevented his calling together the promised "Council of Three Hundred," and left him only the alternative of inorganic "Monster meetings"—which latter indeed were also made criminal by a prudent interpretation of law.

In this same session of Parliament, and before the passage of the Catholic Relief bill, there was passed a new Militia bill, introduced by Lord Hillsborough, to establish the militia, as his lordship said, "as nearly as circumstances would permit, on the same plan as that of England." The whole number of men he proposed to be 16,000, upon a rough estimate 500 for each county. The new Militia law was one of the most efficient of that series of measures now secured by the Government to enable them at any time to crush down every popular movement which was not to their own taste.

The General Committee of the Catholics had adjourned after dispatching their delegates to the king, and they had left a sub-committee sitting in Dublin, with power to act for them between their rising and their next meeting; but they made a material alteration in its constitution, by associating to the twelve members who then formed it, the whole of the country delegates, each of whom was henceforward to be, *ipso facto*, a member thereof. They then resolved, unanimously, that they would reassemble when duly summoned by the sub-committee, who were invested with powers for that purpose. "We will attend," cried a member from a remote county (*O'Gorman, of Mayo*), "if we are summoned to meet across the Atlantic."

The sub-committee had entered into a series of negotiations with Mr. Secretary Hobart respecting the details of their Relief bill. But although the original demand in the address to the king was for *general relief*, including admission to both Houses of Parliament, it soon became evident to the minister that they would take much less. Wolfe Tone, in his indignant narrative of these proceedings, says:—

"In the first interview with the Irish minister, the two Houses of Parliament were at once given up, and the question began to be, not how much must be conceded, but how much might be withheld. So striking a change did not escape the vigilance of the administration; they instantly recovered from the panic which had led them into such indiscreet, and, as it now appeared, unnecessary concessions at the opening of Parliament; they dexterously seduced the Catholics into the strong ground of negotiation, so well known to themselves, so little to their adversaries; they procrastinated, and they distinguished, they started doubts, they pleaded difficulties; the measure of relief was gradually curtailed, and, during the tedious and anxious progress of discussion, whilst the Catholic mind, their hopes and fears, were unremittingly intent on the progress of their bill, which was obviously and designedly suspended, the acts already commemorated (*Militia, Gunpowder, and Convention Acts*) were driven through both Houses with the utmost impetuosity, and, with the most cordial and unanimous concurrence of all parties, received the royal assent."

In fact, the leading Catholics, whether prelates or landed proprietors, seemed to be, or affected to be, quite satisfied with the poor relief they had obtained: and we find henceforth less and less disposition on their part to join in, or to countenance, the ultra-liberal views of the United Irishmen.* In truth, there was no body of men in the three kingdoms more naturally disposed to abhor "French principles" than the Catholic peers, gentry, and bishops, who thought their own interests safer under the British Government than in the liberty and equality of a republic

* One of the most striking indications of the success which attended the policy of Government to attach to them the leading Catholics, and especially the bishops, and so keep the Catholic body out of the United Irish ranks, appears in the tone of the pastoral letters of various prelates to their flocks, in which they warned them against "nefarious designs" and lawless persons. From this moment, also, the laborious Mr. Plowden, in his useful *Historical Review*, never has a good word for the unfortunate Defenders, or any other Irishmen who did not choose to submit quietly and patiently to the very uttermost extremities of tyranny.

on the French model. The ablest workers, it is true, on the General Committee, John Keogh, McNeven, and Richard McCormick, joined the United Irish Society, which had not yet become revolutionary, republican, and separatist, but which was soon to be forced into that extreme position.

The same session of Parliament of 1793, saw the passage of some measures which had been amongst the favorite objects of the opposition for years. It seemed, indeed, at the commencement of that session as if the principle of Parliamentary Reform were to be admitted and fully carried out. The several great objects which had been urged by the opposition, ever since the last Parliament, with great perseverance and ability, were the Responsibility bill, the Place and the Pension bill. There were also other measures of great consequence, but of less general importance; such as the disqualifying of revenue officers from sitting in Parliament, and the repeal of the Police act. By the Responsibility bill, no money could be disposed of by the sole order from the king, as was before the case; for Irish officers were to sign all warrants; and every warrant and officer came before Parliament. The necessary consequence of such a bill was, that the hereditary revenue was given up, and, like the additional supply, voted annually. The great effect and consequence of such a measure, any man who understood government, must see at a glance.

By the Pension bill all pensioners for years or during pleasure were excluded; and the sum, which then was near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year, was reduced to eighty thousand.

By the Place bill, all new places from the date of the bill were disqualified. Officers of revenue, whose duty required their absence from Dublin, were excluded: and the principle of excluding them all was carried.

Besides the acts already mentioned, the following popular acts were passed in the session of 1793, viz. (33 Geo. III., c. xxv.): "An Act to encourage the Improvement of Barren Land;" (xxxi.) "An Act for regulating the Trade of Ireland to and from the East Indies, under certain conditions and provisions for a time therein mentioned;" (33 Geo. III., c. xxxiv.) "An Act for the support of the Honor and Dignity of His Majesty's Crown in Ireland, and for granting to His Majesty a Civil List Establishment, under certain Provisions and Regulations;" (33 Geo. III., c. xli.) "An Act for securing the Freedom and Independence of the House of Commons, by excluding therefrom Persons holding any Offices under the Crown, to be hereafter created, or holding certain Offices therein enumerated, or Pensions for Term of Years, or during His Majesty's Pleasure;" (33 Geo. III., c. xlviii.) "An Act to remove Doubts respecting the Functions of Juries in Cases of Libel;" (33 Geo. III., c. lii.) "An Act for the Advancement of Trade and Manufactures, by granting the Sums therein mentioned for the Support of Commercial Credit."

But no general measure of reform could be carried. The conciliatory disposition of the Government abated sensibly in proportion as the French successes on the Continen seemed more doubtful. In fact, Dumouriez lost the Low Countries as quickly as he had won them: rather indeed he had given up his conquests to the Allies; having, as is well known, become a traitor to his country. The miserable wretch subsisted for many years on a pension from the English Government, and died in Buckinghamshire, in 1823. It was believed for a time in England that the French Revolution was going back, and that the danger was in a great measure past. They resolved therefore to rely on the trifling concessions they had already made to conciliate the opposition party and the upper classes of the Catholics, and to make relentless use of their new coercion acts in "stamping out" United Irishmen.

The session was closed on the 16th of August, 1793.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1793—1795.

Small results of Catholic Relief Bill—Distinctions still kept up—Excitement against the Catholics—Trials of Defenders—Packing Juries—Progress of United Irishism—Opposed by Catholic bishops—Arrests of Bond and Butler—Prosecution of A. Hamilton Rowan—Last effort for Parliamentary Reform—Defeated—United Irish Meeting in Dublin dispersed by the Police—Rev. Wm. Jackson and Wolfe Tone—Rowan charged with Treason—Rowan escapes—Tone allowed to quit the country—Vow of the Cave Hill—Fitzwilliam's Administration—Fitzwilliam deceived by Pitt—Dismissal of Mr. Beresford—Plan of Mr. Pitt—Insurrection first—"Union" afterwards—Fitzwilliam recalled—Great Despondency—The "Orangemen"—Beginning of Coercion and Anarchy.

The limited and grudging measure for relief of the Catholics had by no means had the effect of destroying the odious distinctions which had so long divided Irishmen of different religious persuasions. The law indeed was changed, but the insolent and exclusive spirit which had inspired the Penal Code; the very marked and offensive disabilities which still left the Catholic people in a condition of legal inferiority, gave the "Ascendency" ample opportunity to make them feel daily and hourly that they were still a proscribed and oppressed race. Great difficulties at first prevailed in raising the different regiments of militia; for although Catholics were rendered capable of serving in them, no Catholic officers were appointed; this marked reprobation of all gentlemen of that communion so directly in the teeth of the act, diffused a general diffidence amidst the lower orders, and it was found necessary to appoint several Catholic officers, before the militia corps could be completed.

Catholics were not yet eligible as mayors or sheriffs, but there was now no legal exclusion of them from the guilds of merchants. Accordingly, thirty highly respectable Catholic merchants of Dublin applied for admission into their guild, but were rejected on the mere ground of their religion. In every part of the kingdom continual efforts were made to traduce and vilify the whole Catholic body, in order to defeat and annul the measures which the legislature had passed in their favor. Never, perhaps, in all the history of the country, had the virulent malignity of the bigots been so busy in charging upon Catholics all manner of evil principles and practices Their indignant denials of these imputations were utterly unheeded. Every town corporation followed the example of that of Dublin, and excluded Catholics even from the poor privilege of belonging to the guild of their trades. The growth and progress of Defenderism, particularly in the county of Meath, afforded fuel to the enemies of the Catholic body, which they studied to implicate in the outrages which were sometimes committed. Painful industry was employed to work up the imaginations of the inhabitants into the expectation of a general massacre of all the Protestants throughout that county. No arts were left untried to criminate the Catholic body; every exceptionable word or action of an individual, however contemptible, was charged on the whole; and the object was now, not so much to suppress the Defenders, as to fasten their enormities on the Catholic body.

On several trials which took place at the assizes for Meath County in prosecuting men charged with being Defenders, the juries were composed exclusively of Protestants. Catholics, it is true, were legally competent to sit on juries, but in every case of prosecution by the crown, the Protestant sheriff took care to show them that they were not regarded as "good and lawful men." Irritated and humiliated by such continued oppression, it is not wonderful if many of the Catholics began to despair of being ever allowed to live in peace and honor in their native land without such a revolution as would destroy both the "Ascendency" and the English connection along with it. Great numbers of them about this time joined the United Irish Society, which was not yet indeed a revolutionary or republican body in form, although its principal leaders were revolutionists in principle, and already foresaw the necessity which shortly after drove them into armed insurrection. The Catholic bishops, it must be admitted (if it be any credit to them), most vehemently opposed the United Irishmen, and omitted no occasion of protesting their "loyalty," and pouring execration upon

"French principles." In the humble address to the King from nine Catholic bishops, we find these strong expressions, which prove a spirit of the most determined submissiveness under oppression :—

"Whilst we lament the necessity that inflicts the calamities of war upon any, even the most depraved of our fellow-creatures, we incessantly supplicate the Almighty Disposer of events, that, blessing your Majesty's arms with success, He may crown you with the glory of stopping the progress of that atheistical faction, which aims at the subversion of every religious and moral principle.

"We look towards that unhappy nation, which is the object of hostility, and acknowledge with humble thanksgiving the goodness of Divine Providence, which, under the best of constitutions, has bestowed on the land we live in, freedom exempt from anarchy, protection guarded against oppression, and a prince calculated by his wisdom and virtue to preserve that happy condition of society."

It is a part of the history of our country that these four archbishops and five bishops did actually bear this high testimony to the freedom and happiness of Ireland, at a time when every accused Catholic was tried before a packed jury of his enemies—when no Catholic could be a magistrate or sheriff, and therefore no Catholic had the least chance of justice in any court—when the unfortunate flocks of these prelates were having their stacks of grain sold to pay tithes to clergymen they never saw, and church-rates to support churches which they never entered.

The government now began a system of active operations against the United Irishmen. Two of their chiefs, Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, the first a barrister, the second a Dublin merchant, had already, in 1792, been summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, charged with having acted as chairman and secretary of one of the meetings in Taylor's Hall, at which an address to the people was adopted, very strongly denouncing the corrupt composition of Parliament. This was construed as an offence against the privilege of Parliament; and Butler and Bond were condemned to be imprisoned for six months, and to pay each a fine of £500. The next leader marked for vengeance was the famous Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the friend of Tone, and one of the boldest of the early chiefs of the Society. It was determined to prosecute him on a charge of sedition, on account of an address "to the Volunteers," adopted at a meeting where he acted as secretary. The address had been adopted and published two years before; yet the government had hesitated all this while to bring him to trial. In fact, arrangements had first to be perfected to ensure the packing of the jury. This was done by making John Giffard, one of the most unscrupulous and indefatigable partizans of the "Ascendancy," one of the Sheriffs of Dublin; he knew precisely on what jurors the Castle could depend. It was on occasion of this trial that the system of jury-packing was thoroughly organized and reduced to an art; it has since that time formed the chief instrument of British government in Ireland.

The prosecuted address was written by Drennan; and its first paragraph will show the nature of the "sedition :"—

"Citizen-soldiers, you first took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies and from domestic disturbance; for the same purposes it now becomes necessary, that you should resume them; a proclamation has been issued in England for embodying the militia, and a proclamation has been issued by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council in Ireland for repressing all seditious associations; in consequence of both these proclamations, it is reasonable to apprehend danger from abroad and danger at home, from whence but from apprehended danger are these menacing preparations for war drawn through the streets of this capital, or whence if not to create that internal commotion which was not found, to shake that credit which was not affected, to blast that volunteer honor which was hitherto inviolate, are those terrible suggestions and rumors and whispers that meet us at every corner, and agitate at least our old men, our women, and children; whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it arises, alarm has arisen, and you volunteers of Ireland are therefore summoned to arms at the instance of government as well as by the responsi-

bility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your constitution. We will not at this day condescend to quote authorities for the right of having and of using arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidst the storm raised by the witchcraft of a proclamation, that to your formation was owing the peace and protection of this island, to your relaxation has been owing its relapse into impotence and insignificance, to your renovation must be owing its future freedom and its present tranquillity; you are therefore summoned to arms, in order to preserve your country in that guarded quiet, which may secure it from external hostility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, superseding a notorious police, or a suspected militia, may preserve the blessings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war."

The address went on to recommend a civil and military convention, which was not against the law at that time, though in the next year the "Convention Act" was passed to prevent all such assemblies.

Upon this the Attorney-General filed an *ex-officio* information. The trial came on the 29th of January, 1794, though the information had been filed as far back as the 8th of the preceding June. Upon calling over the jury one of them was objected against, as holding a place under the crown, but the Attorney-General insisted upon the illegality of the objection, and observed, that it went against all that was honorable and respectable in the land. It was, therefore, overruled by the court. After a trial of about ten hours, the jury found Rowan guilty. This was very unexpected by Mr. Rowan's party. A motion was afterwards made in court to set aside the verdict, and grant a new trial grounded on several affidavits. The motion was argued for six days, and was at last discharged. The grounds upon which the defendant's counsel rested their case were, 1. Upon the declaration of a juror against Mr. Rowan, viz., that the country would never be quiet till he was hanged or banished. 2. Upon the partiality of Mr. Giffard, the sheriff, who had so arrayed the panel as to have him tried by an unfair jury. 3. Upon the incredibility of one Lister, the chief and only witness against him; and 4. The misdirection of the court. The sentence of the court upon Mr. Rowan was to pay to His Majesty a fine of £500 and be imprisoned two years, to be computed from the 29th of January, 1794, and until the fine were paid, and to find security for his good behavior for seven years, himself in £2,000, and two sureties in £1,000 each. The verdict and judgment of the court gave great dissatisfaction to the popular party. Their disapprobation of the verdict was expressed in court by groans and hisses.

Parliament met on the 21st of January; and in March, Mr. Wm. Brabazon Ponsonby presented his bill for amending the state of the representation of the people in Parliament. Mr. Grattan and Sir Lawrence Parsons supported the bill; the government party does not seem to have even taken the trouble to debate the question, being quite sure of the result. On motion of Sir Hercules Langrishe it was ordered to be read a second time that day six months; and so ended all efforts for reform in the Irish Parliament. The Houses were prorogued on the 25th of March.

In the meantime, Hamilton Rowan was lying in Newgate, according to his sentence. The United Irish Society of Dublin voted him an address in his prison, vehemently denouncing the packing of juries, and promising "inflexible determination to pursue the great object of our association—*an equal and impartial representation of the people in Parliament.*" But the government was now determined to treat these extra-parliamentary reformers without ceremony. On the 4th of May, their ordinary place of meeting, the Taylor's Hall in Back lane, was invaded by the police, the meeting dispersed and the papers seized. After this event many of the more timid, or prudent members, fell off altogether from the society; but the more resolute and indignant, especially the republican portion of the body, made up their minds from this moment to re-organize the society upon a distinctly revolutionary and military basis, which they effected in the course of the next year. Their reasons for taking this extreme resolution were—that as the people were not fairly represented in Parliament, and had no hope of being so represented—as the Convention Act had

deprived them of the right to consult on their common affairs publicly, by means of delegates appointed for that purpose—and as even trial by jury was now virtually abolished, so that no man's life or liberty had any longer the slightest protection from the laws, they were thrown back upon their original rights and remedies as human beings—that is to say, the right and remedy of revolution.

A few days before the attack of the police upon Taylor's Hall, a certain Rev. William Jackson, a clergyman of the Church of England, was arrested in Dublin on a charge of high treason. He had come from France, with instructions from the government of the republic to have an emissary appointed by the United Irish leaders who should go to Paris and negotiate for French aid in a revolutionary movement. He had come by way of London; and there Mr. Pitt, who was perfectly aware of his errand and his every movement, contrived that he should be provided with a companion upon his mission. This was one Cockayne, an attorney, who came to Dublin with Mr. Jackson, and affected great zeal in the cause of liberty and of Ireland. Jackson had letters of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who refused, however, to hold any communication with him. He was introduced, however, to Wolfe Tone, and had several interviews with Rowan in prison. Tone at first entered into his views, and undertook to be himself the agent who should go to France; but at the next interview, having conceived suspicions of Cockayne, if not of Jackson himself, he drew back, and declined further negotiation. Rowan, however, was less cautious, and had many interviews with Jackson and Cockayne, in which he endeavored first to secure Tone's services as the French agent, and on his refusal, Dr. Reynolds'. All this while Mr. Pitt and the government were kept fully apprised of all that was going forward; and at length, when it was supposed there was evidence enough to involve Jackson, Tone, Rowan and Reynolds in a charge of high treason, Jackson was arrested, brought to trial the next year, convicted on the testimony of Cockayne, and about to be sentenced to death, when he dropped dead in court, having swallowed arsenic for that purpose.

On the 1st of May, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, now certain of being tried, convicted and executed for high treason, escaped from Newgate prison, arrived in France, and thence proceeded to America. Reynolds avoided arrest by timely flight. Tone was not apprehended; but he was given to understand that the accusation was hanging over him; and was left the option of quitting the country, but without any promise being exacted on his part as to his course for the future. Before going away, he wrote a narrative of the two conversations he had with Jackson. Tone's son, in his memoir of his father, says: "When my father delivered this paper, the prevalent opinion, which he then shared, was, that Jackson was a secret emissary employed by the British Government. It required the unfortunate man's voluntary death to clear his character of such a foul imputation. What renders this transaction the more odious, is, that, before his arrival in Ireland, the life of Jackson was completely in the power of the British Government. His evil genius was already pinned upon him; his mission from France, his every thought and his views, were known. He was allowed to proceed, not in order to detect an existing conspiracy in Ireland, but to form one, and thus increase the number of victims. A more atrocious instance of perfidious and gratuitous cruelty is scarcely to be found in the history of any country but Ireland."

In May, 1765, Tone proceeded to Belfast with his family, met there some of his early associates in the formation of the first United Irish Club, and made some agreeable excursions with them. One of the scenes which he describes in his memoirs is impressive, seen in the light of subsequent events: "I remember, particularly, two days that we passed on the Cave hill. On the first, Russell, Neilson, Simms, M'Cracken and one or two more of us, on the summit of M'Art's fort, took a solemn obligation, which, I think I may say, I have on my part endeavored to fulfill—never to desist in our efforts, until we had subverted the authority of England over our country, and asserted her independence."

Tone had already solemnly promised his friends in Dublin, that if he now retired to the United States, it would only be to proceed thence to France, and labor to form the alliance which he regarded as the grand mission of his life between the French Republic and a republic in Ireland.

In the beginning of the year 1795, owing to certain arrangements between the English ministers and those lately "coalized" Whigs who had been admitted to a share in the administration, Lord Westmoreland was recalled from Ireland, and Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant. This gave great hope and satisfaction to the Irish Catholics and their friends in Parliament. Lord Fitzwilliam was a Whig of the Burke school, a close friend of the Duke of Portland; and it was universally understood that he had not undertaken the government of Ireland save on the express terms that complete Catholic Emancipation would be made a government measure. Indeed, this was well known; for before consenting to come to Ireland he had induced Mr. Grattan to go over and confer with him on the policy to be pursued. Mr. Grattan, of course, made the emancipation of the Catholics the main and indispensable point; and the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam fully concurred, with the distinct assent also of Mr. Pitt. For the due understanding of the cruel fraud which that minister was now meditating upon the Irish nation, it is needful that this previous arrangement of policy should be made clear; and, fortunately, we have the evidence, both of Mr. Grattan and Lord Fitzwilliam himself, in full contradiction to the reckless assertions of Fitzgibbon. Mr. Grattan, in his *Answer to Lord Clare*, says: "In summer, on a change being made in the British Cabinet, being informed by some of the learned persons therein, that the administration of the Irish Department was to belong to them, and that they sent for us to adopt our measures, I stated the Catholic Emancipation to be one of them." And Lord Fitzwilliam, in his letters to Lord Carlisle, makes this explicit statement: "From the very beginning, as well as through the whole progress of that fatal business, for fatal I fear I must call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between me and His Majesty's ministry, previous to my departure from London. From a full consideration of the real merits of the case, as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the state and temper of Ireland, from the year 1790, I was decidedly of opinion, that not only sound policy, but justice, required, on the part of Great Britain, that the work, which was left imperfect at that period, ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, and when this question came under discussion, previous to my departure for Ireland, I found the Cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government. I at first proposed that the additional indulgences should be offered from the throne; the very best effects would be secured by this act of unsolicited graciousness; and the embarrassing consequences which it was natural to foresee must result from the measures being left open for any volunteer to bring forward, would be timely and happily avoided. But to this proposal objections were started, that appeared of sufficient weight to induce the adoption of another plan. I consented not to bring the question forward on the part of government, but rather to endeavor to keep it back, until a period of more general tranquillity, when so many material objects might not press upon the government, but as the principle was agreed on, and the necessity of its being brought into full effect was universally allowed, it was at the same time resolved, that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business, and bring it before Parliament, I was to give it a handsome support on the part of the government.

"I was no sooner landed, and informed of the real state of things here, than I found that question would force itself upon my immediate consideration. Faithful to the system that had been agreed on, and anxious to attain the object that had been committed to my discretion, I lost not a moment in gaining every necessary information, or

in transmitting the result to the British Cabinet. As early as the 8th of January, I wrote to the Secretary of State on the subject; I told him that I trembled about the Roman Catholics; that I had great fears about keeping them quiet for the session; that I found the question already in agitation; that a committee was appointed to bring forward a petition to Parliament, praying for a repeal of all remaining disqualifications. I mentioned my intentions of immediately using what efforts I could to stop the progress of it, and to bring the Catholics back to a confidence in government. I stated the substance of some conversations I had on the subject with some of the principal persons of the country. It was the opinion of one of these, that if the postponing of the question could be negotiated on grounds of expediency, it ought not to be resisted by government. That it should be put off for some time, was allowed by another to be a desirable thing, but the principle of extension was at the same time strongly insisted on, and forcibly inculcated, as a matter of the most urgent necessity."

Lord Fitzwilliam took possession of his government on the 4th of January, 1795. Parliament stood prorogued until the 22d of January. He occupied the intervening time in making some dismissals from office, which created great dismay and resentment in the Castle circles, and proportional joy in the minds of the people. Mr. Grattan was invited to accept the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, but declined. Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Curran were to be made Attorney and Solicitor-General; and these appointments in themselves were significant of a marked change in the Irish policy. But nothing struck the country with such surprise and pleasure, mingled with apprehension, as the dismissal of Mr. Beresford from the Revenue Board. The Beresford family was at that time the most powerful of the aristocracy of Ireland; had the two peerages of Waterford and Tyrone, and had also been so successful in its constant efforts to create for itself a controlling influence by means of patronage and boroughmongering, that it was thought no viceroy could dare to displace a Beresford. In the letter cited before, addressed to Lord Carlisle, Fitzwilliam says: "And now for the grand question about Mr. Beresford. In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt on this subject, I reminded him of a conversation, in which I had expressed to him (in answer to the question put to him by me,) my apprehensions, that it would be necessary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the slightest objection, or say a single word in favor of Mr. Beresford. This alone would have made me suppose that I should be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement if I determined to remove him; but when, on my arrival here, I found all those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified; when he was filling a situation greater than that of the Lord-Lieutenant; and I clearly saw, that if I had connected myself with him, it would have been connecting myself with a person under universal heavy suspicions, and subjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-administration."

This bold step, as it was then felt to be, still further confirmed the joyful expectation, that an ample Catholic Relief bill would soon be brought in and sustained by the government. All the Catholics and liberal Protestants were highly pleased at the prospect. The *Northern Star*, organ of the United Irishmen, published in Belfast, had triumphantly announced Catholic Emancipation as a matter settled. The Catholics generally agreed to put their case into the hands of Mr. Grattan, their old and warm advocate; and it seems highly probable that if the compact made with Lord Fitzwilliam had been observed, and all the remaining disabilities of Catholics frankly removed at once, the insurrection would never have taken place, and infinite misery and atrocity saved to the country. But Mr. Pitt knew well that if there were no insurrection there would also be no union. He had his plans already almost matured; and his chief adviser for Irish affairs was the *thorough* Lord Clare.

Mr. Beresford, the dismissed Commissioner of the Revenue, at once went to England, laid his complaints before Mr. Pitt, and even had an audience of the King. Lord

Fitzwilliam very soon found, from the tenor of the letters he received from Pitt, that the minister was dissatisfied with some of his measures; and disquieting rumors prevailed that he would not long remain in Ireland.

In the meantime, Catholic petitions poured into the House. Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in his Catholic Relief bill; and leave was given with only three dissentient voices. This was of itself a very remarkable feature in Irish politics; and what was even more notable was the fact that no counter-petitions of Protestants were sent in. The nation was in good humor; and the House voted larger supplies in men and money for carrying on the war than had ever been voted in Ireland before. Now the unpleasant rumors became more positive, and assumed more consistence. On the 28th of February, Sir Lawrence Parsons, in his place in Parliament, asked the members opposite if the rumors were true; but received no answer. Sir Lawrence added, "he was sorry to be obliged to construe the silence of the right honorable and honorable gentlemen into a confirmation of this rumor; and he deplored most deeply the event, which, at the present time, must tend to throw alarming doubts on the promises, which had been held out to the people, of measures to be adopted for the promotion of their happiness, the conciliation of their minds, and the common attachment of every class of his majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland, in support of the same happy constitution. If those measures were now to be relinquished, which gentlemen had promised with so much confidence to the country, and on the faith of which, the House had been called on to vote the enormous sum of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, he must consider his country as brought to the most awful and alarming crisis she had ever known in any period of her history."

He then moved an address to His Excellency, entreating him to remain in his government; Mr. Duquery seconded the motion, and used very strong language with respect to the conduct of Mr. Pitt, "who, not satisfied," he said, "with having involved the country in a disastrous war, intended to complete the mischief by risking the internal peace of Ireland, making that country the dupe of his fraud and artifice, in order *to swindle the nation* out of £1,700,000 to support the war on the faith of measures which it now seemed were to be refused."

And now all proceedings on the Catholic Relief bill were suspended, by positive orders from England; and as Mr. Grattan had acted in bringing it forward as a ministerial supporter he could only acquiesce, though with the gloomiest forebodings.

Again, on the 2d of March, Sir Lawrence Parsons made a very violent speech, severely reprobating the bad faith of the British Cabinet with regard to Lord Fitzwilliam. "But the great object," he said, "of the motion he was about to make was to calm the public mind, to give the people an assurance that the measures which were proposed would not be abandoned; that the Parliament would keep the means in their hands until they were accomplished; and that they would not be prorogued until they were fairly and fully discussed. He did not pretend to say specifically what these measures were. The first he believed to be the Catholic bill; and if a resistance to any one measure more than another was likely to promote dreadful consequences it was this. He said nothing as to the original propriety of the measure; but this much he would say, that if the Irish administration had countenanced the Catholics in this expectation, without the concurrence of the British Cabinet, they had much to answer for. On the other hand, if the British Cabinet had held out an assent, and had afterwards retracted; if the dæmon of darkness should come from the infernal regions upon earth, and throw a fire-brand amongst the people, he could not do more to promote mischief. The hopes of the public were raised, and in one instant they were blasted. If the House did not resent that insult to the nation and to themselves, they would in his mind be most contemptible; for although a majority of the people might submit to be mocked in so barefaced a manner, the case was not as formerly, when all the Parliament of Ireland was against the Catholics; and to back them, the force

of England." Now, although the claim of the Catholics was well known and understood, not one petition controverting it had been presented from Protestants in any part of Ireland. No remonstrance appeared, no county meeting had been held. What was to be inferred from all this, but that the sentiments of the Protestants were for the emancipation of the Catholics? A meeting was held on Saturday last at the Royal Exchange of the merchants and traders of the metropolis, which was as numerously attended as the limits of that building would admit. The Governor of the Bank of Ireland was in the chair. An address was resolved on to His Excellency Lord Fitzwilliam, full of affection, and resolutions strong as they could be in countenance of the Catholic claim. He would ask them, was the British minister to control all the interests, talents, and inclinations in that country? He protested to God, that in all the history he had read, he had never met with a parallel of such ominous infatuation as that by which he appeared to be led. "Let them persevere," said he, "and you must increase your army to myriads; every man must have five or six dragoons in his house." Sir Lawrence ended with a motion to limit the Money bill; but this motion was voted down by a large majority. Members could hardly yet believe that so great a villany was intended. Mr. Conolly, however, remarked "that he would vote for it if he did not hear something satisfactory"—namely about the retention of Lord Fitzwilliam. Within a few days after Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled from Ireland. No more was heard about Catholic Relief for nearly forty years. Lord Camden succeeded as viceroy, and the country was delivered over to its now inevitable ordeal of slaughter and desolation; an ordeal which, in Mr. Pitt's opinion, was needful to pave the way for the Legislative Union. Mr. Plowden has very truly described the effect of these transactions upon the nation:—

"The report of Earl Fitzwilliam's intended removal was no sooner credited, than an universal despondency, in some instances bordering on desperation, seized the whole nation. Meetings were formed throughout the kingdom, in order to convey to their beloved and respected Governor, their high sense of his virtue and patriotism, and their just indignation at his and their country's enemies. The deep and settled spirit of discontent which at this time pervaded all ranks of people, was not confined to the Catholics. The Dissenters and as many of the Protestants of the establishment, as had not an interest in that monopoly of power and influence, which Earl Fitzwilliam had so openly attacked and so fearfully alarmed, felt the irresistible effect: all good Irishmen beheld with sorrow and indignation, the reconciliation of all parties, interests, and religions defeated, the cup of national union dashed from their eager lips, and the spirit of discord let loose upon the kingdom with an enlarged commission to inflame, aggravate, and destroy. Such were the feelings, and such the language of those who deplored the removal of that nobleman, in the critical moment of giving peace, strength, and prosperity to their country. And how large a part of the Irish nation lamented the loss of their truly patriotic Governor, may be read in the numberless addresses and resolutions that poured in upon him both before and after his actual departure, expressive of their grief, despair, and indignation at that ominous event. They came from every description of persons, but from Right Boys, Defenders, and the old dependants upon the castle." The people of Ireland, of all sects and classes seemed seized with a sudden undefined horror at the prospects before them. They saw that a great opportunity was lost. And they had no mortal quarrel with one another, save the quarrel always made for them, always forced on them, by an English minister sitting safe in his Cabinet at Westminster. Many on both sides who were destined soon to meet in deadly struggle could have prayed that this cup might pass. On the 25th of March, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland, when the resentment, grief, and indignation of the public were most strongly marked. It was a day of general gloom: the shops were shut; no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water side by

some of the most respectable citizens, and cordial sorrow appeared on every countenance. The reception of Earl Camden, who arrived in Dublin five days after, wore a very different complexion; displeasure appeared generally: many strong traits of disapprobation were exhibited, and some of the populace were so outrageous, that it became necessary to call out a military force in order to quell the disturbances that ensued.

Still the rage for meetings and addresses continued. On the 9th of April a most numerous and respectable meeting of the Catholics was had in their chapel in Francis street, to receive the report of their delegates, who had presented their petition at St. James': when Mr. Keogh reported, that in execution of their mission, they had on the 13th of March presented their petition to His Majesty, and had received what was generally termed a gracious reception. That they had afterwards felt it their duty to request an audience with the Duke of Portland, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to receive such information as he should think fit to impart relative to His Majesty's determination on the subject of their address. That his grace declined giving any information whatever, save that His Majesty had imparted his pleasure thereon to the Lord-Lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel through which that information should pass. Here their mission was determined. Mr. Keogh continued to deliver his sentiments upon the critical situation of affairs, and amongst many strong things, which fell from him, one observation gave particular offence to government. He was not, he said, sorry that the measure had been attempted, though it had been defeated: for it pointed out one fact at least, in which the feelings of every Irishman were interested, and by which the Irish Legislature would be roused to a sense of its own dignity. It showed that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Irish Parliament was competent, were to be previously adjusted by a British Cabinet. Whilst this debate was going on, a very large party of the young men of the college came into the chapel, and were most honorably received. Some of them joined in the debate. They came that hour from presenting an address to Mr. Grattan, to thank and congratulate him upon his patriotic efforts in the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and the reform of those abuses, which had inflamed public indignation, to which Mr. Grattan made an appropriate answer. Every patriotic Irishman must look back with unavailing regret to the lost opportunity, or rather to the cruel deception, of Lord Fitzwilliam's short administration. There was really at that moment a disposition to bury the hatchet of strife. At no subsequent period, down to this day, were the two nations which make up the Irish population, so well disposed to amalgamate and unite. But that did not suit the exigencies of British policy. There was to be an insurrection, in order that there might be a Legislative Union. In this same eventful year of 1795, British policy was materially aided by a new and portentous institution—the *Orange Society*. The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the absolute and most inevitable despair of obtaining either Reform of Parliament or Catholic Emancipation under the existing order of things, had driven vast numbers of the people, of both religions, into the United Irish Society. A spirit of union and fraternity was spreading fast. "Then," says Mr. Plowden, "the gentlemen in place became frightfully alarmed for their situations; active agents were sent down to Armagh, to turn the ferocity and fanaticism of the *Peep of Day Boys* into a religious contest with the Catholics, under the specious appearance of zeal for Church and King. Personal animosity was artfully converted into religious rancor; and for the specious purpose of taking off the stigma of delinquency, the appellation of *Peep of Day Boys* was changed into that of *Orangemen*." It was in the northern part of Armagh County that this bloody association originated, and Mr. Thomas Verner enjoyed the bad eminence of being its first "Grand Master." Their test is said to have been: "In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B., do solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support the King and the present government; and I do further swear, that I will use my utmost exertions

to exterminate all the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland." But this oath, being secret, has latterly been denied by the Orangemen of respectability and consequence. It has been generally credited, that it was taken by all the original lodges, and continued afterwards to be taken by the lower classes. The Orange oath is given in the above terms in a pamphlet published in 1797, called "A View of the Present State of Ireland," which is attributed to Arthur O'Connor. But whatever may have been the original form of engagement, or however it may have since been changed by more politic "Grand Masters," nothing is more certain than that the Orange Society did immediately and most seriously apply themselves to the task of exterminating the Catholics. There is quite as little doubt that this shocking society was encouraged by the government, and by most of the magistrates and country gentlemen to keep alive religious animosity, and prevent the spread of the United Irish organization. An union of Irishmen, upon the just, liberal, and fraternal basis of this organization, would have rendered impossible that other "Union" on which Mr. Pitt had set his heart—the Union of Ireland with England. The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam and the arrival of Lord Camden gave the signal for the bloody anarchy, through which Ireland was doomed to pass for the next four years, and which, it was deliberately calculated, was to end in her extinction as a nation.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1795—1797.

"To Hell or Connaught"—"Vigor beyond the Law"—Lord Carhampton's Vigor—Insurrection Act—Indemnity Act—The latter an invitation to Magistrates to break the law—Mr. Grattan on the Orangemen—His Resolution—The Acts Passed—Opposed by Grattan, Parsons, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Insurrection Act destroys Liberty of the Press—Suspension of Habeas Corpus—U. I. Society—New Members—Lord E. Fitzgerald—Mac Neven—Emmet—Wolf Tone at Paris—His Journal—Clarke—Carnot—Hoche—Bantry Bay Expedition—Account of, in Tone's Journal—Fleet Anchors in Bantry Bay—Account of the affair by Secret Committee of the Lords—Government fully Informed of all the Projects.

THE chief object of the government and its agents was now to invent and disseminate fearful rumors of intended massacres of all the Protestant people by the Catholics. Dr. Madden says: "Efforts were made to infuse into the mind of the Protestant feelings of distrust to his Catholic fellow-countrymen. Popish plots and conspiracies were fabricated with a practical facility, which some influential authorities conceived it no degradation to stoop to; and alarming reports of these dark confederations were circulated with a restless assiduity." The effects were soon apparent in the atrocities committed by the Orangemen in Armagh, and by the magistrates and military in other countries. The persecuted "Defenders" of Armagh made some feeble attempts to protect themselves, though almost without arms. This resistance led to the transaction called "Battle of the Diamond," near the village of that name, on the 21st of September, 1795. Several writers have alleged that the Catholics invited this conflict by a challenge sent to the Orangemen. Of course, the latter, having abundance of arms, and being sure of the protection of the magistrates, were not slow to accept such an invitation; but nothing can be more absurd than to term the affair a battle. Not one of the Orange party was killed or wounded. Four or five Defenders were killed, and a proportionate number wounded; and this is the glorious battle that has been toasted at Orange banquets from that day to the present. Mr. Emmet* thus describes the transaction: "The Defenders were speedily defeated with the loss of some few killed and left on the field of battle, besides the wounded, whom they carried away. * * The Catholics, after this, never attempted to make a stand, but the Orangemen commenced a persecution of the blackest dye. They would no longer permit a Catholic to exist in the country. They posted up on the cabins of these unfortunate victims this pithy notice, "To Hell or Connaught;" and appointed a limited time in which the necessary removal of persons and property was to be made. If, after the expiration of that period, the notice had not been complied with, the Orangemen assembled, destroyed the furniture, burned the habitations, and

* Pieces of Irish History.

forced the ruined families to fly elsewhere for shelter." Mr. Emmet adds, "While these outrages were going on, the resident magistrates were not found to resist them, and in some instances were even more than inactive spectators." Dr. Madden has preserved and printed a number of the "notices," ill-spelled, but sufficiently intelligible, which were posted on the cabin doors. But the Orangemen by no means confined themselves to mere forcible ejectment of their enemies. Many fearful murders were committed on the unresisting people; and what gives perhaps the clearest idea of the persecution is the fact that *seven thousand* persons were estimated in the next year to have been either killed or driven from their homes in that one small county alone.* But the unhappy outcasts, even when they escaped with their lives, had no shelter to fly to. In most cases they could only wander on the mountains until either death relieved them, or they were arrested and imprisoned; while the younger men were sent, without ceremony, to one of the "tenders," then lying in various seaports, and thence transferred on board British men-of-war. This was the device originally of Lord Carhampton, then commanding in Ireland. It was called a "vigor beyond the law;" a delicate phrase which has since come very much into use to describe outrages committed by magistrates *against* the law. During all the rest of this year the greater part of Leinster, with portions of Ulster and Munster, were in the utmost terror and agony; the Orange magistrates, aided by the troops, arresting and imprisoning, without any charge, multitudes of unoffending people, under one pretext or another. It is right to present a sample of the story as told by "loyal men." Thus, then, the matter is represented by Sir Richard Musgrave, p. 145: "Lord Carhampton, finding that the laws were silent and inoperative in the counties which he visited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable subjects, *who in most places were obliged to fly from their habitations*, resolved to restore them to their usual energy, by the following salutary system of severity: 'In each county he assembled the most respectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges against the leaders of this banditti, who were in prison, but defied justice, he, with the concurrence of these gentlemen, sent the most nefarious of them on board a tender, stationed at Sligo, to serve in His Majesty's navy.'" There is no doubt that great numbers of people were obliged to fly from their habitations; but then these were the very people whom Lord Carhampton and the magistrates called banditti, and sent to the tender as "nefarious." Such is, however, a specimen of the history of these times as told upon Orange authority.

In the midst of these painful scenes, Parliament assembled on the 21st of January, 1796. Lord Camden, in his speech from the throne, congratulated them on "the brilliant successes of the Austrian armies upon the Rhine;" and then, alluding to dangerous secret societies, he intimated that certain additional powers would be called for; in other words, martial law. The Attorney-General lost no time in bringing forward an Insurrection Act and an Indemnity Act—the latter being for the purpose of indemnifying magistrates and military officers against the consequences of any of their illegal outrages upon the people.

Mr. Curran wished to know the extent and nature of that delinquency, which it was intended to indemnify; when Mr. M. Beresford observed, the word *delinquency* was not applicable to the persons intended; a part of the country was alarmingly disturbed; the magistrates and others invested with power had, in order to prevent the necessity of proclaiming martial law universally, acted in that particular district, as if martial law were proclaimed: this conduct, so far from being delinquency, was justifiable and laudable, and of happy consequence in the event.

On the 28th of the month, the Attorney-General adverted to the notice he had given on the first night of the session, of his intention of bringing in two bills: the

* Mr. Plowden, who is as hostile to the Defenders as any Orangeman, says from five to seven thousand. O'Connor, Emmet and MacNeven, in their Memoirs of the Union, say "seven thousand driven from their homes."

object of one of them was, for preventing in future insurrections, and tumults, and riots in this kingdom; and the object of the other bill was, to indemnify certain magistrates and others, who, in their exertions for the preservation of the public tranquillity, might have acted *against the forms and rules of law;* he stated that the bill for the more effectually preventing of insurrections, tumults, and riots, by persons styling themselves Defenders, and other disorderly persons, was, however repugnant to his feelings.

He said, that the act then in force for administering unlawful oaths was not sufficiently strong, and the administering of unlawful oaths was the source of all the treasonable actions which had taken place in the country: the bill proposed, that the administering of unlawful oaths should be felony of death; but he would propose, that that bill should be but a temporary law; there was also a clause in the bill to enable the magistrates, at the quarter sessions, to take up all idle vagrants and persons who had no visible means of earning a livelihood, and send them to serve on board the fleet; he said he did not propose to hurry this bill through the House, but give time for the consideration, as it might be necessary to add much, and make several alterations. He then moved for leave "to bring in a bill for the more effectual prevention of insurrections, tumults, and riots, by persons styling themselves Defenders, and other disorderly persons;" and leave was given to bring in the bill. Then he moved for leave "to bring in a bill for indemnifying such magistrates and others, who might have, since the 1st of January, 1795, exceeded the ordinary forms and rules of law for the preservation of the public peace, and suppression of insurrection prevailing in some parts of this kingdom."

There was earnest opposition against these two bills, but without effect: they were both passed into laws; and they had the effect, which they were certainly intended to have, of exciting, or at least hastening, the insurrection of 1798. It is observable that the motive assigned by the government officials for passing these laws was always the outrages and alleged secret associations of *Defenders.* Not a word was said about the real outrages and exterminating oaths of Orangemen. Indeed, the measures in question were really directed not against either Defenders or Orangemen, but against the United Irishmen, the only association of which the government had the slightest fear. Besides the two bills, the Attorney-General proposed four supplemental resolutions asserting the necessity of giving enlarged powers to magistrates to search for arms and to make arrests. On the reading of these resolutions, Mr. Grattan observed, that he had heard the right honorable gentleman's statement, and did not suppose it to be inflamed; but he must observe at the same time it was partial; he did, indeed, expatiate very fully and justly on the offences of the Defenders; but with respect to another description of insurgents, whose barbarities had excited general abhorrence, he had observed a complete silence; that he had proceeded to enumerate the counties that were afflicted by disturbances, and he had omitted Armagh;—of that, neither had he comprehended the outrages in his general description, nor in his particular enumeration: of those outrages, he had received the most dreadful accounts; that their object was the extermination of all the Catholics of that county; it was a persecution conceived in the bitterness of bigotry, carried on with the most ferocious barbarity, by a banditti, who being of the religion of the state, had committed with the greater audacity and confidence, the most horrid murders, and had proceeded from robbery and massacre to extermination; that they had repealed, by their own authority, all the laws lately passed in favor of the Catholics, had established in the place of those laws, the inquisition of a mob, resembling Lord George Gordon's fanatics, equaling them in outrage, and surpassing them far in perseverance and success.

That their modes of outrage were as various as they were atrocious; they sometimes forced, by terror, the masters of families to dismiss their Catholic servants—they sometimes forced landlords, by terror, to dismiss their Catholic tenantry—they seized as deserters, numbers of Catholic weavers—

sent them to the county jail, transmitted them to Dublin, where they remained in close prison, until some lawyers, from compassion, pleaded their cause, and procured their enlargement, nothing appearing against them of any kind whatsoever. Those insurgents, who called themselves Orange Boys, or Protestant Boys, that is, a banditti of murderers, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty—those insurgents had organized their rebellion, and formed themselves into a committee, who sat and tried the Catholic weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended falsely and illegally as deserters. That rebellious committtee, they called the committee of elders, who, when the unfortunate Catholic was torn from his family and his loom, and brought before them, in judgment upon his case—if he gave them liquor or money, they sometimes discharged him—otherwise they sent him to a recruiting office as a deserter. They had very generally given the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings, which notice was plastered on the house, and conceived in these short but plain words: "Go to Hell, Connaught won't receive you—fire and faggot. Will Tresham and John Thrust-out." That they followed these notices by a faithful and punctual execution of the horrid threat—soon after visited the house, robbed the family, and destroyed what they did not take, and finally completed the atrocious persecutions by forcing the unfortunate inhabitants to leave their land, their dwellings, and their trade, and to travel with their miserable family, and with whatever their miserable family could save from the wreck of their houses and tenements, and take refuge in villages, as fortifications against invaders, where they described themselves, as he had seen in their affidavits, in the following manner: "We, (mentioning their names,) formerly of Armagh, weavers, now of no fixed place of abode or means of living, &c." In many instances this banditti of persecution threw down the houses of the tenantry, or what they called racked the house, so that the family must fly or be buried in the grave of their own cabin. The extent of the murders that had been committed by that atrocious and rebellious banditti he had heard, but had not heard them so ascertained as to state them to that house; but from all the inquiries he could make he collected, that the Catholic inhabitants of Armagh had been actually put out of the protection of the law; that the magistrates had been supine or partial, and that the horrid banditti had met with complete success and, from the magistracy, with very little discouragement. This horrid persecution, this abominable barbarity, and this general extermination had been acknowledged by the magistrates, who found the evil had now proceeded to so shameful an excess, that it had at length obliged them to cry out against it. On the 28th of December, thirty of the magistrates had come to the following resolution, which was evidence of the designs of the insurgents, and of their success: "*Resolved*, That it appears to this meeting, that the County of Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they abandon immediately their lands and habitations."

The "Insurrection act" was intended to give magistrates most unlimited powers to arrest and imprison, and search houses for arms; the other act, called of "Indemnity," was an actual invitation to break the law. Mr. Grattan, whose speeches, more than any records or documents, illustrate this period of the history of his country, commenting on this latter act, says: "A bill of indemnity went to secure the offending magistrates against the consequences of their outrages and illegalities; that is to say, in our humble conception, the poor were stricken out of the protection of the law, and the rich out of its penalties; and then another bill was passed to give such lawless proceedings against His Majesty's subjects continuation, namely, a bill to enable the magistrates to perpetrate by law, those offences which they had before committed against it; a bill to legalize outrage, to barbarize law, and to give the law itself the cast and color of outrage. By such a bill, the magistrates were enabled, without legal

process, to send on board a tender His Majesty's subjects, and the country was divided into two classes, or formed into two distinct nations, living under the same King, and inhabiting the same island; one consisting of the King's magistrates, and the other of the King's subjects; the former without restraint, and the latter without privilege."

Both the bills passed; but amongst those who opposed them to the last in the House of Commons, by the side of Mr. Grattan and Sir Lawrence Parsons, it is with pleasure that one finds the honored name of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The debates on these bills and resolutions furnish perhaps the most authentic documents for the history of the time, and especially for the lawless outrages which were then devastating the north of Ireland. One of the Attorney-General's resolutions spoke of the necessity of punishing persons who "seized by force the arms of His Majesty's subjects." Mr. Grattan moved an amendment, to add "and also the persons of His Majesty's subjects, and to force them to abandon their lands and habitations;" and in the third resolution, after the words "murdering those who had spirit to give information," to add, "also attempting to seize the persons, and obliging His Majesty's subjects, by force, to abandon their lands and habitations."

But the amendment, as it evidently contemplated the protection of the unhappy Catholics of Armagh County, was opposed by the Attorney-General, and rejected as a matter of course.

One of the clauses of the "Insurrection act" was vehemently, but vainly, opposed by Sir Lawrence Parsons: it was to empower any two magistrates to seize upon persons who should publish or sell a newspaper or pamphlet which they, the two magistrates, should deem seditious, and without any form of trial to send them on board the fleet. This was a total annihilation of the Press, saving only the Castle Press.

When it is recollected that the magistracy and Protestant country gentlemen of Ireland were at that time inflamed with the most furious rage against their Catholic countrymen, and were besides purposely excited by rumors of intended Popish risings for the extirpation of Protestants, (which many of them, in their ignorance, believed,) it will be seen what a terrible power these acts conferred upon them. They naturally conceived, and very justly, that the law now made it a merit on their part to *break* the law, provided it were done to the oppression and ruin of the Catholic people; and felt that they were turned loose with a full commission to burn, slay, rob, and ravish. It will be seen that they largely availed themselves of these privileges. There was but one thing now wanted; and this was the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act. This was supplied in the next session of Parliament, which took place on the 13th of October; and from that moment Ireland stood utterly stripped naked of all law and government.

In the meantime the United Irish Society had been steadily increasing and busily laboring and negotiating. Some valuable members had lately joined it, in despair of any peaceable or constitutional remedy. The chief of these was the generous and gallant Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the then Duke of Leinster, formerly a Major in the British army, and who had served under Cornwallis against the Americans. Since his return to Europe he had several times visited the Continent, and mingled much with revolutionary society in France. Having seen so much of the world, he was not so ignorant and stupid as were most of the Irish gentry at that period; and his natural nobility of soul was revolted by the brutal usage to which he saw his countrymen subjected at the hands of the "Ascendancy." It is probable, too, that he, the descendant of an ancient Gallo-Hibernian house, settled in Ireland more than six centuries, which had given chiefs to the ancient Clan-Geralt, and had been called "more Irish than the Irish," had far more sympathy with the Irish race than the mob of Cromwellian and Williamite grandees who then ruled the country. Arthur O'Connor was another valuable accession to the ranks of the United Irishmen. He was also highly connected, though by no means equally so with Lord Edward; but he was nephew of Lord Longueville, had sat in

Parliament for Philipstown, and had labored zealously for a time on the forlorn hope of the opposition, by the side of Grattan and Curran. Another was Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister, a warm friend of Wolf Tone, who had been long intimately associated in principle with the leaders of the United Irish Association, and had been privy to the design of Tone, to negotiate a French alliance; a fourth was Dr. William James Mac Neven, a physician in Dublin, originally of Galway County, but who had been educated on the Continent, as most of the young professional men among the Catholics then were. These four became members of the "Executive Directory" of the United Irish Society; and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when its military organization was formed, was made Commander-in-Chief. It was after the passage of the Insurrection and Indemnity acts, and in the recess between the two sessions of Parliament of 1796, that the United Irishmen began to make definitive preparations for armed resistance.*

Theobald Wolfe Tone was now in Paris, having arrived at Havre the 1st of February, 1796, bearing a letter of introduction to Charles De la Croix, Minister for Foreign Affairs, from the French Envoy at Philadelphia. He had another letter to James Monroe, then the representative of the United States in Paris, who very kindly guided him in his proceedings to gain the ear of the French authorities. He had several interviews with De la Croix, with Clarke (who was afterwards Duc de Feltre,) and, what was of more importance, with the illustrious Carnot, Chief of the Executive Directory, who really himself controlled at that moment the movements of all the French armies. The journal kept by Tone during the remainder of that year, is at times very entertaining, and again extremely affecting—especially where he records the few pieces of intelligence which reached him from Ireland in those days of interrupted communications. For example, one day at Rennes, he writes: "*October 29th.*—This morning before we set out, General Harty sent for me, and showed me an English paper that he had just borrowed, the *Morning Post*, of September 24th, in which was an article copied from the *Northern Star* of the 16th precedent. By this unfortunate article, I see that what I have long expected, with the greatest anxiety, is come to pass. My dear friends, Russell and Sam. Neilson, were arrested for high treason on that day, together with Rowley Osborne, Haslett, and a person, whom I do not know, of the name of Shanaghan. The persons who arrested them were the Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Westmeath, and Lord Londonderry, together with that most infamous of all scoundrels, John Pollock. It is impossible to conceive the effect this heavy misfortune has upon my mind. If we are not in Ireland time enough to extricate them, they are gone; for the Government will move heaven, earth, and hell to insure their condemnation. Good God! If they fall—"

His progress in negotiating for substantial aid from France had at first been slow, and sometimes looked discouraging. He was required to draw up two "memorials" upon the state and resources of Ireland, for the Government; and in these memorials, and in the conversations which he records with Clarke and Carnot, it is chiefly important to remark, that he always pressed urgently for a large force, such as would enable the chiefs of the United Irishmen at once to establish a provisional government, and prevent anarchy; that he strenuously opposed a recommendation of Clarke, for exciting both in England and Ireland a species of *chouannerie*, or mere peasant insurrection, with no other object than to create confusion, and operate as a diversion. Tone admitted that it might be natural and justifiable for the French to retaliate in this way, what the English had done to them in La Vendée; but his own object was the independence of his country, which, he rightly thought, would not be served by mere riot and confusion. We find also in these notes that Clarke and Carnot several times questioned him about the dispositions of the Catholic clergy, and how they might be expected to act in case of a landing,

* See examination of Arthur O'Connor before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords: Com.—When did the military organization begin? O'Connor—Shortly after the Executive had resolved on resistance to the Irish Government, and on an alliance with France in May, 1796.

He always replied that no reliance could be placed upon the clergy at first, especially if the expedition were not in sufficient force to put down quickly all resistance; that they were opposed to republicanism and revolution, but if the French went in sufficient force the clergy neither would nor could give serious opposition to the liberation of his country.

While Tone was laboring through these summer months to get those ministers impressed with his own ideas, and wondering at their hesitation, when it was in their power to deal a mortal blow upon English power, another negotiation was going on, which at the time was unknown to him. It is stated in the Report of the Lords' Secret Committee, hereafter to be cited, that the agent of the United Irishmen in this second negotiation was Edward John Lewins, an attorney in Dublin; but this is probably an error. At all events, it is certain that the French Directory was at that moment in correspondence with the Irish chiefs through other channels than Wolfe Tone; and that Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor had come to Switzerland by way of Hamburg to meet agents of the Directory; and General Hoche had repaired to Basle, just over the French frontier, to confer with those gentlemen. In deciding upon so vast an armament, the Ministers of the French Republic were certainly justified in procuring all possible authentic information about Ireland; and in checking the memorials of Tone by the reports of other well-known leaders of the United Irishmen. They had incautiously opened their negotiations with the Directory through the medium of M. Barthelemi, of whose integrity they had no suspicion; and Dr. Madden informs us that by this error "they at once placed the secret of their mission in the sympathizing bosom of Mr. William Pitt."* The Secret Committee of the Lords, indeed, in 1798, details the negotiation with perfect correctness, and hints at the means by which the expedition was frustrated. Howsoever that may be, it is evident that the reports of Lord E. Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor respecting their friend Wolfe Tone were in all respects satisfactory. The next time he was in the Cabinet of General Clarke, on his expressing a wish to be enabled to write to his friends, to tell them he was alive and well at Paris, Clarke, says the journal, answered, "'As to that, your friends know it already.' I replied, 'Not that I knew of.' He answered, 'Aye, but I know it, but cannot tell you at present how.' He then went on to tell me he did not know how to explain himself further, 'for,' added he, 'if I tell you ever so little, you will guess the rest.' So it seems I am a cunning fox without knowing it. He gave me, however, to understand that he had a communication open with Ireland, and showed me a paper, asking me did I know the handwriting. I did not. He then read a good deal. It stated very briefly, that fourteen of the counties, including the entire North, were completely organized for the purpose of throwing off the English yoke and establishing our independence; that, in the remaining eighteen, the organization was advancing rapidly, and that it was so arranged that the inferiors obeyed their leaders, without examining their orders, or even knowing who they were, as every one knew only the person immediately above him. That the militia were about 20,000 men, 17,000 of whom might be relied on, that there were about 12,000 regular troops, wretched bad ones, who would soon be settled in case the business were attempted. Clarke was going on, but stopped here suddenly, and said, laughing, 'There is something there which I cannot read to you, or you will guess.' I begged him to use his discretion without ceremony. He then asked me, did I know of this organization? I replied that I could not, with truth, say positively I knew it, but that I had no manner of doubt of it; that it was now twelve months exactly since I left Ireland, in which time, I was satisfied, much must have been done in that country, and that he would find in my memorials that such an organization was then begun, was rapidly spreading, and, I had no doubt, would soon embrace the whole people. It is curious, the coincidence between the paper he read me and those I have given here, though, upon second thought, as truth is uniform, it would be still more extraordi-

* Madden's United Irishmen, 2d series, p. 390.

nary if they should vary. I am delighted beyond measure with the progress which has been made in Ireland since my banishment. I see they are advancing rapidly and safely, and, personally, nothing can be more agreeable to me than this coincidence between what I have said and written, and the accounts which I see they receive here. The paper also stated, as I had done, that we wanted arms, ammunition, and artillery; in short, it was as exact, in all particulars, as if the same person had written all. This ascertains my credit in France beyond a doubt. Clarke then said, as to my business, he was only waiting for letters from General Hoche, in order to settle it finally; that I should have a regiment of cavalry, and, it was probable, it might be fixed that day; that the arrangement of the forces intended for the expedition was intrusted to Hoche, by which I see we shall go from Brittany instead of Holland. All's one for that, provided we go at all."

A few days after this, and just when poor Tone was almost in his last straits for money, he was sent for to the Luxembourg Palace, and there, in the Cabinet of M. Fleury, a very handsome young man came up to him very warmly, seemed to have known him all his life, and introduced himself as General Hoche—the most rising man at that moment among the young military chiefs of the republic. It was he who had had the honor of defending Dunkirk successfully against the English, and afterwards of defeating utterly the Vendean force, equipped and armed by the same English, and landed at Quiberon under the guns of Admiral Warren's fleet. In short, it was against the English he had done most of his service, and he coveted the privilege of commanding the formidable expedition which was now fully resolved on for the liberation of Ireland. He informed Tone that the latter was to be attached to his personal staff, with the grade of *Chef de-Brigade*. At last, then, the grand object of Wolfe Tone's life and labors seemed on the point of being attained. He was delighted with Hoche, who quite agreed with him in his views of the scale on which the expedition should be made, and of the necessity of proceeding by the laws of regular warfare, not of *chouannerie*. For the due comprehension of the true intent and aims of this celebrated expedition we may here give a passage from Tone's record of his conference with its chief :—

"He asked me in case of a landing being effectuated, might he rely on finding provisions, and particularly bread? I said it would be impossible to make any arrangements in Ireland, previous to the landing, because of the *surveillance* of the Government, but if that were once accomplished, there would be no want of provisions; that Ireland abounded in cattle, and, as for bread, I saw by the *Gazette* that there was not only no deficiency of corn, but that she was able to supply England, in a great degree, during the late alarming scarcity in that country, and I assured him, that if the French were once in Ireland, he might rely that, whoever wanted bread, they should not want it. He seemed satisfied with this, and proceeded to ask me, might we count upon being able to form a provisory government, either of the Catholic Committee, mentioned in my memorials, or of the chiefs of the Defenders? I thought I saw an open here, to come at the number of troops intended for us, and replied, that that would depend on the force which might be landed; if that force were but trifling, I could not pretend to say how they might act, but if it was considerable, I had no doubt of their co-operation. 'Undoubtedly,' replied he, 'men will not sacrifice themselves, when they do not see a reasonable prospect of support; but, if I go, you may be sure I will go in sufficient force.' He then asked, did I think ten thousand men would decide them? I answered, undoubtedly, but that early in the business the Minister had spoken to me of two thousand, and that I had replied that such a number could effect nothing. No, replied he, they would be overwhelmed before any one could join them. I replied, I was glad to hear him give that opinion, as it was precisely what I had stated to the Minister, and I repeated that, with the force he mentioned, I could have no doubt of support and co-operation sufficient to form a provisory government. He then asked me what I thought of the priests, or was it likely they would

give us any trouble? I replied I certainly did not calculate on their assistance, but neither did I think they would be able to give us any effectual opposition; that their influence over the minds of the common people was exceedingly diminished of late, and I instanced the case of the Defenders, so often mentioned in my memorials, and in these memorandums. I explained all this, at some length, to him, and concluded by saying, that, in prudence, we should avoid as much as possible shocking their prejudices unnecessarily, and that, with common discretion, I thought we might secure their neutrality at least, if not their support. I mentioned this merely as my opinion, but added that, in the contrary event, I was satisfied it would be absolutely impossible for them to take the people out of our hands. We then came to the army. He asked me how I thought they would act? I replied, for the regulars I could not pretend to say, but that they were wretched bad troops; for the militia, I hoped and believed that when we were once organized, they would not only not oppose us, but come over to the cause of their country *en masse*; nevertheless, I desired him to calculate on their opposition, and make his arrangements accordingly; that it was the safe policy, and if it become necessary, it was so much gained. He said he would, undoubtedly, make his arrangements so as to leave nothing to chance that could be guarded against; that he would come in force, and bring great quantities of arms, ammunition, stores, and artillery, and, for his own reputation, see that all the arrangements were made on a proper scale. I was very glad to hear him speak thus; it sets my mind at ease on diverse points. He then said there was one important point remaining, on which he desired to be satisfied, and that was what form of government we would adopt on the event of our success? I was going to answer him with great earnestness, when General Clarke entered, to request we would come to dinner with citizen Carnot. We, accordingly, adjourned the conversation to the apartment of the President, where we found Carnot, and one or two more. Hoche, after some time, took me aside and repeated his question. I replied, 'Most undoubtedly, a republic.' He asked again, 'Was I sure?' I said, as sure as I could be of anything; that I knew nobody in Ireland who thought of any other system, nor did I believe there was anybody who dreamt of monarchy. He asked me was there no danger of the Catholics setting up one of their chiefs for King? I replied, 'Not the smallest,' and that there were no chiefs amongst them of that kind of eminence. This is the old business again, but I believe I satisfied Hoche; it looks well to see him so anxious on that topic, on which he pressed me more than on all the others."

From this time preparations were pushed forward with more or less activity; but by no means fast enough to satisfy the ardent spirit of Tone. The rendezvous for the troops was appointed at Rennes, the old capital of Bretagne; while the fleet, consisting of ships of war and transports, was getting ready at Brest. During the several months which intervened, as news occasionally came in from Ireland, telling of the systematic outrages on the country people, and new arrests and measures of "vigor beyond the law," his anxiety and impatience redoubled. On the 28th of July he writes: "I see the Orange Boys are playing the devil in Ireland. *I have no doubt it is the work of the Government.* Please God, if I get safe into that country, I will settle those gentlemen, and their instigators also more especially." Again, late in August, he writes:—

"The news, at least the report of to day, is, that Richery and the Spaniards are before Lisbon, and that a French army is in full march across Spain, in order to enter Portugal; that would be a blow to Master John Bull fifty times worse than the affair of Leghorn. Why the unhappy Portuguese did not make their peace at the same time with Spain, I cannot conceive, except, as was most probably the case, they durst not consult their own safety for fear of offending the English. What an execrable nation that is, and how cordially I hate them. If this affair of Portugal is true, there will not remain one port friendly to England from Hamburg to Trieste, and probably much further both ways. It is impossible she can stand this long. Well, if the visitation of

Providence be sometimes slow, it is always sure. If our expedition succeeds, I think we will give her the *coup de grace*, and make her pay dear for the rivers of blood she has made to flow in our poor country, her massacres, her pillages, and her frauds; *'Alors, ce sera notre tour.'* We shall see! We shall see! Oh that I were, this fine morning, at the head of my regiment on the Cave Hill! Well, all in good time."

And still the time flew, while innumerable causes of delay interfered with the dispatch of the fleet. And in the meantime Camden and Carhampton's reign of terror was in full sway, goading the people to desperation; and the fiery *Chef-de-Brigade* gnawing his own heart in Paris, or in Rennes.

At last, but not until the 15th of December, all was on board. The troops were to have amounted to 15,000 men, but they were actually 13,975 men, with abundance of artillery and ammunition, and arms for 45,000 men. Tone was on board the line-of-battle ship *Indomptable*, of 80 guns. There were on the whole 17 sail of the line, 13 frigates, 5 corvettes, making, with transports, 43 sail. General Hoche and the Admiral in command of the fleet were on board a frigate; and the second General in command, of the land forces was, unfortunately—*Grouchy*—of unlucky memory. A wretched fatality was upon this fine expedition from the very start. The first night it was at sea it lost both its chiefs; as the *Fraternité* frigate was separated from the others, and they never saw more of it until after they had returned to France. An extract, somewhat condensed, from Wolfe Tone's diary, may form the most interesting account of the fortunes and fates of the Bantry Bay Expedition:—

"Admiral Morand de Galles, General Hoche, General Debelle, and Colonel Shee, are aboard the Fraternité, and God knows what has become of them. The wind, too, continues against us, and, altogether, I am in terrible low spirits. How if these damned English should catch us at last, after having gone on successfully thus far. Our force leaving Brest water was as follows: Indomptable, 80 guns; Nestor, Cassard, Droits de l'Homme, Tourville, Eole, Fougueux, Mucius, Redoutable, Patriote, Pluton, Constitution, Trajan, Watigny, Pegase, Revolution, and the unfortunate Séduisant, of 74 guns (17 sail of the line); La Cocarde, Bravoure, Immortalité, Bellone, Coquille, Romaine, Sirene, Impatiente, Surveillante, Charente, Resolue, Tartare, and Fraternité, frigates of 36 guns (13 frigates); Scevola and Fidele armés en flutes, Mutine, Renard, Atalante, Voltigeur, and Affronteur, corvettes, and Nicodeme, Justine, Ville d'Orient, Suffren, Experiment, and Alegre, transports, making in all 43 sail. Of these there are missing this day, at three o'clock, the Nestor and Séduisant, of 74; the Fraternité, Cocarde, and Romaine, frigates; the Mutine and Voltigeur, corvettes; and three other transports.

"*December 20th.*—Last night, in moderate weather, we contrived to separate again, and this morning, at eight o'clock, we are but fifteen sail in company, with a foul wind, and hazy. We shall lie beating about here, within thirty leagues of Cape Clear, until the English come and catch us, which will be truly agreeable. At ten, several sail in sight to windward; I suppose they are our stray sheep. It is scandalous to part company twice in four days in such moderate weather as we have had, but sea affairs I see are not our *forte*. Captain Bedout is a seaman, which I fancy is more than can be said for nine-tenths of his confreres.

"*December 21st.*—Last night, just at sunset, signal for seven sail in the offing; all in high spirits, in hopes that it is our comrades; stark calm all the fore part of the night; at length a breeze sprung up, and this morning, at daybreak, we are under Cape Clear, distant about four leagues, so I have, at all events, once more seen my country; but the pleasure I should otherwise feel at this, is totally destroyed by the absence of the General who has not joined us, and of whom we know nothing. The sails we saw last night have disappeared, and we are all in uncertainty. It is most delicious weather, with a favorable wind, and everything, in short, that we can desire, except our absent comrades. At the moment I write this we are under easy sail, within three leagues, at most, of the coast, so that I can discover, here and there, patches of snow on the mountains. What if the General should

not join us. If we cruise here five days, according to our instructions, the English will be upon us, and then all is over. We are thirty-five sail in company, and seven or eight absent. Is that such a separation of our force, as, under all the circumstances, will warrant our following the letter of our orders, to the certain failure of the expedition? If Grouchy and Bouvet be men of spirit and decision, they will land immediately, and trust to their success for justification. If they be not, and if this day passes without our seeing the General, I much fear the game is up. I am in undescribable anxiety, and Cherin, who commands aboard, is a poor creature, to whom it is vain to speak; not but I believe he is brave enough, but he has a little mind. There cannot be imagined a situation more provokingly tantalizing than mine at this moment, within view, almost within reach of my native land, and uncertain whether I shall ever set my foot on it. We are now, nine o'clock, at the rendezvous appointed; stood in for the coast till twelve, when we were near enough to toss a biscuit ashore; at twelve, tacked and stood out again, so now we have begun our cruise of five days in all its forms, and shall, in obedience to the letter of our instructions, ruin the expedition, and destroy the remnant of the French navy, with a precision and punctuality which will be truly edifying. We opened Bantry Bay, and, in all my life, rage never entered so deeply into my heart as when we turned our backs on the coast. At half after one, the Atalante, one of our missing corvettes, hove in sight, so now again we are in hopes to see the General. Oh! if he were in Grouchy's place, he would not hesitate one moment. Continue making short boards; the wind foul.

"*December* 22*d*.—This morning, at eight, we have neared Bantry Bay considerably, but the fleet is terribly scattered; no news of the Fraternité; I believe it is the first instance of an Admiral in a clean frigate, with moderate weather, and moonlight nights, parting company with his fleet. Captain Grammont, our First Lieutenant, told me his opinion is that she is either taken or lost, and, in either event, it is a terrible blow to us. All rests now upon Grouchy, and I hope he may turn out well; he has a glorious game in his hands, if he has spirit and talent to play it. If he succeeds, it will immortalize him. I do not at all like the countenance of the Etat Major in this crisis. When they speak of the expedition, it is in a style of despondency, and, when they are not speaking of it, they are playing cards and laughing; they are every one of them brave of their persons, but I see nothing of that spirit of enterprise, combined with a steady resolution, which our present situation demands. They stared at me this morning, when I said that Grouchy was the man in the whole army who had least reason to regret the absence of the General, and began to talk of responsibility and difficulties, as if any great enterprise was without responsibility and difficulties. I was burning with rage, however I said nothing, and will say nothing until I get ashore, if ever I am so happy as to arrive there. We are gaining the Bay by slow degrees, with a head wind at east, where it has hung these five weeks. To night we hope, if nothing extraordinary happens, to cast anchor in the mouth of the Bay, and work up to-morrow morning; these delays are dreadful to my impatience. I am now so near the shore that I can see, distinctly, two old castles, yet I am utterly uncertain whether I shall ever set foot on it. According to appearances, Bouvet and Grouchy are resolved to proceed; that is a great point gained, however. Two o'clock; we have been tacking ever since eight this morning, and I am sure we have not gained one hundred yards; the wind is right ahead, and the fleet dispersed, several being far to leeward. I have been looking over the schedule of our arms, artillery, and ammunition; we are well provided: we have 41,160 stand of arms, twenty pieces of field artillery, and nine of siege, including mortars and howitzers; 61,200 barrels of powder, 7,000,000 musket cartridges, and 700,000 flints, besides an infinite variety of articles belonging to the train, but we have neither sabres nor pistols for the cavalry; however, we have nearly three regiments of hussars embarked, so that we can dispense with them. I continue very discreetly to say little or nothing, as my situation just now is

rather a delicate one; if we were once ashore, and things turn out to my mind, I shall soon be out of my trammels, and, perhaps, in that respect, I may be better off with Grouchy than with Hoche. If the people act with spirit, as I hope they will, it is no matter who is General, and, if they do not, all the talents of Hoche would not save us; so it comes to the same thing at last. At half-past six, cast anchor off Beer Island, being still four leagues from our landing place; at work with General Cherin, writing and translating proclamations, &c., all our printed papers, including my two pamphlets, being on board the Fraternité, which is pleasant.

"*December* 23*d*.—Last night it blew a heavy gale from the eastward, with snow, so that the mountains are covered this morning, which will render our bivouacs extremely amusing. It is to be observed, that of the thirty-two points of the compass, the E. is precisely the most unfavorable to us. In consequence, we are this morning separated for the fourth time; sixteen sail, including nine or ten of the line, with Bouvet and Grouchy, are at anchor with us, and about twenty are blown to sea; luckily the gale set from the shore, so I am in hopes no mischief will ensue. The wind is still high, and, as usual, right ahead; and I dread a visit from the English, and altogether I am in great uneasiness. Oh! that we were once ashore, let what might ensue after; I am sick to the very soul of this suspense. It is curious to see how things are managed in this best of all possible worlds. We are here, sixteen sail, great and small, scattered up and down in a noble bay, and so dispersed that there are not two together in any spot, save one, and there they are now so close, that if it blows to-night as it did last night, they will inevitably run foul of each other, unless one of them prefers driving on shore. We lie in this disorder, expecting a visit from the English every hour, without taking a single step for our defense, even to the common one of having a frigate in the harbor's mouth, to give us notice of their approach; to judge by appearances, we have less to dread here than in Brest water, for when we were there, we had four corvettes stationed off the *goulet*, besides the signal posts. I confess this degree of security passes my comprehension. The day has passed without the appearance of one vessel, friend or enemy, the wind rather more moderate, but still ahead. To-night, on examining the returns with Waudré, Chef d'Etat Major of the Artillery, I find our means so reduced by the absence of the missing, that I think it hardly possible to make an attempt here, with any prospect of success; in consequence, I took Cherin into the Captain's room, and told him frankly my opinion of our actual state, and that I thought it our duty, since we must look upon the main object as now unattainable, unless the whole of our friends returned to-morrow, and the English gave us our own time, which was hardly to be expected, to see what could be best done for the honor and interest of the republic, with the force which remained in our hands, and I proposed to him to give me the Legion des Francs, a company of the *Artillerie legére*, and as many officers as desired to come volunteers in the expedition, with what arms and store remained, which are now reduced, by our separation, to four field pieces, 20,000 firelocks at most, 1,000 lbs. of powder, and 3,000,000 cartridges, and to land us in Sligo Bay, and let us make the best of our way; if we succeeded, the republic would gain infinitely in reputation and interest, and, if we failed, the loss would be trifling, as the expense was already incurred, and as for the legion, he knew what kind of desperadoes it was composed of, and for what purpose; consequently, in the worst event, the republic would be well rid of them; finally, I added, that though I asked the command, it was on the supposition that none of the Generals would risk their reputation on such a desperate enterprise, and that if another was found, I would be content to go as a simple volunteer. This was the outline of my proposal, which I pressed on him with such arguments as occurred to me, concluding by observing that, as a foreigner in the French service, my situation was a delicate one, and if I were simply an officer, I would obey in silence the orders of superiors, but, from my connections in Ireland, having obtained the confidence of the Directory, so

far as to induce them to appoint me to the rank of *Chef-de-Brigade*, and of General Hoche, who had nominated me Adjutant-General, I thought it my duty, both to France and Ireland, to speak on this occasion, and that I only offered my plan as a *pis aller*, in case nothing better suggested itself. Cherin answered that I did very right to give my opinion, and that as he expected a council of war would be called to-morrow, he would bring me with him, and I should have an opportunity to press it. The discourse rested there, and to-morrow we shall see more, if we are not agreeably surprised, early in the morning, by a visit from the English, which is highly probable. I am now so near the shore, that I can in a manner touch the sides of Bantry Bay with my right and left hand, yet God knows whether I shall ever tread again on Irish ground. Another thing, we are now three days in Bantry Bay; if we do not land immediately, the enemy will collect a superior force, and, perhaps, repay us our victory of Quiberon. In an enterprise like ours, everything depends upon the promptitude and audacity of our first movements, and we are here, I am sorry to say it, most pitifully languid. It is mortifying, but that is too poor a word; I could tear my flesh with rage and vexation, but that advances nothing, and so I hold my tongue in general, and devour my melancholy as I can. To come so near, and then to fail, if we are to fail! And every one aboard seems now to have given up all hopes.

"*December 24th.*—This morning the whole Etat Major has been miraculously converted, and it was agreed, in full council, that General Cherin, Colonel Waudré, Chef d'Etat Major of the Artillery, and myself, should go aboard the Immortalité, and press General Grouchy in the strongest manner to proceed on the expedition, with the ruins of our scattered army. Accordingly, we made a signal to speak with the Admiral, and in about an hour we were aboard. I must do Grouchy the justice to say, that the moment we gave our opinion in favor of proceeding, he took his part decidedly, and like a man of spirit; he instantly set about preparing the *ordre de bataille*, and we finished it without delay. We are not more than 6,500 strong, but they are tried soldiers, who have seen fire, and I have the strongest hopes that, after all, we shall bring our enterprise to a glorious termination. It is a bold attempt, and truly original. All the time we were preparing the *ordre de bataille*, we were laughing most immoderately at the poverty of our means, and I believe, under the circumstances, it was the merriest council of war that was ever held; but '*Des Chevaliers francais tel est le caractére.*' Grouchy, the Commander-in-Chief, never had so few men under his orders since he was Adjutant-General; Waudré, who is Lieutenant-Colonel, finds himself now at the head of the artillery, which is a furious park, consisting of one piece of eight, one of four, and two six-inch howitzers; when he was a Captain, he never commanded fewer than ten pieces, but now that he is in fact General of the Artillery, he prefers taking the field with four. He is a gallant fellow, and offered, on my proposal last night, to remain with me and command his company, in case General Grouchy had agreed to the proposal I made to Cherin. It is altogether an enterprise truly *unique;* we have not one guinea; we have not a tent; we have not a horse to draw our four pieces of artillery; the General-in-Chief marches on foot; we leave all our baggage behind us; we have nothing but the arms in our hands, the clothes on our backs, and a good courage, but that is sufficient. With all these original circumstances, such as I believe never were found united in an expedition of such magnitude as that we are about to attempt, we are all as gay as larks. I never saw the French character better exemplified, than in this morning's business. Well, at last I believe we are about to disembark; God knows how I long for it. But this infernal easterly wind continues without remorse, and though we have been under way three or four hours, and made I believe three hundred tacks, we do not seem to my eyes to have gained one hundred yards in a straight line. One hour and a half of good wind would carry us up, and, perhaps, we may be yet two days. My enemy, the wind, seems just now, at eight o'clock, to relent a little, so we may reach Bantry by to-morrow. The enemy has now

had four days to recover from his panic, and prepare to receive us; so much the worse, but I do not mind it. We purpose to make a race for Cork, as if the devil were in our bodies, and when we are fairly there, we will stop for a day or two to take breath, and look about us. From Bantry to Cork is about forty-five miles, which, with all our efforts, will take us three days, and I suppose we may have a brush by the way, but I think we are able to deal with any force that can, at a week's notice, be brought against us.

"*December 25th.*—These memorandums are a strange mixture. Sometimes I am in preposterously high spirits, and at other times I am as dejected, according to the posture of our affairs. Last night I had the strongest expectations that to-day we should debark, but at two this morning I was awakened by the wind. I rose immediately, and, wrapping myself in my great coat, walked for an hour in the gallery, devoured by the most gloomy reflections. The wind continues right ahead, so that it is absolutely impossible to work up to the landing place, and God knows when it will change. The same wind is exactly favorable to bring the English upon us, and these cruel delays give the enemy time to assemble his entire force in this neighborhood, and perhaps (it is, unfortunately, more than perhaps,) by his superiority in numbers, in cavalry, in artillery, in money, in provisions, in short in everything we want, to crush us, supposing we are even able to effectuate a landing at last, at the same time that the fleet will be caught as in a trap. Had we been able to land the first day and march directly to Cork, we should have infallibly carried it by a *coup de main;* and then we should have a footing in the country, but as it is—if we are taken, my fate will not be a mild one; the best I can expect is to be shot as an *emigré rentré*, unless I have the good fortune to be killed in the action; for most assuredly if the enemy will have us, he must fight for us. Perhaps I may be reserved for a trial, for the sake of striking terror into others, in which case I shall be hanged as a traitor, and emboweled, &c. As to the embowelling, '*je m'en fiche*' if ever they hang me, they are welcome to embowel me if they please. These are pleasant prospects! Nothing on earth could sustain me now, but the consciousness that I am engaged in a just and righteous cause. For my family, I have, by a desperate effort, surmounted my natural feelings so far, that I do not think of them at this moment. This day, at twelve, the wind blows a gale, still from the east, and our situation is now as critical as possible, for it is morally certain that this day or to-morrow on the morning, the English fleet will be in the harbor's mouth, and then adieu to everything. In this desperate state of affairs, I proposed to Cherin to sally out with all our forces, to mount to the Shannon, and, disembarking the troops, make a forced march to Limerick, which is probably unguarded, the garrison being, I am pretty certain, on its march to oppose us here; to pass the river at Limerick, and, by forced marches, push to the North. I detailed all this on a paper which I will keep, and showed it to Captain Bedout, and all the Generals on board, Cherin, Simon, and Chasseloup. They all agreed as to the advantages of the plan, but after settling it, we find it impossible to communicate with the General and Admiral, who are in the Immortalité, nearly two leagues ahead, and the wind is now so high and foul, and the sea so rough, that no boat can live, so all communication is impracticable, and to-morrow morning it will, most probably, be too late; and on this circumstance, perhaps, the fate of the expedition and the liberty of Ireland depends. I cannot conceive for what reason the two Commanders-in-Chief are shut up together in a frigate. Surely they should be on board the flag-ship. But that is not the first misfortune resulting from this arrangement. Had General Hoche remained, as he ought, on board the Indomptable, with his Etat Major, he would not have been separated and taken by the English, as he most probably is; nor should we be in the difficulties we now find ourselves in, and which most probably to-morrow will render insurmountable. Well, it does not signify complaining. Our first capital error was in setting sail too late from the Bay of Camaret, by which means we were obliged to pass the Raz in the night, which caused the loss of the Seduisant, the separation of

the fleet, the capture of the General, and above all, the loss of time resulting from all this, and which is never to be recovered. Our second error was in losing an entire day in cruising off the Bay, when we might have entered and effected a landing with thirty-five sail, which would have secured everything, and now our third error is having our Commander-in-Chief separated from the Etat Major, which renders all communication utterly impossible. My prospects at this hour are as gloomy as possible. I see nothing before me, unless a miracle be wrought in our favor, but the ruin of the expedition, the slavery of my country, and my own destruction. Well, if I am to fall, at least I will sell my life as dear as individual resistance can make it. So now I have made up my mind. I have a merry Christmas of it to-day.

December 26th.—Last night, at half after six o'clock, in a heavy gale of wind still from the east, we were surprised by the Admiral's frigate running under our quarter, and hailing the Indomptable, with orders to cut our cable and put to sea instantly; the frigate then pursued her course, leaving us all in the utmost astonishment. Our first idea was that it might be an English frigate, lurking in the bottom of the Bay, which took advantage of the storm and darkness of the night to make her escape, and wished to separate our squadron by this stratagem; for it seems utterly incredible, that an Admiral should cut and run in this manner, without any previous signal of any kind to warn the fleet, and that the first notice we should have of his intention, should be his hailing us in this extraordinary manner, with such unexpected and peremptory orders. After a short consultation with his officers, (considering the storm, the darkness of the night, that we have two anchors out, and only one spare one in the hold,) Captain Bedout resolved to wait, at all events, till to-morrow morning, in order to ascertain whether it was really the Admiral who hailed us. The morning is now come, the gale continues, and the fog is so thick that we cannot see a ship's length ahead; so here we lie in the utmost uncertainty and anxiety. In all probability we are now left without Admiral or General; if so, Cherin will command the troops, and Bedout the fleet, but, at all events, there is an end of the expedition. Certainly we have been persecuted by a strange fatality, from the very night of our departure to this hour. We have lost two Commanders-in-Chief; of four Admirals not one remains; we have lost one ship of the line, that we know of, and probably many others of which we know nothing; we have been now six days in Bantry Bay, within five hundred yards of the shore, without being able to effectuate a landing; we have have been dispersed four times in four days, and, at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which the expedition consisted, we can muster of all sizes but fourteen. There only wants our falling in with the English to complete our destruction; and, to judge of the future by the past, there is every probability that that will not be wanting. All our hopes are now reduced to get back in safety to Brest, and I believe we will set sail for that port the instant the weather will permit. I confess, myself, I now look on the expedition as impracticable. The enemy has had seven days to prepare for us, and three, or perhaps four, days more before we could arrive at Cork; and we are now too much reduced, in all respects, to make the attempt with any prospect of success—so, all is over! It is hard, after having forced my way thus far, to be obliged to turn back; but it is my fate, and I must submit. Notwithstanding all our blunders, it is the dreadful stormy weather and easterly winds, which have been blowing furiously, and without intermission, since we made Bantry Bay, that have ruined us. Well, England has not had such an escape since the Spanish Armada, and that expedition, like ours, was defeated by the weather; the elements fight against us, and courage is here of no avail. Well, let me think no more about it; it is lost, and let it go!

"*December 27th.*—Yesterday several vessels, including the Indomptable, dragged their anchors several times, and it was with great difficulty they rode out the gale. At two o'clock, the Revolution, a 74, made signal that she could hold no longer, and, in consequence of the Commodore's permission, who now commands our little

squadron, cut her only cable and put to sea. In the night, the Patriote and Pluton, of 74 each, were forced to go to sea, with the Nicomede flute, so that this morning we are reduced to seven sail of the line and one frigate. Any attempt here is now desperate, but I still think, if we were debarked at the mouth of the Shannon, we might yet recover all. At ten o'clock, the Commodore made signal to get under way, which was delayed by one of the ships, which required an hour to get ready. This hour we availed ourselves of to hold a council of war, at which were present, Generals Cherin, Harty, and Humbert, who came from their ships for that purpose; Adjutant-Generals Simon, Chasseloup, and myself; Lieutenant-Colonel Waudré, commanding the artillery, and Favory, Captain of Engineers, together with Commodore Bedout, who was invited to assist; General Harty, as senior officer, being President. It was agreed that, our force being now reduced to 4,168 men, our artillery to two four-pounders, our ammunition to 1,500,000 cartridges and 500 rounds for the artillery, with 500 pounds of powder—this part of the country being utterly wild and savage, furnishing neither provisions nor horses, and especially as the enemy, having seven days' notice, together with three more which it would require to reach Cork, supposing we even met with no obstacle, had time more than sufficient to assemble his forces in numbers sufficient to crush our little army; considering, moreover, that this province is the only one of the four which has testified no disposition to revolt; that it is the most remote from the party which is ready for insurrection; and, finally, Captain Bedout having communicated his instructions, which are, to mount as high as the Shannon, and cruise there five days; it was unanimously agreed to quit Bantry Bay directly, and proceed for the mouth of the Shannon, in hopes to rejoin some of our scattered companions; and when we are there we will determine, according to the means in our hands, what part we shall take. I am the more content with this determination, as it is substantially the same with the paper which I read to General Cherin and the rest, the day before yesterday. The wind, at last, has come round to the southward, and the signal is now flying to get under way. At half after four, there being every appearance of a stormy night, three vessels cut their cables and put to sea. The Indomptable, having with great difficulty weighed one anchor, we were forced, at length, to cut the cable of the other, and make the best of our way out of the Bay, being followed by the whole of our little squadron, now reduced to ten sail, of which seven are of the line, one frigate, and two corvettes or luggers.

"*December* 28*th*.—Last night it blew a perfect hurricane. At one this morning, a dreadful sea took the ship in the quarter, stove in the quarter gallery, and one of the dead-lights in the great cabin, which was instantly filled with water to the depth of three feet. Immediately after this blow, the wind abated, and, at daylight, having run nine knots an hour, under one jib only, during the hurricane, we found ourselves at the rendezvous, having parted company with three ships of the line and the frigate, which makes our *sixth* separation. The frigate Coquille joined us in the course of the day, which we spent standing off and on the shore, without being joined by any of our missing companions.

"*December* 29*th*.—At four this morning, the Commodore made the signal to steer for France: so, there is an end of our expedition for the present; perhaps, forever. I spent all yesterday in my hammock, partly through sea-sickness, and much more through vexation. At ten, we made prize of an unfortunate brig, bound from Lisbon to Cork, laden with salt, which we sunk.

"*December* 30*th and* 31*st*.—On our way to Brest. It will be well supposed I am in no great humor to make memorandums. This is the last day of the year 1796, which has been a very remarkable one in my history.

"*Jauuary* 1*st*, 1797.—At eight this morning made the island of Ushant, and at twelve opened the *Goulet*. We arrive seven sail: the Indomptable, of 80; the Watigny, Cassard, and Eole, 74; the Coquille, 36; the Atalante, 20, and the Vautour lugger, of 14. We left Brest forty-three sail, of which seventeen were of the line. I am utterly astonished that we did not see a single

English ship-of-war going nor coming back. They must have taken their measures very ill, not to intercept us, but, perhaps, they have picked up some of our missing ships. Well, this evening will explain all, and we shall see now what is become of our four Admirals, and of our two Generals-in-Chief."

So ended the great "Bantry Bay Expedition." Fifteen days after the arrival of Tone at Brest, the missing frigate La Fraternité, with General Hoche and the Admiral on board, made her way after many dangers into the port of La Rochelle.

In addition to the hostility of the elements, this attempt at an invasion of Ireland had certain other disadvantages to contend with: it was directed to that portion of the island which was the least ripe for insurrection, and in which the United Irish Society was least extended and organized. It arrived at a part of the coast surrounded by desolate mountains, where there were but small resources for a commissariat, where no good horses could be found for the artillery and wagons, and where the wretched population had scarcely ever heard either of a French Republic or of an United Irish Society, or of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. This was against the wishes and counsels of Wolfe Tone, who was in favor of the landing somewhere near Dublin or Belfast. So ignorant and so ill-prepared were the natives of Bear and Bantry, that they regarded the liberating force as a hostile invasion; and Plowden informs us that when a boat was sent ashore from the squadron to reconnoitre the country, "it was immediately captured, and multitudes appeared on the beach in readiness to oppose a landing." In addition to this, the English Government had always full and accurate information as to the whole plan of invasion, and had thus been enabled to deceive the leaders of the United Irishmen by false information. The whole affair is thus accurately explained in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords in 1798, (viii Lord's Journal, p. 142):—

"It appears by the Report of the Secret Committee of this House, made in the last session of Parliament, that a messenger had been dispatched by the Society of United Irishmen to the Executive Directory of the French Republic, upon a treasonable mission, between the month of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, at which time the messenger so sent had returned to Ireland; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that Edward John Lewins, who now is, and has been, for a considerable time, the accredited resident ambassador of the Irish Rebellious Union to the French Republic, was the person thus dispatched in the summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five. It appears to your committee, that the proposition so made by the French Directory, of assistance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into consideration by the Executive Directory of the Irish Union immediately after it was communicated to them, that they did agree to accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination was made known to the Directory of the French Republic by a special messenger; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that the invasion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an interview which took place in Switzerland, in the summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, near the French frontier, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforesaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears to your committee, that in the month of October or November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, the hostile armament which soon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Irish Directory by a special messenger dispatched from France, who was also instructed to inquire into the state of preparation in which this country stood, which armament was then stated to the Irish Directory to consist of fifteen thousand troops, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, intended for the use of the Irish Republican Union. In a few days after the departure of the messenger, who had been thus sent to announce the speedy arrival of this armament on the coasts of this kingdom, it appears to your committee, *that a letter from France was received by the Irish Directory, which was considered by them as authentic,*

stating that the projected descent was postponed for some months, and to this circumstance it has been fairly acknowledged to your committee, by one of the Irish Directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct of the people in the Province of Munster, when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has confessed, *that these contradictory communications threw the Irish Directory off their guard*, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He has confessed, that the people were loyal because they were left to themselves."

CHAPTER XXX.

1797.

Reign of Terror in Armagh County—No Orangemen ever Punished—"Defenders" called Banditti—"Faulkner's Journal," Organ of the Castle—Cheers on the Orangemen—Mr. Curran's Statement of the Havoc in Armagh—Increased Rancor against Catholics and U. I. after the Bantry Bay Affair—Efforts of Patriots to Establish a Permanent Armed Force—Opposed by Government—And Why—Proclamation of Counties—Bank Ordered to Suspend Specie Payments—Alarm—Dr. Duigenan—Secession from Parliament of Grattan, Curran, &c.—General Lake in the North—"Northern Star" Office Wrecked by Troops—Proclamation—Outrages in the Year 1797—Salutary Effect of the United Irish System on the Peace of the Country—Armagh Assizes—Slanderous Report of a Secret Committee—Good Effects of United Irishism in the South—Miles Byrne—Wexford County.

During the whole of the year that saw Tone negotiating in France for the great Bantry Bay expedition, the Government in Ireland, well seconded by magistrates, sheriffs, military officers and Orangemen, was steadily proceeding, with a ferocious deliberation, in driving the people to utter despair. Many districts of Armagh County were already covered with the blackened ruins of poor cabins, lately the homes of innocent people, thousands of whom, with their old people, their women and little children, were wandering homeless and starving, or were already dead of hunger and cold, when the Grand Jury of Armagh, at the Lent Assizes, bethinking them that it would be well to soften or do away with the impressions produced by these horrible events, and the comments of which they were the subject, agreed to an address and resolutions expressive of their full determination to put the coercion laws in force, and to enforce strict justice. Mr. Plowden says, artlessly: "Their annunciation of impartial justice, and a resolution to punish offenders of every denomination, was rather unseasonable, when there remained no longer any of one denomination to commit outrages upon, or to retaliate injuries." He might have added that, many of the gentlemen composing that Grand Jury had themselves encouraged and participated in the extermination of the Catholics. But they knew very well that no coercion law of that Parliament was at all intended to be enforced against Orangemen; that the "unlawful oaths forbidden under pain of death," did not mean to include the *purple oath* of Orangemen to extirpate Catholics, but only the United Irish oath, to encourage brotherly union, and seek "an impartial representation for all the people of Ireland." In fact, no Orangeman was ever prosecuted; nor was any punishment ever inflicted on the exterminators of Armagh Catholics.

This statement might seem almost incredible in any civilized nation; but the proofs of the gross partiality of the Legislature and Government, or rather of their strict alliance with the Orange faction, are too numerous and clear to be doubted. For example, a report of a secret committee of the Commons, shortly after this time, informs us, "that in the summer of 1796, the outrages committed by a banditti, calling themselves Defenders, in the Counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, Westmeath, and Kildare, together with a *religious feud* prevailing in the County of Armagh, induced the Legislature to pass a temporary act of Parliament, generally called the Insurrection act, by which the Lord-Lieutenant and Council were enabled, upon the requisition of seven magistrates of any county, assembled at a sessions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance; within which limits this law, giving increased power to the magistracy, was to have operation." What is here mildly called a "religious feud" was the extirpation of one sect of people by another, on account of their religion alone.

The British Government in Ireland has

never been able to dispense with an organ at the Press, in the pay of the Castle. The chief Government paper of that day was *Faulkner's Journal*, which was then savage in its denunciations of Catholics, Defenders, and United Irishmen, but had only praise for the Armagh Orangemen.

The *Dublin Evening Post* of the 24th of September, 1796, contained the following observations: "The most severe stroke made against the character and conduct of the Viceroy, as a moral man and first magistrate of a free people, who 'ought not to hold the sword *in vain*,' nor to exercise it *partially*, has been in *Faulkner's Journal* of this day. That hireling print is undeniably in the pay of his lordship's administration; and what administration permits, it is supposed to prompt or patronize. In that print, the blind fury of the banditti, which usurps and disgraces the name of *Orange* in the North is applauded, and all their bloody excesses justified. Murder in all its horrid forms, assassinations in cold blood, the mutilation of members without respect to age or sex, the firing of whole hamlets, so that when the inhabitants have been looked after nothing but their ashes were to be found; the atrocious excursions of furious hordes, armed with sword, fire, and faggot, to exterminate a people, for presuming to obey the divine command, written by the finger of God himself, 'Honor thy father and thy mother,' and walking in the religion which seemed good in their eyes. These are the flagitious enormities which attract the mercenary applause of *Faulkner's Journal*, the literary prop of the Camden administration."

And in this very same month of September, while *Faulkner's Journal* was doing this kind of service for Castle pay, the *Northern Star* of Belfast, an able and moderate organ of the United Irishmen, had its office attacked and ransacked by soldiers; Samuel Neilson, its editor, and several others, were arrested, carried to Dublin, thrown into prison, and kept there for more than a year without having been brought to any trial.

On the 13th of October, 1796, Parliament met. In his speech from the throne, His Excellency now for the first time took tender and oblique notice of the disturbances of Armagh. "I have, however, to lament, that in one part of the country good order has not yet been entirely restored; and that in other districts a treasonable system of secret confederation, by the administering of illegal oaths still continues, although no means within the reach of Government have been left untried to counteract it."

Mr. Grattan, in the debate upon the address, objected to this speech, as betraying gross partiality, and moved the following amendment:—

"To represent to His Majesty, that the most effectual method for strengthening the country and promoting unanimity, was to take such measures, and to enact such laws, as to ensure to all His Majesty's subjects the blessings and privileges of the constitution, without any distinction of religion." The amendment was seconded by Mr. W. B. Ponsonby.

The debate was carried on till two o'clock in the morning with extreme heat and virulence. Mr. Grattan's amendment was opposed, as unseasonable and *violent*, by several of those who had been in the habit of voting with him on all occasions; insomuch that the minority on the division consisted only of 12 against 149. In the course of this debate Lord Castlereagh replied with great warmth to Mr. Grattan; and Mr. Pelham spoke more at length than he usually did. He particularly adverted to the two topics, which had formed the principal ground of the debate; namely, the question of Catholic Emancipation, and the disturbances of Armagh. "As to the first, he thought it very improperly brought forward at that juncture. It was then no time to make distinctions between Catholics and Protestants; *no such distinction was made by Government.*"

As for the disturbances in Armagh, of course Mr. Secretary Pelham defended the Government and the magistrates; and said, if the Insurrection act had not been applied there, as in some other counties, it was because the magistrates had not thought the nature of the troubles "would justify the application of that very severe law."

It was in this session that the *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended. This suspension,

together with the Insurrection and Indemnity acts, completed the arrangements for putting out of the pale of the law about nine-tenths of the population.

When Mr. Secretary Pelham moved, on the 26th of October, 1796, that the House should adjourn for about a fortnight; Mr. Curran strongly opposed it; particularly upon the grounds of the necessity of putting an immediate check upon the still continuing outrageous disturbances of Armagh, which surpassed in horror everything he had ever heard or read. He had on the first day of the session stated the number of *families* that had become the victims of that infernal barbarity at 700; it was with great pain he mentioned, that upon more minute inquiry, he found as many more must be added to the miserable catalogue; he was in possession of evidence, ready to be examined at their bar, and whom he hoped they would hear, that would satisfy them upon oath, that not less than 1,400 families had been thus barbarously expelled from their houses, and then were wandering about the neighboring counties, save such of them as might have been murdered, or burned in their cottages, or perished in the fields, or highways, by fatigue and famine, and despair; and that horrid scene had been transacted, and was still continuing in the open day, in the heart of the kingdom, without any effectual interference whatsoever.

This public testimony of Mr Curran, which he would not have dared to give in open Parliament if it could have been contradicted, may finish the picture of the north of Ireland in this year. There were now several successive adjournments until the 6th of January, 1797. In the meantime, the French fleet had appeared in Bantry Bay, and disappeared again, giving rise to numberless rumors throughout the island, and rousing sentiments of rage and horror in one party, of hope and joy in another, but on the whole, intensifying the bitterness and vindictive passion of the "Ascendancy" against Catholics and United Irishmen, who had so nearly succeeded in bringing upon them such terrible visitors. On the re-assembling of Parliament, many members brought forward resolutions of inquiry or complaint as to the remiss conduct of the Government on occasion of the threatened invasion, of which it was well known Government had possessed timely intelligence. The reformers and emancipators of the House showed what the Castle thought a very suspicious anxiety for the defense of the country, when they proposed very large additions to the armed yeomanry of the country. The administration did not forget that in 1782 it had been this same alleged lack of sufficient defense against foreign enemies which gave occasion to the volunteering, and that when the volunteers were enrolled and armed, they very naturally acted as if they considered England the only foreign enemy they had. The Government, therefore, would not suffer any measure of general armament to pass, but assented to a proposal of Sir John Blaquiere, for raising an additional force of 10,000 men; this, however, to be in the nature of militia, officered by Government, and the Government was to have entire control of its organization and its *personnel*.

On a subsequent night, Sir Lawrence Parsons made another attempt, by a resolution that it was necessary to have a permanent force for protection of the country. The motion was opposed with bitter violence by Mr. Secretary Pelham. Mr. Grattan followed; and the real nature of the question at issue will be manifest in this extract from his speech: "The Secretary asked, who could be more interested for the safety of Ireland than the British Minister? He would answer, Ireland herself. To refer to the British Minister the safety of that country was the most sottish folly; it was false and unparliamentary to say, that the House had no right to recommend a measure, such as the honorable baronet proposed. Had it been a proposition to increase the regular standing army, it might, perhaps, have been a little irregular; but when an increase of 10,000 to the standing army was proposed by a right honorable baronet the other night, it was not considered as an affront. Now another honorable baronet comes forward to give an army five fold as many, and five fold as cheap, and administration are affronted. Why? Because that army was of the people. If the doctrine the right honor-

able member advanced were true, and that the duty of Parliament now were become nothing more than merely to vote taxes, and echo three millions, when the Minister said three millions are wanted, then, indeed, *actum est de parliamento;* a reform of the representation was become then more than ever necessary."

It was easy for the Ministers to perceive what was in the minds of Mr. Grattan and his friends: to have another popular army strong enough at once to preserve the public peace and to protect the Constitution of the country; and Ministers were fully resolved that neither of these things should be done: the public peace was to be destroyed by insurrection, in order that the Constitution should be destroyed by legislative "union." On this motion of Sir Lawrence Parsons there was a division at four o'clock in the morning—25 voted for it, 125 against it.

In December, January, and February, of this winter, many districts in the Counties of Ulster were "proclaimed" under the Insurrection act; and more than the horrors of martial law were now raging there. The anxiety and excitement of the country had re-acted disastrously upon trade and general business interests; and in the midst of this came a sudden order from the Privy Council to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland to suspend specie payments. The manifest object of this measure was still further to aggravate that "alarm of the better classes," which is a needful and unfailing agency of British domination in Ireland; and it had the desired effect. But it also excited some attention in England; and Mr. Whitbread, in the English Commons, and Lord Moira, in the Lords, made ineffectual efforts to procure an inquiry into the conduct of Ministers with regard to Ireland. It is needless to say, these attempts were vehemently resisted by the administration, and were defeated by vast majorities. British Ministers wanted no inquiry; *they* already knew all; and all was proceeding precisely as they had ordered and intended. A singular feature of this incident is, that the debates on the state of Ireland in the English Parliament roused the patriotic indignation of the notorious Doctor Duigenan, then a member of the Irish Parliament for Armagh, a doctor of the civil law and a renegade Papist, therefore more desperately vindictive against Papists, and more abusive of their tenets than any Orangeman in the land. The Doctor was seized with a sudden fit of Irish patriotism; and gave notice in the House, on the 30th of March, that after the recess he would move a resolution condemnatory of such unconstitutional interferences, and refuting the false statements made in the other Parliament respecting Ireland by Lord Moira, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Fox. Mr. Grattan desired him to give due notice of that motion; as it was his intention to demonstrate that the statements were both true, and also constitutional. But Mr. Grattan had now, at length, come to perceive that labors in that Parliament were utterly thrown away. Accordingly, he determined to *secede* from the body. In a speech of his upon the state of the North, where General Lake was now dragooning the people with unexampled ferocity, he protested solemnly, but most hopelessly, that the true remedy for all the troubles lay in a just government and reform of Parliament; and speaking of the United Irish Society: "Notwithstanding your Gunpowder act, it has armed and increased its military stores under that act; notwithstanding your Insurrection act, another bill to disarm, it has greatly added to its magazines; and notwithstanding the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* bill and General Lake's proclamation, it has multiplied its proselytes. I should have asked, had I been on the Secret Committee, whether the number of United Irishmen had not increased very much since General Lake's proclamation, and by General Lake's proclamation. It appears, I say, from that report, that just as your system of coercion advanced, the United Irishmen advanced; that the measures you took to coerce, strengthened; to disperse, collected; to disarm, armed; to render them weak and odious, made them popular and powerful; whereas, on the other hand, you have loaded Parliament and Government with the odium of an oppressive system, and with the further odium of rejecting these two popular topics, which you allow are the most likely to gain the heart

of the nation, and be the beloved objects of the people."

Mr. Grattan closed his speech and the debate with these words: "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it; we deprecate yours; you will persevere; having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, *we shall trouble you no more, and after this day, shall not attend the House of Commons.*" 17 Par. Deb., p. 570.

Accordingly, at the next general election, Mr. Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald declined to be returned for Dublin. Mr. Curran, Arthur O'Connor, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald followed the example. There has been much discussion upon this "secession." It has been urged on the one hand, that Grattan and Curran and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, who still appealed to the Constitution, and acknowledged the existence and authority of a British Government in Ireland, were wrong to abandon the legal and constitutional field. On the other, it has been argued, that having abandoned that, the only manly and rational course left them was to join the United Irishmen, as O'Connor and Lord Edward had already done. It is hard to blame those excellent men and true Irishmen, Grattan and Curran. If they had joined the United Irish Society, they would have probably found themselves immediately in Newgate, as O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald soon after did, besides, they were not republicans, and abhorred "French principles" as earnestly as Lord Clare himself.

When Wolfe Tone, in his French exile, heard of the secession, his observation in his journal is: "I see those illustrious patriots are at last forced to bolt out of the House of Commons, and come amongst the people, as John Keogh advised Grattan to do long since." They did bolt from the House of Commons, but did not come amongst the people.

In short, he saw now that the unhappy country was delivered over to its bloody agony, and that he could do no more than look on in silence. General Lake had entered upon his mission with zeal; many seizures of concealed arms and ammunition were made. In the execution of these orders, some barbarous outrages were committed by the military, which tended to inflame and exasperate the minds of the people, which were already too highly inflamed. Not only some women and children had been murdered, but the houses of some respectable persons were pillaged and demolished, upon the bare suspicion of their being United Irishmen.

The newspaper called the *Morning Star*, in Belfast, after it had been sacked a few months earlier, had been refitted, and was again carried on with spirit, exposing the evil designs of the Ministers, and publishing boldly essays and letters in favor of civil liberty. It was, of course, necessary now that the paper should be suppressed altogether. Neilson, its first editor, and the two Simms, its proprietors, were all now in Newgate prison, though not accused of any offence whatever. The newspaper was required by military authority to insert an article reflecting on the loyalty of the people of Belfast; the article did not appear as ordered; the next morning, a detachment of soldiers marched out of the barracks, attacked the printing office, and utterly demolished every part of it, breaking the presses, scattering the types, and seizing the books. Thus disappeared the *Morning Star*, and it never rose again. There was after that nobody daring enough to even record, or allude to, far less to denounce, the hideous atrocities which the policy of the Castle required to be perpetrated.

It was now the avowed opinion of Government, that the treason was in the course of the winter of 1796, and the spring of 1797, too deeply rooted to yield to the remedy of the law, even where it was put in force by the magistrates with activity. Such an assumption was prominently calculated to open the door to the strongest measures, and the general command given to the civil and military officers, by proclamation, to use the exertions of their utmost force, and to oppose with their full power all such as should resist them in the execution of their duty, which was to search for and seize concealed arms, admitted of a latitude of power, not very likely to be temperately regulated by raw troops let in upon a country denounced rebellious, and devoted to military rigor, as

a necessary substitute for the inefficacy of the municipal law. A regiment of Welsh cavalry, called the *Ancient Britons*, commanded by Sir Watkin William Wynne, were at all times prominently conspicuous for the rigorous execution of any orders for devastation, destruction, or extermination. They were marked for it by the rebels, and in the course of the rebellion they were cut to pieces almost to a man.

That proclamation, above mentioned, which was published on the 17th of May, was sent to Lord Carhampton, with a letter from Mr. Pelham, on the 18th of May, in consequence of which his lordship immediately published the following order: "In obedience to the order of the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander-in-Chief's commands, that the military do act, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, in dispersing any tumultuous or unlawful assemblies of persons threatening the peace of the realm, and the safety of the lives and properties of His Majesty's loyal subjects wheresoever collected."

This proclamation, together with the laws then in existence, and the known wishes of the authorities, left everything at the discretion of the soldiery; *they* were to determine what was an unlawful assembly; and we shall find that they often treated as such, families asleep in their own beds at night, provided there were any pretext for *suspecting* the existence of weapons in the house, or any information of an United Irish oath having been administered there.

Of the outrages done in the course of this year, 1797, it is now impossible to procure anything like a complete account. Yet a few examples well authenticated must be given, to show how martial law worked in those days. Doctor Madden, the indefatigable Collector of Documents relating to the period, has re-published the pamphlet, before cited, called, "View of the Present State of Ireland." It was published the same year in London, because no printer in Ireland could have dared to print it. The statements of this pamphlet have never been contradicted; and old James Hope, one of the last survivors of the United Irishmen, and a person of intelligence and integrity, thus indorsed it to Dr. Madden: "This pamphlet contains more truth than all the volumes I have seen written on the events of 1797 and 1798." We select a few extracts:—

"In the month of May last, a party of the Essex Fencibles, accompanied by the Enniskillen Yeomen Infantry, commanded by their First-Lieutenant, marched to the house of a Mr. Potter, a very respectable farmer, who lived within five miles of Enniskillen, in the County of Fermanagh. On their arrival, they demanded Mr. Potter, saying they were ordered to arrest him, as he was charged with being an United Irishman. His wife, with much firmness, replied, 'that to be an United Irishman was an honor, not a disgrace; that her husband had gone from home the preceding day on business, and had not yet returned.' They assured her that if he did not surrender himself in *three hours* they would burn his house. Mrs. Potter answered, 'that she did not know exactly where he then was, but, if she did know, she believed it would be impossible to have him home in so *short a time.*' In less than three hours they set fire to the house, which was a very neat one, only about five years built; the servants brought out some beds and other valuable articles, in the hope of preserving them, but the military dashed all back into the flames. The house and property, to the amount of six or seven hundred pounds, were consumed, and Mrs. Potter, with seven children, one of them not a month old, were turned out, at the hour of midnight, into the fields.

"In June, 1797, a party of the Ancient Britons (a fencible regiment, commanded by Sir Watkin William Wynne,) were ordered to examine the house of Mr. Rice, an inn-keeper in the town of Coolavil, County of Armagh, for arms; but on making very diligent search, none could be found. There were some country people drinking in the house, and discoursing in their *native language;* the soldiers damned their *eternal Irish souls*, said they were speaking *treason*, and instantly fell on them with their swords, and maimed several desperately. Miss Rice was so badly wounded that her life was despaired of, and her father escaped with much difficulty, after having received many cuts from the sabres of these assassins.

"In June, some persons had been refreshing themselves at an inn in Newtownards, County of Down, kept by a Mr. M'Cormick, and it was alleged that they were overheard uttering words termed seditious. M'Cormick was afterwards called on to give information who they were; he denied having any knowledge of them, observing that many people might come into his house whom he did not know, and for whom he could not be accountable. He was taken into custody, and next day his house and extensive property were reduced to ashes. The house of Dr. Jackson was torn down on *suspicion* of his being *an United Irishman;* and many other houses in that town and barony were destroyed, or otherwise demolished, by English Fencibles, on similar pretexts.

"On the 22d of June, Mr. Joseph Clotney, of Ballinahinch, was committed to the Military Barracks, Belfast, and his house, furniture, and books, worth three thousand pounds, destroyed; also the valuable house of Mr. Armstrong, of that place, was totally demolished.

A party of fencibles, then quartered in Enniskillen, were ordered, under the command of a captain and adjutant, accompanied by the First Fermanagh Yeomanry, into an adjoining county to search for arms. About two o'clock in the morning they arrived at the house of one Durnian, a farmer, which, without any previous intimation whatever, they broke open, and, on entering it, one of the fencibles fired his musket through the roof of the house; an officer instantly discharged his pistol into a bed where two young men were lying, and wounded them both. One of them, *the only child* of Durnian, rose with great difficulty, and on making this effort, faint with the loss of blood, a fencible stabbed him through the bowels. His distracted mother ran to support him, but in a few moments she sank upon the floor, covered with the blood which issued from the side of her unfortunate son; by this time the other young man had got on his knees to implore mercy, declaring most solemnly that they had not been guilty of any crime, when another fencible *deliberately knelt down*, leveled his musket at him, and was just going to fire, when a sergeant of yeomanry rushed in, seized, and prevented his committing the horrid deed. There were persons *who smiled* at the humanity of the sergeant.

"Information had been lodged that a house near Newry contained concealed arms. A party of the Ancient Britons repaired to the house, but not finding the object of their search, they set it on fire. The peasantry of the neighborhood came running from all sides to extinguish the flames, believing the fire to have been accidental—it was the first military one in that part of the country. As they came up they were attacked in all directions, and cut down by the fencibles; thirty were killed, among whom were a woman and two children. An old man (above seventy years,) seeing the dreadful slaughter of his neighbors and friends, fled for safety to some adjacent rocks; he was pursued, and, though on his knees imploring mercy, a brutal Welshman cut off his head at a blow.

"I have stated incontrovertible truths. Months would be insufficient to enumerate all the acts of wanton cruelty which were inflicted on the inhabitants of Ireland from the 1st day of April to the 24th day of July, 1797."

The same authority narrates this fact also, but without date: "The house of Mr. Bernard Crosson, of the parish of Mullanabrack, was attacked by Orangemen, in consequence of being a *reputed* Catholic. His son prevented them from entering by the front door, upon which they broke in at the back part of the house, and, firing on the inhabitants, killed Mr. Crosson, his son, and daughter. Mr. Hugh M'Fay, of the parish of Seagoe, had his house likewise attacked on the same pretence, himself wounded, his furniture destroyed, and his wife barbarously used."

The same writer mentions that, "information having been lodged against a few individuals living in the village of Kilrea, in the County of Derry, for being United Irishmen, a party of the military were ordered to apprehend them; the men avoided the capture, and about three o'clock in the morning, a *reverend* magistrate, accompanied by a clergyman and a body of soldiers, came to the village, and not finding

the men, who had avoided capture, they burned all their houses, except four, which could not be burned without endangering the whole village. These they *gutted*, and consumed their contents."

It must be remembered that these scenes, which are but a few samples, all took place in the year 1797, and before there was any insurrection in Ireland; and all in two or three counties of one province. But if there was no insurrection, it was fully resolved at the Castle to provoke one. A remarkable saying used a short time before by a remarkable man, and a very fit partizan of the Irish Government, leaves but little doubt upon the real aims and wishes of the "Ascendancy." The man was John Claudius Beresford, of the noble house of Tyrone and Waterford, and one of the most ferocious tyrants in the world—we shall hear of him again at the "Riding School." On the 30th of March, in this year, in his place in Parliament, he thus *corrects*, or rather confirms, the saying attributed to him :—

"Mr. J. C. Beresford begged to correct a misstatement which had gone abroad, of what he had said in a former debate, on the Insurrection bill. It had been stated in a country paper, and from thence copied into those of Dublin, that he had expressed a wish 'that the whole of the North of Ireland were in open rebellion, that the Government might cut them off.' This had been very assiduously circulated, to the detriment of his character; and was, he could confidently say, a falsehood. What he had said was, 'that there *were* certain parts of the the North of Ireland in a state of concealed rebellion; and that he wished those places were *rather* in a state of open rebellion, that the Government might see the rebellion, and crush it.'"

It was observed that after the late extensive spread of the United Irish Society in the North, "Defenderism" had in a great measure ceased there. Many thousands of those who had been Defenders joined their Presbyterian neighbors in the "Union." This, in fact, was the great object of the Union, and the warmest hope of its promoters. The United Irish Societies of Ulster alone, according to a return seized by Government in Belfast, counted, at least on paper, one hundred thousand men in the month of April. They became more confident in their strength; and having resolved to defer any general rising until the following year, they would not be goaded into a premature outbreak. During the Summer Assizes, although there were very numerous convictions for the usual class of offenses attributed to United Irishmen and Defenders, (for it was never thought of to prosecute Orangemen—the only criminals,) yet there were also several acquittals, greatly to the satisfaction of the United Irish, and to the dismay of the Government. This certainly arose from the greater difficulty which the sheriffs now had in packing sure juries, not being able to tell now who might, or might not, be United Irishmen. Mr. Curran defended many cases on the Northeast Circuit; amongst which may be mentioned those which occurred in Armagh. There were in the jail of that town twenty-eight persons accused of this species of alleged offense; of whom, however, two trials only were brought to trial. In the former, a suborned soldier, who was brought forward to prosecute one Dogherty, was, upon Dogherty's acquittal, put into the dock in his place, to abide his trial for perjury. The Grand Jury found bills against him, and he remained in custody to abide his trial.

The only other trial was that of the King against Hanlon and Nogher, charged with contemptuously, maliciously, and feloniously tendering to the prosecutor an unlawful oath or engagement, to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and seditious society called United Irishmen.

One witness only was produced in support of this indictment, a soldier of the Twenty-fourth Light Dragoons, of the name of Fisher, who swore to the administration of an oath, "to be united in brotherhood to pull down the head clergy and half-pay officers." He, upon his cross-examination, said that the obligation had been shown and read to him, in a small book of four leaves, which he had read and would know again. The Constitution of the United Irishmen was then put into his hands by the defendant's counsel, and he admitted the test contained in it to be the same that he had taken.

On the part of the prisoners, A. T. Stewart, Esq., of Acton, was examined and cross-examined by the Crown. The sum of his testimony was, that this Society had made a rapid progress through the people of all religions, ranks, and classes; that before its introduction into that country, the most horrible religious persecutions existed, attended with murder and extirpation; that since its introduction these atrocities had subsided, as far as he could learn. He admitted he had heard of murders laid to their charge, but could hardly believe such charges, as he conceived them incompatible with anything he ever could learn of the principles or consequences of their institution.

The jailor was also examined, who said, that fewer persons had been sent to him upon charges of wrecking or robbing houses, or of murder, than before, and that he understood the religious parties began to agree better together, and to fight less.

There was no other material evidence. Mr. Curran spoke an hour and three-quarters in defense of the United Irishmen. That he was delighted to find, after so many of them had been immured in dungeons, without trial, that at length the subject had come fairly before the world—and that instead of being a system of organized treason and murder, it proved to be a great bond of national union, founded upon the most acknowledged principle of law, and every sacred obligation due to our country and Creator.

Mr. Baron George gave his opinion decidedly, that the obligation was, under the act of Parliament, *illegal*. The Jury withdrew, and acquitted he prisoner, and thus ended the Assizes of Armagh.

The "Union" continued to recruit its numbers in the North; but with still greater secrecy, and the country remaining perfectly tranquil, notwithstanding the cruel outrages of magistrates and military, trade somewhat revived, and most people seemed to be returning peacefully to their ordinary pursuits. In short, the United Irish of Ulster were resolved not to rise until they should be at least assured of the co-operation of the other three provinces, if not of aid from France. A report of the "Secret Committee" of the Commons, made this summer, congratulated the country upon this apparent decline in the treasonable spirit. Such, the Committee stated, had been the beneficial consequences of the "measures adopted in the year 1797"—that is, of the rigors of martial law, searches for arms, burnings of houses, and slaughters of women and children. We have already seen, however, that the greater tranquillity and good order of the North arose precisely from the spread of this very "treason," which the Committee pretended to regard as being itself the only disturbance. This Committee goes on to report, that the leaders of the *treason*, apprehensive lest the enemy might be discouraged from any further plan of invasion, by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught on their former attempt, determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the system in those provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emissaries were sent into the South and West in great numbers, of whose success in forming new societies and administering the oaths of the Union, there were, in the course of some few months, but too evident proofs in the introduction of the same disturbances and enormities into Munster, with which the northern province had been so severely visiied.

In May, 1797, althongh numbers had been sworn both in Munster and Leinster, the strength of the organization, exclusive of Ulster, lay chiefly in the metropolis, and in the neighboring Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and the King's County. It was very observable, that the counties in which Defenderism had prevailed, easily became converts to the new doctrines; and in the summer of 1797, the usual concomitants of *this species of treason*, namely, the plundering houses of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of those who did not join their party, began to appear in the midland counties.

"In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties, particularly in the Counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly in their cause, the United Irishmen found it expedient in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on

the *supposed oppressiveness of tithes*, which had been the pretext for the old *White Boy's* insurrections. And it is observable, that in addition to the acts of violence usually resorted to by the party for the furtherance of their purposes, the ancient practice of burning the corn, and houghing the cattle of those *against whom their resentment was directed*, was revived, and very generally practised in those counties.

"With a view to excite the resentment of the Catholics, and to turn that resentment to the purposes of the party, fabricated and false tests were represented as having been taken *to exterminate Catholics*, and were industriously disseminated by the emissaries of the treason throughout the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongst the ignorant of the Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and absurd, was one among the many wicked means by which the deluded peasantry were engaged the more rapidly and deeply in the treason." *

So far the Committee; and this document is but one of many examples of legislative slander at the time, and of histories written by "loyal men" since. The report classes under the same head of "enormities" the fabrication of pikes and the murder of those who did not join their party. It is true the United Irishmen did everywhere get pikes forged; but utterly untrue that they did in any instance murder any one for not joining them. As for "burning the corn and houghing the cattle of those against whom their resentment was directed"—it is true that the "supposed oppressiveness of tithes," and of church rates, had for many years been the occasion of such acts of outrage against tithe proctors, &c., but quite untrue that outrages of this kind, or any other kind, increased when the United Irish Societies spread into the midland and southern counties. On the contrary, they diminished. We have already seen the strong testimony to this effect in the North; and it may be laid down as universally true, that the Irish people on the eve of an insurrection, or in any violent political excitement, are always free from crime to a most exemplary extent; which is always considered an alarming symptom by the authorities.

"The good effects of the United Irish system in the commencement," says Miles Byrne,* "were soon felt and seen throughout the Counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Wicklow, which were the parts of the country I knew best. *It gave the first alarm to the Government;* they suspected something extraordinary was going on, finding that disputes, fighting at fairs and other places of public meeting, had completely ceased. The magistrates soon perceived this change, as they were now seldom called on to grant summons or warrants to settle disputes. Drunkenness ceased also; for an United Irishmen to be found *drunk* was unknown for many months. . . . Such was the sanctity of our cause." † Even Mr. Plowden, though an enemy of the United Irishmen, and ready enough to call them *miscreants* for their "treason," is obliged to vindicate them from the charge of encouraging or favoring other kinds of crime. But it is true, that if it be an "enormity" to "fabricate pikes," they were guilty of that atrocity.†

So much, it is right to say, in vindication of as pure, gallant, and self-sacrificing a political party as ever appeared in any country under the sun.

As for the last-cited statement in the

* Plowden.

* The excellent, chivalrous Miles Byrne, who died only in 1852, a *Chef-de-Bataillon* in the French service, was one of the first United Irishmen in Wexford County. His *Memoirs*, edited by his widow, and published in New York and in Paris in 1863, form one of the most valuable documents for the history of his time, and the insurrection in Wexford.

† The question at one time much agitated—whether the United Irishmen, or any of them, did or did not theoretically hold *tyrannicide*, that is, political assassination, to be lawful, is nothing to the purpose; it is enough to know they never practised it, and their leaders professed their abhorrence of it. Singular to say, the only United Irishman who ever, by any writing of his, gave even a pretext for such an imputation, was the gentle poet, who sings "The Loves of the Angels," and "The Last Rose of Summer." A letter of his, when a student in Trinity College, signed *Sophister*, contains some rhetoric of that sort; and resolutions written by him and offered in one of the U. I Clubs in College, were the chief occasion of Lord Clare's celebrated *Visitation* to the University; but Lord Clare himself admitted that the resolution advising *tyrannicide* had been rejected.

Committee's report, it was most accurately true that large bodies of men were at that moment "coming to put them (the Catholics) to death." Twelve English and Scottish militia regiments, besides an immense force of the regular army, were coming, or already come, for that express purpose; which purpose was also carried into effect upon a very great scale. And it was most natural, therefore, that those Catholics should be urged to *unite* for their own defense with those of their countrymen who were objects of the same conspiracy; namely, the Society of United Irishmen.

When this monstrous report was presented in the House of Commons, there was naturally some debate. Mr. Fletcher said, that if cöercive measures were to be pursued, the whole country must be cöerced, for the spirit of insurrection had pervaded every part of it.

Mr. M. Beresford ordered the clerk to take down these words, and the gallery was instantly cleared. When strangers were again admitted, the debate on the address still continued, and in the course of it M. J. C. Beresford thought himself called on to defend the Secret Committee against an assertion which had fallen from Mr. Fletcher in the course of his speech. The assertion was, in substance, that he feared the people would be led to look on the report of the Committee, as fabricated rather to justify the past measures of Government, than to state facts.

One statement, however, in the report was true—that during this summer the United Irish system did strike vigorous roots in all the Counties of Leinster, except, perhaps, Kilkenny. It has been affirmed that Wexford, which soon made the most formidable figure in the insurrection, had so few United Irishmen within its bounds up to the end of the year 1797, as not to be counted at all in the official returns of the organized counties in February; and it is probable that as the peasantry of Wexford were comparatively comfortable and thrifty, and lived on good terms with their landlords, there was less disposition to rush into insurrectionary organizations at first. Yet Miles Byrne, who was himself sworn in an United Irishman in the summer of 1797, tells us: "Before a month had elapsed, almost every one had taken the test." He adds: "We soon organized parochial and baronial meetings, and named delegates to correspond with the county members. Robert Graham, of Corcannon, a cousin of my mother's, was named to represent the county at the meeting to be held in Dublin at Oliver Bond's." Whatever may have been the case in Wexford, it is certain that Kildare, Carlow, Meath, and Dublin, were in the course of the summer completely organized. Miles Byrne says: "Nothing could exceed the readiness and good will of the United Irishmen to comply with the instructions they received to procure arms, ammunition, &c., notwithstanding the difficulties and perils they underwent in purchasing those articles. Pikes were easily had at this time, for almost every blacksmith was an United Irishman. The pike-blades were soon had, but it was more difficult to procure poles for them; and the cutting down of young ash trees for that purpose awoke great attention and caused great sucpicion of the object in view." It is certain, however, that the County of Wexford neither suffered so much, nor was so ripe for insurrection, as many other counties, until after the 1st of April, 1798, when Lord Castlereagh's "well-timed measures" were taken. In the meantime Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the other leaders were eagerly and impatiently awaiting news of approaching succors from France; keeping the people as quiet as possible, and letting them prepare their arms and steel their hearts, in full view of the corpses blackening upon many a gibbet, and heads impaled on spikes over many a gaol door-way, for the crime of swearing to promote the union of Irishmen, in order to obtain a full and fair representation of the people,* and deliverance from their savage oppressors.

* It is right to bear in mind throughout, that the original test of the United Irish Society, which bound them to unite to procure fair representation of all the Irish people in *Parliament*, was changed in 1795 into an engagement to unite for the purpose of obtaining a fair representation of all the people—dropping the words "*in Parliament*." From that time, separation and a republican government became the fixed objects of the principal leaders, but not the avowed ones till a little later, when, at the conclusion of every meeting, the chairman was

CHAPTER XXXI.

1797—1798.

Wolfe Tone's Negotiations in France and Holland—Lewins—Expedition of Dutch Government Destined for Ireland—Tone at the Texel—His Journal—Tone's Uneasiness about Admitting Foreign Dominion over Ireland—MacNeven's Memoir—Discussion as to Proper Point for a Landing—Tone on Board the Vryheid—Adverse Winds—Rage and Impatience of Tone—Disastrous Fate of the Batavian Expedition—Camperdown.

The great French armament, destined for the liberation of Ireland, which had looked in at Bantry Bay, had returned to Brest, without so much loss by the bad weather as might have been expected, and without having met a single British ship-of-war. The frigate Fraternité, carrying General Hoche and the Admiral Morand de Galles, arrived safely at La Rochelle a fortnight after. Hoche was appointed to the command of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse; and Theobald Wolfe Tone went with him, attached to his personal staff. A great mutual regard seems to have sprung up between the young General and his gallant *Aide;* and the latter, who had by no means given up the project of a French liberating invasion of Ireland, always cherished the hope of seeing Hoche appointed to the chief command. On the 10th of March, he writes to his wife: "This very day the Executive Directory has ratified the nomination of General Hoche, and I am, to all intents and purposes, Adjutant-General, destined for the Army of Sambre and Meuse."

In the end of May, after a short stay with his family, who had arrived in France, we find him at Cologne, at the headquarters of that army. In the meantime, Mr. John Edward Lewins, already mentioned as an agent of the United Irishmen, had arrived in France, empowered to treat for another expedition, and to negotiate a loan. When Lewins arrived in Holland, then called the "Batavian Republic," one of the republics dependent upon France, and at war with England, he found the Government very well disposed to essay this bold enterprise of a descent upon Ireland, and to risk their whole navy and army in the effort. An extract from Tone's journal will now afford the best insight into the state of this negotiation. While with General Hoche, at his *Quartier General*, at Friedberg, he writes, under date of June 12th, 1797:—

"This evening the General called me into the garden and told me he had some good news for me. He then asked, 'Did I know one Lewins?' I answered I did, perfectly well, and had a high opinion of his talents and patriotism. 'Well,' said he, 'he is at Neuwied, waiting to see you; you must set off to-morrow morning; when you join him, you must go together to Treves, and wait for further orders.' The next morning I set off, and, on the 14th, in the evening, reached—

June 14th, Neuwied; where I found Lewins waiting for me. I cannot express the unspeakable satisfaction I felt at seeing him. I gave him a full account of all my labors, and of everything that had happened since I have been in France, and he informed me, in return, of everything of consequence relating to Ireland, and especially to my friends now in jeopardy there.

June 17th, Treves; where we arrived on the 17th. What is most material is, that he is sent here by the Executive Committee of the United People of Ireland, to solicit, on their part, the assistance in troops, arms, and money, necessary to enable them to take the field, and assert their liberty; the organization of the people is complete, and nothing is wanting but the point d'appui. His instructions are to apply to France, Holland, and Spain. At Hamburgh, where he passed almost two months, he met a Senor Nava, an officer of rank in the Spanish navy, sent thither by the Prince of Peace, on some mission of consequence; he opened himself to Nava, who wrote off, in consequence, to his court, and received an answer, general, it is true, but in the highest degree favorable; a circumstance which augurs well, is,

obliged to inform the members of each society, "they had undertaken no light matter," and he was directed to ask every delegate present what were his views and his understanding of those of his society, and each individual was expected to reply, "a republican government and a separation from England." *Pieces of Irish History Madden.*

All this was, of course, as well known to the Government as to the members; so that it cannot in candor be said, that the U. I. were treated as criminals for the mere fact of *uniting*—it was for uniting to destroy British dominion in Ireland, and erect a republic in its place.

that, in forty days from the date of Nava's letter, he received the answer, which is less time than he ever knew a courier to arrive in, and shows the earnestness of the Spanish Minister. Lewins' instructions are to demand of Spain £500,000 sterling, and 30,000 stand of arms. At Treves, on the 19th, Dalton, the General's Aid-de-Camp, came express with orders for us to return to—

June 21st, Coblentz; where we arrived on the 21st, and met General Hoche. He told us that, in consequence of the arrival of Lewins, he had sent off Simon, one of his Adjutant-Generals, who was of our late expedition, in order to press the Executive Directory and Minister of the Marine; that he had also sent copies of all the necessary papers, including especially those lately prepared by Lewins, with his own observations, enforcing them in the strongest manner; that he had just received the answers of all parties, which were as favorable as we could desire; but that the Minister of the Marine was absolutely for making the expedition on a grand scale, for which two months, at the very least, would still be necessary; to which I, knowing Brest of old, and that two months, in the language of the Marine, meant four at least, if not five or six, remarked the necessity of an immediate exertions in order to profit of the state of mutiny and absolute disorganization in which the English navy is at this moment, in which Lewins heartily concurred; and we both observed that *it was not a strong military force* that we wanted at this moment, but arms and ammunition, with troops sufficient to serve as a *noyau de armee*, and protect the people in their first assembling; adding, that 5,000 men sent now, when the thing was feasible, would be far better than 25,000 in three months, when, perhaps, we might find ourselves again blocked up in Brest Harbor; and I besought the General to remember that the mutiny aboard the English fleet would most certainly be soon quelled, so that there was not a moment to lose; that if we were lucky enough to arrive in Ireland before that took place, I looked upon it as morally certain, that, by proper means, we might gain over the seamen, who have already spoken of steering the fleet into the Irish harbor, and so settle the business, perhaps, without striking a blow. We both pressed these, and such other arguments as occurred, in the best manner we were able; to which General Hoche replied, he saw everything precisely in the same light we did, and that he would act accordingly, and press the Directory and Minister of the Marine in the strongest manner. He showed Lewins Simons' letter, which contained the assurance of the Directory, 'that they would make no peace with England wherein the interests of Ireland should not be fully discussed agreeably to the wishes of the people of that country.' This is a very strong declaration, and has most probably been produced by a demand made by Lewins in his memorial, 'that the French Government should make it an indispensable condition of peace, that all the British troops be withdrawn from Ireland, and the people left at full liberty to declare whether they wished to continue the connection with England or not.' General Hoche then told us not to be discouraged by the arrival of a British negotiator, for that the Directory were determined to make no peace but on conditions which would put it out of the power of England longer to arrogate to herself the commerce of the world, and dictate her laws to all the maritime powers. He added that preparations were making also in Holland for an expedition, the particulars of which he would communicate to us in two or three days, and, in the meantime, desired us to attend him to—

June 24th, Cologne; for which place we set off, and arrived the 24th.

June 25th.—At nine o'clock at night the General sent us a letter from General Daendels, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Batavian Republic, acquainting him that everything was in the greatest forwardness, and would be ready in a very few days; that the army and the navy were in the best possible spirit; that the Committee for Foreign Affairs (the Directory per interim of the Batavian Republic) desired most earnestly to see him without loss of time, in order to make the definitive arrangements; and especially they prayed him to bring with him the deputy of the people of Ireland, which Daendels repeated two or three times in his

letter. In consequence of this, I waited on the General, whom I found in his bed in the Court Imperiale, and received his orders to set off with Lewins without loss of time, and attend him at—

June 27th, the Hague; where we arrived accordingly, having traveled day and night. In the evening we went to the Comedie, where we met the General in a sort of public incognito; that is to say, he had combed the powder out of his hair, and was in a plain regimental frock. After the play, we followed him to his lodgings at the Lion d'or, where he gave us a full detail of what was preparing in Holland. He began by telling us that the Dutch Governor-General Daendels, and Admiral Dewinter, were sincerely actuated by a desire to effectuate something striking to rescue their country from that state of oblivion and *decadence* into which it had fallen; that by the most indefatigable exertions on their part, they had got together, at the Texel, sixteen sail of the line, and eight or ten frigates, all ready for sea, and in the highest condition; that they intended to embark 15,000 men, the whole of their national troops, 3,000 stand of arms, 80 pieces of artillery, and money for their pay and subsistence for three months; that he had the best opinion of the sincerity of all parties, and of the courage and conduct of the General and Admiral, but that here was the difficulty: The French Government had demanded that at least 5,000 French troops, the *elite* of the army, should be embarked, instead of a like number of Dutch, in which case, if the demand was acceded to, he would himself take the command of the united army, and set off for the Texel directly; but that the Dutch Government made great difficulties, alleging a variety of reasons, of which some were good; that they said the French troops would never submit to the discipline of the Dutch navy, and that, in that case, they could not pretend to enforce it on their own, without making unjust distinctions, and giving a reasonable ground for jealousy and discontent to their army; 'but the fact is,' said Hoche, 'that the Committee, Daendels, and Dewinter, are anxious that the Batavian Republic should have the whole glory of the expedition, if it succeeds; they feel that their country has been forgotten in Europe, and they are risking everything, even to their last stake: for, if this fails, they are ruined—in order to restore the national character. The demand of the French Government is now before the Committee; if it is acceded to, I will go myself, and, at all events, I will present you both to the Committee; and we will probably then settle the matter definitively.' Both Lewins and I now found ourselves in a considerable difficulty. On the one side, it was an object of the greatest importance to have Hoche and his 5,000 grenadiers; on the other, it was most unreasonable to propose anything which could hurt the feelings of the Dutch people, at a moment when they were making unexampled exertions in our favor, and risking, as Hoche himself said, their last ship and last shilling to emancipate us. I cursed and swore like a dragon; it went to my very heart's blood and midriff to give up the General and our brave lads, 5,000 of whom I would prefer to any 10,000 in Europe; on the other hand, I could not but see that the Dutch were perfectly reasonable in the desire to have the whole reputation of an affair prepared and arranged entirely at their expense, and at such an expense. I did not know what to say. Lewins, however, extricated himself and me with considerable address. After stating very well our difficulty, he asked Hoche whether he thought that Daendels would serve under his orders, and, if he refused, what effect that might have on the Batavian troops? I will never forget the magnanimity of Hoche on this occasion. He said he believed Daendels would not, and, therefore, that the next morning he would withdraw the demand with regard to the French troops, and leave the Dutch Government at perfect liberty to act as they thought proper. When it is considered that Hoche has a devouring passion for fame; that his great object, on which he has endeavored to establish his reputation, is the destruction of the power of England; that he has, for two years, in a great degree, devoted himself to our business, and made the greatest exertions, including our memorable expedition, to emancipate us; that he sees, at last, the business likely to be accomplished by an-

other, and, of course, all the glory he had promised to himself ravished from him; when, in addition to all this, it is considered that he could, by a word's speaking, prevent the possibility of that rival's moving one step, and find, at the same time, plausible reasons sufficient to justify his own conduct, —I confess his renouncing the situation which he might command is an effort of very great virtue. It is true he is doing exactly what an honest man and a good citizen ought to do; he is preferring the interests of his country to his own private views; that, however, does not prevent my regarding his conduct, in this instance, with great admiration, and I shall never forget it. This important difficulty being removed, after a good deal of general discourse on our business, we parted late, perfectly satisfied with each other, and having fixed to wait on the Committee to-morrow in the forenoon. All reflections made, the present arrangement, if it has its dark, has its bright sides also, of which more hereafter.

June 28th.—This morning, at ten, Lewins and I went with General Hoche to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, which we found sitting. There were eight or nine members, of whom I do not know all the names, together with General Daendels. Those whose names I learned, were citizens Hahn, (who seemed to have great influence among them,) Bekker, Van Leyden, and Grasveldt. General Hoche began by stating extremely well the history of our affairs, since he had interested himself in them; he pressed, in the strongest manner that we could wish, the advantages to be reaped from the emancipation of Ireland, the almost certainty of success, if the attempt were once made, and the necessity of attempting it, if at all immediately. It was citizen Hahn who replied to him. He said he was heartily glad to find the measure sanctioned by so high an opinion as that of General Hoche; that originally the object of the Dutch Government was to have invaded England, in order to have operated a diversion in favor of the French army, which it was hoped would have been in Ireland; that circumstances being totally changed in that regard, they had yielded to the wishes of the French Government, and resolved to go into Ireland; that, for this purpose, they had made the greatest exertions, and had now at the Texel an armament of 16 sail of the line, 10 frigates, 15,000 troops in the best condition, 80 pieces of artillery, and pay for the whole three months; but that a difficulty had been raised within a few days, in consequence of a requisition of the Minister of Marine, Truget, who wished to have 5,000 French troops, instead of so many Dutch, to be disembarked in consequence. That this was a measure of extreme risk, inasmuch as the discipline of the Dutch navy was very severe, and such as the French troops would probably not submit to; that, in that case, they could not pretend to enforce it with regard to their own troops, the consequence of which would be a relaxation of all discipline. This was precisely what General Hoche told us last night. He immediately replied, that, such being the case, he would take on himself to withdraw the Minister of Marine, and satisfy the Directory as to the justice of their observations; and that he hoped, all difficulty on that head being removed, they would press the embarkation without a moment's delay. It was easy to see the most lively satisfaction on all their faces, at this declaration of General Hoche, which certainly does him the greatest honor. General Daendels, especially, was beyond measure delighted. They told us then that they hoped all would be ready in a fortnight, and Hahn observed, at the same time, that, as there was an English squadron which appeared almost every day at the mouth of the Texel, it was very much to be desired that the Brest fleet should, if possible, put to sea, in order to draw off at least a part of the British fleet, because, from the position of the Texel, the Dutch fleet was liable to be attacked in detail, in sailing out of the port; and even if they beat the enemy, it would not be possible to proceed, as they must return to refit. To this, General Hoche replied, that the French fleet could not, he understood, be ready before two months, which put it out of the question; and as to the necessity of returning to refit, he observed that, during the last war, the British and French fleets had often fought, both in the East and West Indies, and kept the seas after; all that was necessary being

to have on board the necessary articles of *rechange;* besides, it was certainly the business of the Dutch fleet to avoid an action by all possible means. General Daendels observed that Admiral Dewinter desired nothing better than to measure himself with the enemy, but we all, that is to say, General Hoche, Lewins, and myself, cried out against it, his only business being to bring his convoy safe to its destination. A member of the committee, I believe it was Van Leyden, then asked us, supposing everything succeeded to our wish, what was the definite object of the Irish people. To which we replied categorically, that it was to throw off the yoke of England, break forever the connection now existing with that country, and constitute ourselves a free and independent people. They all expressed their satisfaction at this reply, and Van Leyden observed that he had traveled through Ireland, and to judge from the luxury of the rich, and extreme misery of the poor, no country in Europe had so crying a necessity for a revolution. To which Lewins and I replied, as is most religiously the truth, that one great motive of our conduct in this business, was the conviction of the wretched state of our peasantry, and the determination, if possible, to amend it. The political object of our visit being now nearly ascertained, Hahn, in the name of the Committee, observed that he hoped either Lewins or I would be of the expedition. To which Hoche replied, 'that I was ready to go,' and he made the offer, on my part, in a manner peculiarly agreeable to my feelings. It was then fixed that I should set off for the army of Sambre et Meuse for my trunk, and especially for my papers, and that Lewins should remain at the Hague, at the orders of the Committee, until my return, which might be seven or eight days. The meeting then broke up. We could not possibly desire to find greater attention to us, personally, or, which was far more important, greater zeal and anxiety to forward this expedition, in which the Dutch Government has thrown itself '*a corps perdu.*' They venture no less than the whole of their army and navy. As Hoche expressed it, 'they are like a man stripped to his breeches, who has one shilling left, which he throws in the lottery, in the hope of being enabled to buy a coat."

The mutations of history are sometimes strange. Here, in 1797, we find the Dutch nation preparing for a grand national effort to liberate and redeem the very same people whom a century before it had so powerfully contributed, with the Prince of Orange and its "Dutch Blues," to hurl, prostrate under the feet of this very England which the Dutch Republic was now so eager to overthrow.

It deserves to be noticed, in justice to the Irish agents, both in Holland and in France, that they never contemplated bringing an overwhelming force to Ireland, such as might subdue the country to hold it in a state of subjection to France, like the Ligurian, or Cisalpine Republic. The "Secret Committee," already so often cited, which had under examination Messrs. Emmet, MacNeven, and O'Connor, admit this fact. "It appeared to the Committee, that the Executive of the Union, though desirous of obtaining assistance in men, arms, and money, yet were averse to a greater force being sent than might enable them to subvert the Government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands; but that the French showed a decided disinclination at all times to send any force to Ireland, except such as from its magnitude might not only give them the hopes of conquering the kingdom, but of retaining it afterwards as a French conquest, and of subjecting it to all the plunder and oppressions which other nations subdued or deceived by that nation had experienced. In Tone's journal, under date of 1st of July, occurs a passage showing how earnestly that true Irishman deprecated a French *conquest* of his country: "I then took occasion to speak on a subject which had weighed very much upon my mind, I mean the degree of influence which the French might be disposed to arrogate to themselves in Ireland, and which I had great reason to fear would be greater than we might choose to allow them. In the *Gazette,* of that day, there was a proclamation of Buonaparte's, addressed to the Government of Genoa, which I thought most grossly improper and indecent, as touching on the indispensable rights of the people. I read the most obnoxious passages to Hoche, and observed, that if Buonaparte commanded in Ireland,

and were to publish there so indiscreet a proclamation, it would have a most ruinous effect; that in Italy such dictation might pass, but never in Ireland, where we understood our rights too well to submit to it. Hoche answered me, 'I understand you, but you may be at ease in that respect; Buonaparte has been my scholar, but he shall never be my master.'"

Before proceeding to narrate the fortunes of this second grand expedition bound for Ireland, it will be well to consider the views of those Irishmen who had studied the subject, with regard to a point then extremely interesting, and which may again become interesting in the course of human events—namely, the most advisable or convenient harbors of Ireland for purposes of a landing hostile to England. This question is treated at length in a memoir, which was, during this same summer, intrusted to Dr. MacNeven, and was by him carried over to France, in order that no such blunder might again be made as the approach to the desolate mountainous coasts of Bear and Bantry. This memoir, singular to relate, fell into the hands of the British Government; but certainly not through any treachery on the part of Dr MacNeven, who was a most excellent man; but O'Connor, Emmet and MacNeven tell us, in their memoirs, that on their examination before the Secret Committee of the Lords the next year, they were astonished beyond measure to see the very original of that memoir lying on the table—so perfect was the spy system of England, both at home and abroad, maintained by an enormous expenditure of "Secret Service money."

The account which the Secret Committee has given us of that memoir is as follows: The next communication of consequence was in June, 1797, when an accredited person went from hence to communicate with the French Directory by their desire; he went by Hamburg, where he saw the French Minister, who made some difficulty about granting a passport, and demanded a memorial, which was written by the accredited person, and given to the French Minister under the impression that the passport was not to be granted.

The memoir was written in English, and contained the objects of his mission according to the instructions which he had received from the Executive. It began by stating, that the appearance of the French in Bantry Bay, had encouraged the least confident of the Irish in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England with the assistance of France; that the event of that expedition had proved the facility of invading Ireland; that in the event of a second expedition, if the object were to take Cork, Oyster Haven would be the best place of debarkation; that the person who had been before accredited was instructed to point out Oyster Haven as the best place of debarkation; and it stated the precautions which had been taken, by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy, and Mallow. It further stated, that the system of the United Irishmen had made a rapid progress in the County of Cork, and that Bandon was become a second Belfast; that the system had made great progress in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to assist the French; that 150,000 United Irishmen were organized and enroled in Ulster, a great part of them regimented, and one-third ready to march out of the province. It detailed the number of the King's forces in Ulster, and their stations; recommended Loughswilly as a place of debarkation in the North, and stated, that the people in the peninsula of Donegal would join the French. It stated, also, the strength of the garrison in Londonderry, and that one regiment which made a part of it was supposed to be disaffected. It mentioned Killybegs also as a good place of debarkation, and stated that the Counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Monaghan, were amongst the best affected to the cause. In case of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diversion in Sligo, and stated, that a force of 10,000 United Irishmen might be collected to fall upon Enniskillen, which commanded the pass of Lough Erne; that it was easy to enter the Bay of Galway, but very difficult to get out of it; that the Counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, King's County, and City of Dublin, were the best organized; that the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well

affected to the cause; that some of them had rendered great service in propagating with discreet zeal the system of the Union. It declared that the people of Ireland had a lively sense of gratitude to France for the part which she took, and also to Spain for the interest she took in the affairs of Ireland. It engaged on the part of the National Directory, to reimburse the expenses of France in the expedition which had failed, and of another to be undertaken. The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000, and not less than 5,000 men. It stated that a brigade of English artillery had been already sent over, and that a large body of troops would probably be sent if Ireland were attacked. A considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition, with a large staff, and a body of engineers, and as many Irish officers as possible, whose fidelity they were assured of were demanded as necessary to accompany the expedition. A recommendation was given to separate the Irish seamen who were prisoners of war from the British, supposing they would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. It further recommended a proclamation to be published by the French General, on his arrival there, that the French came as allies to deliver the country, not to conquer it; it also recommended to the Directory to make the independence of Ireland an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace then pending; and stated, that a proceeding so authentic could not be disguised or misrepresented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland. It contained also an assurance, that the Irish Militia would join the French if they landed in considerable force.*

The difficulty in the way of the Batavian expedition being removed, by the generous self-abnegation of General Hoche, (though his heart was set upon this service,) great activity was exerted to make everything ready. Tone was to accompany the Dutch force, with the same rank which he held in the French. What greatly increased the hopes and spirits of Tone and his allies, was the famous "Mutiny of the Nore," on board the English fleet, off the mouth of the Thames, which threatened for a few weeks to disable completely the naval power of England. The mutiny, however, was with some difficulty quelled by some sanguinary punishments, and also by increasing the pay of the seamen; so that the British Channel Fleet was ready for service again, as the Dutch soon found out to their cost. On the 4th of July, we find Wolfe Tone at the Hague, ready to undertake his duties. We copy the following extracts from Tone's Journal:—

"*July 4th.*—Instantly on my arrival I waited on General Daendels, whom I found on the point of setting out for the Texel. He read the letter, and told me everything should be settled with regard to my rank, and that I should receive two months' pay in advance, to equip me for the campaign. His reception of me was extremely friendly. I staid with Lewins, at the Hague, three or four days, whilst my regimentals, &c., were making up, and at length, all being ready, we parted, he setting off for Paris, to join General Hoche, and I for the Texel, to join General Daendels.

"*July 8th.*—Arrived early in the morning at the Texel, and went immediately on board the Admiral's ship, the Vryheid, of 74 guns, a superb vessel. Found General Daendels aboard, who presented me to Admiral Dewinter, who commands the expedition. I am exceedingly pleased with both one and the other; there is a frankness and candor in their manners which is highly interesting.

"*July 10th.*—I have been boating about the fleet, and aboard several of the vessels; they are in very fine condition, incomparably better than the fleet at Brest, and I learn from all hands that the best possible spirit reigns in both soldiers and sailors. Admiral Duncan, who commands the English fleet off the Texel, sent in yesterday an officer with a flag of truce, apparently with a letter, but in fact to reconnoitre our force. Dewinter was even with him: for he de-

* The topographical researches into the capabilities of harbors for invasion, must be much facilitated by the many excellent maps of Ireland published within these last few years; some of which also afford a very perfect idea of the nature of the country inland. At the period spoken of in the text, the best map of Ireland was, perhaps, that of Beaumont, a very useless one for strategical purposes.

tained his messenger, and sent back the answer by an officer of his own, with instructions to bring back an exact account of the force of the enemy.

"*July* 11*th*.—This day our flag of truce is returned, and the English officer released. Duncan's fleet is of eleven sail of the line, of which three are three-deckers."

When both fleet and army were quite ready, by some fatality similar to that which delayed the Brest fleet before, the wind set in steadily in an adverse direction, and so continued day after day, week after week.* During the whole of the two months of July and August the departure was postponed; the supplies put on board the fleet were nearly exhausted; and it was known that Admiral Duncan, who cruised outside, had been reinforced considerably. Changes of plan were proposed, and England or Scotland was to be the object of the attempt, not Ireland. When General Daendels mentioned these new projects to Wolfe Tone, the latter became seriously alarmed. He says in his journal: "These are, most certainly, very strong reasons, and, unfortunately, the wind gives them every hour fresh weight. I answered, that I did not see at present any solid objection to propose to his system; and that all I had to say, was, that, if the Batavian Republic sent but a corporal's guard to Ireland, I was ready to make one. So here is our expedition in a hopeful way. It is most terrible. Twice, within nine months, has England been saved by the wind. It seems as if the very elements had conspired to perpetuate our slavery, and protect the insolence and oppression of our tyrants What can I do at this moment? Nothing. The people of Ireland will now lose all spirit and confidence in themselves and their chiefs, and God only knows whether, if we were even able to effectuate a landing with 3,000 men, they might act with courage and decision."

In the interval of waiting at the Texel, two additional agents of the Irish Union made their appearance in Holland. These were Tennant and Lowry; with instructions to make sure, if possible, of some effectual aid, either from France or Holland. They put themselves at once into communication with Tone and Lewins. Nothing seemed immediately possible in that direction, at least until after this Dutch armament should be definitely given up; and the Batavian authorities were very reluctant to give it up. General Daendels charged Tone with a mission to the headquarters of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, in order to confer with General Hoche; and when he arrived, he found Hoche dying. He writes:—

"*September* 18*th and* 19*th*.—My fears, with regard to General Hoche, were but too well founded. He died this morning at four o'clock. His lungs seemed to me quite gone. This most unfortunate event has so confounded and distressed me that I know not what to think, nor what will be the consequences. Wrote to my wife, and to General Daendels instantly."

Tone evidently believed that Dewinter's Dutch fleet would never sail at all; therefore, after the death of Hoche, he obtained leave to go to Paris, where he was to meet his wife and children.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the loss which the Irish cause in France sustained in the death of General Hoche. He had thoroughly made that cause his own, through his warm admiration for his Irish *aide*, as well as from his settled conviction, formed on military principles, that to strike England in Ireland is the surest and easiest way to destroy her power. It is now known that Napoleon Buonaparte, then the rival of Hoche, came afterwards to entertain strongly this opinion concerning Ireland, although, unfortunately, he was not then duly impressed with its importance. At St. Helena, he said of Hoche, that "he was one of the first of French generals;" and that if he had landed in Ireland he would have succeeded in the great enter-

* It is painful to see how Tone's fiery spirit, already irritated by disappointment, chafed at this cruel delay. July 17th, he says in his diary: "I hope the wind will not play us a trick. It is terribly foul this evening. Hang it, and damn it for me! I am in a rage, which is truly astonishing, and can do nothing to help myself. Well! well!

"*July* 18*th*.—The wind is as foul as possible this morning; it cannot be worse. Hell! Hell! Hell! Allah! Allah! Allah! I am in a most devouring rage! * * * * * *

"*July* 19*th*.—Wind foul still. Horrible! Horrible! Admiral Dewinter and I endeavor to pass away the time, playing the flute, which he does very well; we have some good duets, and that is some relief."

prise. And if he had but lived another year, his influence might have availed to direct upon the coast of Ireland that fine fleet and army which made the unavailing and disastrous invasion of Egypt.

While Tone seems to have abandoned every hope of decisive action on the part of the Batavian Republic, a sudden resolution was taken at the Hague. In the beginning of October, the British Commander quitted his station, and went to Yarmouth Roads to refit. A peremptory order was dispatched by the Dutch Government to Admiral Dewinter to put to sea. On the morning of the 11th of October, Duncan, having made great haste, came in view of the Dutch fleet near the coast of Holland, off a place called Camperdown. The two fleets were nearly equal in number of ships, but the English were much superior in weight of metal. Dewinter, seeing a battle inevitable, engaged with the utmost gallantry. After a bloody fight, which the Dutch sustained with an intrepidity approaching desperation, Dewinter's ship struck, a sinking wreck. Ten Dutch ships of the line and two frigates were captured; Duncan became Lord Camperdown; and there was an end of Holland as a great naval power.

Thus there was, and continued to be, a strange fatality dooming the hopes of Ireland in foreign aid to a series of painful disappointments. There were, after this, two more expeditions on a small scale, both French, and both intended to aid the Irish insurrection. As for the "Army of England," which began to be formed in this very month of October, it is needless to enter into the detail of that operation, as it was really never intended for England at all, still less for Ireland. Napoleon Buonaparte was made Commander-in-Chief. While there was apparently busy preparation in the Channel ports of France, Wolfe Tone was in the highest spirits; and had several interviews with the conqueror of Italy, who seemed bent at last upon the grand enterprise of going straight to London, promised Tone that he should be employed in the expedition, and requested him to make out a list of the leading Irish refugees then in Paris, who "would all," he said "be undoubtedly employed." So passed the winter and the spring. Two passages from Tone's journal will tell all that is needful to be told of the *Armée d'Angleterre*:—

"*May 19th.*—I do not know what to think of our expedition. It is certain that the whole left wing of the Army of England is, at this moment, in full march back to the Rhine; Buonaparte is, God knows where, and the clouds seem thickening more and more in Germany, where I have no doubt Pitt is moving heaven and hell to embroil matters, and divert the storm which was almost ready to fall on his head.

"*May 24th and 25th.*—It is certain that Buonaparte is at Toulon, and embarked since the 14th; his speech, as I suspected, is not as it was given in the last journals. The genuine one I read to-day, and there are two sentences in it which puzzle me completely. In the first, at the beginning of the address, he tells the troops that they form a wing of the Army of England; in the second, towards the end, he reminds them that they have the glory of the French name to sustain in countries and seas the most distant. What does that mean? Is he going, after all, to India? Will he make a short cut to London by way of Calcutta? I begin foully to suspect it."

In fact, the expedition to Egypt was already at sea; Tone remained attached to that portion of the "Army of England" which was still quartered in the North of France, and passed his time between Rouen and Havre; Lewins continued to represent the United Irishmen at Paris with great tact and honesty. But in the meantime, Lord Castlereagh had already, by his "judicious measures," caused the premature explosion of the insurrection in Ireland; and the island was now ringing with the combat of Oulart Hill and the storm of Enniscorthy.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1798.

Spies—Secret Service Money—Press Prosecution—"Remember Orr!"—Account of Orr—Curran's Speech—His Description of Informers—Arts of Government—Sowing Dissensions—Forged Assassination List—"Union" Declines—Addresses of "Loyalty"—Maynooth Grant Enlarged—Catholic Bishops "Loyal"—Forcing a "Premature Explosion"—Camden and Carhampton—Outrages on the People, to Force Insurrection—Testimony of Lord Moira—Inquiry Demanded in Parliament—Repulsed and Defeated by Clare and Castlereagh—Insolence and Unlimited Power of Ministers—General Abercrombie Resigns—Remarkable General Order—Pelham Quits Ireland—Castlereagh's Secretary—The Hessians' Free Quarters—The Ancient Britons—Proclamation of Martial Law—Grattan's Picture of the Times—Horrible Atrocities in Wexford—Massacres—The Orangemen—Their Address of Loyalty—All these Outrages before any Insurrection.

During all the time of these negotiations in France, the British Government was most intimately acquainted with everything the United Irishmen were doing or contemplating, by means of great multitudes of spies; many, or most of these spies being themselves sworn members of the United Irish Society; whose business was not only to watch and report, but also to urge on and promote the preparations for insurrection, and who were duly paid at the Castle out of the "Secret Service Money."* The system of not merely paying informers for information, but hiring them beforehand to join illegal societies, and there recommend and urge forward the boldest and most illegal counsels, in order to betray their trusting confederates, is a system peculiar to the British Government in Ireland; and not paralleled in atrocity and baseness by anything known to us in the functions of a French or Austrian police. During the whole year 1797 this "battalion of testimony" was in a state of high organization and efficiency; and greatly aided in causing the insurrection to burst out at the very day and hour when the Castle wished for it. It would be an endless task to recount all the oppressions which in the latter part of this year goaded the people at last to seek a remedy in desperate resistance; but the case of Orr is too remarkable and notorious to be passed over.

A prosecution was instituted against the *Press* newspaper in 1798, for seditious libel on Lord Camden's government, contained in certain letters which appeared in that paper in the latter part of 1797. The subject matter of the libel in the *Press*, signed Marcus, (for the publication of which the printer was prosecuted by the Government,) was the refusal of Lord Camden to extend mercy to a person of the name of William Orr, of respectability, and remarkable for his popularity, who had been capitally convicted at Carrickfergus of administering the oath of the United Irishmen's Society, and was the first person who had been so convicted. Poems were written, sermons were preached; after-dinner speeches, and after supper still stronger speeches, were made, of no ordinary vehemence, about the fate of Orr and the conduct of Lord Camden, which certainly, in the peculiar circumstances of this case, was bad, or rather stupidly base and odiously unjust.

The scribes of the United Irishmen wrote up the memory of the man whom Camden had allowed to be executed with a full knowledge of the foul means taken to obtain a conviction, officially conveyed to him by persons every way worthy of credit and of undoubted loyalty.

The evident object of the efforts to make this cry, "*Remember Orr*," stir up the people to rebellion, cannot be mistaken—that object was to single out an individual case of suffering in the cause of the Union, for the sympathy of the nation, and to turn that sympathy to the account of the cause. Orr's case presented to the people of Ireland, at that period, a few *extraordinary* features of iniquity and of injustice. He was a noted, active, and popular country member of the

* Dr. Madden has procured and published the accounts of this important branch of the public service for 1797-8. These spies were of all grades of society, and their functiens were very various. Some, like Reynolds and Armstrong, men of education and position, were to associate with the leaders, and carry all their secrets to the Castle; others, like James O'Brien, were to foment treasons in public houses, and swear away, at assizes, the lives of those who trusted them. The record is a very curious one; and it may be some satisfaction to us, that if our country has been always bought and sold for money, we can at least examine and check the accounts, and estimate with considerable accuracy the money value of a traitor, (or "loyal man") according to his talents and opportunities. For seventy years past, it has cost the treasury heavily to purchase "loyal men" in Ireland, from Reynolds down to Nagle.

society of United Irishmen. He was executed on account of the notoriety of that circumstance, not on account of the sufficiency of the evidence or the justice of the conviction that was obtained against him; for the crown witness, Wheatly, immediately after the trial, acknowledged that he had perjured himself; and some of the jury came forward likewise, and admitted that they were drunk when they gave their verdict; and these facts, duly deposed to and attested, were laid before the viceroy, Lord Camden, by Sir John Macartney, the magistrate who had caused Orr to be arrested, and who, to his honor be it told, when he found the practices that had been resorted to, used every effort, though fruitlessly, to move Lord Camden to save the prisoner.

William Orr, of Ferranshane, in the County of Antrim, was charged with administering the United Irishman's oath, in his own house, to a soldier of the name of Wheatly. He was the first person indicted under the act which made that offense a capital felony (36 Geo. III.). His father was a small farmer in comfortable circumstances, and the proprietor of a bleach-green. James Hope, who was intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, informed Dr. Madden, "that William Orr was not actually the person who administered the oath to the soldier. The person who administered the oath was William M'Keever, a delegate from the City of Derry to the Provincial Committee, who afterwards made his escape to America."

In a letter of Miss M'Cracken, dated 27th of September, 1797, addressed to her brother, then in Kilmainham Jail, is found the following reference to the recent trial of Orr: "Orr's trial has clearly proved, that there is neither justice nor mercy to be expected. Even the greatest aristocrats here join in lamenting his fate; but his greatness of mind renders him an object of envy and of admiration rather than of compassion. I am told that his wife is gone with a letter from Lady Londonderry to her brother on his behalf. . . . You will be surprised when I tell you that old Archibald Thompson, of Cushendall, was foreman of the jury, and it is thought will lose his senses if Mr. Orr's sentence is carried into execution, as he appears already quite distracted at the idea of a person being condemned to die through his ignorance, as it seems he did not at all understand the business of a juryman. *However, he held out from the forenoon till six o'clock in the morning* of the day following, though, it is said, he was beaten, and threatened with being *wrecked*, and not left a sixpence in the world, on his refusing to bring in a verdict of guilty. Neither would they let him taste of the supper *and the drink which was sent to the rest, and of which they partook to such a beastly degree*. It was not, therefore, much to be wondered at, that an infirm old man should not have sufficient resolution to hold out against such treatment.

(Signed,) MARY M'CRACKEN."

Orr was defended by Curran and Sampson. The judges before whom he was tried were Lord Yelverton and Judge Chamberlaine. The jury retired at six in the evening *to consider their verdict*. They sat up, *deliberating*, all night, and returned into court at six the following morning. The jury inquired if they might find a qualified verdict as to the prisoner's guilt. The Judge directed them to give a special verdict on the general issue. They retired again, and returned shortly with a verdict of guilty, and a strong recommendation of the prisoner to mercy. Next day, Orr was brought up for judgment, when, after an unsuccessful motion in arrest of judgment, chiefly on the the grounds of the drunkenness of the jury, which Judge Chamberlaine would not admit of being made "the foundation of any motion to the Court," Yelverton pronounced sentence of death, "in a voice scarcely articulate, and at the conclusion of his address burst into tears." Orr said, pointing to the jury, "*That jury* has convicted me of being a felon. My own heart tells me that their conviction is a falsehood, and that I am not a felon. If they have found me guilty improperly, it is worse for them than for me. *I* can forgive them. I wish to say only one word more, and that is, to declare on this awful occasion, and in the presence of God, that the evidence against me was grossly perjured—grossly and wickedly perjured!"

The witness, Wheatly, made an affidavit

before a magistrate acknowledging his having sworn falsely against Orr. Two of the jury made depositions, setting forth that they had been induced to give a verdict contrary to their opinion, when under the influence of liquor. Two others made statements that they had been menaced by the other jurors with denunciations and the wrecking of their properties, if they did not comply with their wishes.

James Orr, in the *Press* newspaper of the 28th of October, 1797, published a statement respecting his interference, with a view of saving his brother's life, to the following effect: "He, James Orr, had been applied to by many gentlemen to get his brother William to make a confession of his guilt, as a condition on which they would use their interest to have his life spared. The high sheriff, Mr. Skeffington, and the sovereign of Belfast, the Rev. Mr. Bristowe, were among the number—the former undertaking to get the Grand Jury to sign a memorial in his favor. James Orr immediately went to his brother, and the latter indignantly refused to make any such confession, for 'he had not been guilty of the crime he was charged with.' James Orr not being able to induce him to sign it, returned to Belfast and wrote out a confession, similar in terms to that required by Skeffington and Bristowe, and *forged* his brother's name. The forged document was then turned to the account it was required for. A respite had been granted; but the weakness of the brother was made instrumental to the death of the prisoner. The shaken verdict of the drunken jury, of the perjured witness, was not suffered to preserve the prisoner. The forged testimony of his guilt was brought against him. The promises under which that document was obtained were forgotten, and thus 'a surreptitious declaration,' swindled from the fears of an afflicted family, was made the instrument to intercept the stream of mercy, and counteract the report of the Judge (one of the Judges, namely, Yelverton,) who tried him." Orr was executed outside of Carrickfergus, on the 14th of October, 1797, in his thirty-first year, solemnly protesting his innocence of the crime laid to his charge.

The act of James Orr might have led the executive into error; but William Orr wrote a letter to Lord Camden, dated the 10th of October, plainly informing his lordship of the forgery committed by his brother, and that the confession imputed to him "was base and false;" but stating, if mercy was extended to him, "he should not fail to entertain the most dutiful sense of gratitude for such an act of justice as well as mercy." On the day of the execution, the great body of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus quitted the town, to avoid witnessing the fate of Orr.

A person who visited Orr previously to his trial, speaks of his personal appearance and address as highly prepossessing. His apparel was new and fashionable—there was a remarkable neatness in his attire. The only thing approaching the foppery of patriotism was a narrow piece of green ribbon round his neck. He was six feet two inches in height, particularly well made—in fact, his person was a model of symmetry, strength, and gracefulness. He wore his hair short and well powdered. The expression of his countenance was frank and manly. He possessed a sound understanding, strong affections, and a kindly disposition. In speaking of the state of the country to his visitor, who remarked that the Government was disposed to act in a conciliatory spirit towards the country, he said: "No, no; you may depend upon it that there is some system laid down, *which has for its object murder and devastation.*" He added, respecting the treatment of the Dissenters as well as the Catholics, "Irishmen of every denomination must now stand or fall together."

Thus a variety of depositions establishing the drunkenness of the jury and the perjury of Wheatly were laid before the Lord-Lieutenant. One deposition was of the Rev. George Macartney, a magistrate of the County of Antrim, respecting Wheatly's being brought forward by Mr. Kemmis, and on his (Wheatly's) coming into court, relating to Mr. Macartney his having seen a Dissenting clergyman, of the name of Eder, whom he had known elsewhere, and was sure he was brought there to invalidate his testimony. Another deposition was that of the clergyman referred to, stating that he had

accompanied a brother clergyman, the Rev. A. Montgomery, to visit a sick soldier, apparently deranged, named Wheatly, a Scotchman, who had attempted to commit suicide; that he confessed to Mrs. Hueys, in whose house he then was, that he was in Colonel Durham's regiment, and had committed a murder, which weighed heavily upon his mind, and that he had been instigated to give false evidence against William Orr, of which crime he sincerely repented. A similar deposition, before Lord O'Neil, was made by the Rev. Mr. Montgomery. Two of the jury made depositions respecting their drunkenness. Two others made statements of the menaces that had been used by the other jurors. But all were of no avail. Lord Camden was deaf to all the representations made to him. All the waters of the ocean will not wash away the stain his obduracy on this occasion has left on his character. Better fifty thousand times for his fame it were, if he had never seen Ireland. The fate of Orr lies heavy on the memory of Lord Camden.

The friends of Earl Camden in vain seek to cast the responsibility of this act on his subordinates in the Irish Government. They say he was a passive instrument in the hands of others. The prerogative of mercy, however, was given to him, and not to them. On the 26th of October, 1797, a letter addressed to Earl Camden appeared in the *Press*, signed Marcus, ably and eloquently written, but unquestionably libellous, commenting on the conduct of his lordship in this case. Marcus used these words in reference to it: "The death of Mr. Orr, the nation has pronounced one of the most sanguinary and savage acts that has disgraced the laws. Let not the nation be told that you are a passive instrument in the hands of others. If passive you be, then is your office a shadow indeed. If an active instrument, as you ought to be, you did not perform the duty which the laws required of you. You did not exercise the prerogative of mercy — that mercy which the law entrusted to you for the safety of the subject. Innocent, it appears, he was. His blood has been shed, and the precedent is awful. . . . Feasting in your castle, in the midst of your myrmidons and bishops, you have little concerned yourself about the expelled and miserable cottager, whose dwelling at the moment of your mirth was in flames, his wife or his daughter suffering violence at the hands of some commissioned ravager, his son agonizing on the bayonet, and his helpless infants crying in vain for mercy. These are lamentations that disturb not the hour of carousal or intoxicated counsels. The constitution has reeled to its centre—Justice herself is not only blind, but drunk, and deaf, like Festus, to the words of soberness and truth.

"Let the awful execution of Mr. Orr be a lesson to all unthinking jurors, and let them cease to flatter themselves, that any interest, recommendation of theirs and of the presiding judge, can stop the course of carnage which sanguinary, and I do not fear to say, unconstitutional, laws have ordered to be loosed. Let them remember that, like Macbeth, the servants of the Crown have waded so far in blood, that they find it easier to go on than to go back."

Finnerty was found guilty, and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, to pay a fine of £20, and to give security for future good behavior for seven years. Mr. Curran's speech in defence of this printer, Finnerty, is a model of bold, impassioned, and indignant pleading, which has, perhaps, never been matched since in a court of justice. One passage of this great speech rises above the immediate case of the orator's client, and gives a bold and true picture of the policy of the Government: "The learned counsel has asserted that the paper which he prosecutes (the *Press*) is only part of a system formed to misrepresent the state of Ireland and the conduct of its Government. Do you not therefore discover that his object is to procure a verdict to sanction the Parliaments of both countries in refusing all inquiry into your grievances? Let me ask you, then, are you prepared to say, upon your oaths, that those measures of cöercion which are daily practised are absolutely necessary, and ought to be continued? It is not upon Finnerty you are sitting in judgment; but you are sitting in judgment upon the lives and liberties of the inhabitants of more than half of Ireland. You are to say that it is a foul proceeding to condemn the

Government of Ireland ; that it is a foul act, founded in foul motives, and originating in falsehood and sedition ; that it is an attack upon a government under which the people are prosperous and happy ; that justice is here administered with mercy ; that the statements made in Great Britain are false—are the effusions of party and of discontent ; that all is mildness and tranquillity ; that there are no burnings, no transportations ; that you never travel by the light of conflagrations ; that the jails are not crowded month after month, from which prisoners are taken out, not for trial, but *for embarkation!* These are the questions upon which, I say, you must virtually decide. . . I tell you, therefore, gentlemen of the jury, it is not with respect to Mr. Orr or Mr. Finnerty that your verdict is now sought ; you are called upon, on your oaths, to say that the Government is wise and merciful ; the people prosperous and happy ; that military law ought to be continued ; that the Constitution could not with safety be restored to Ireland ; and that the statements of a contrary import by your advocates in either country are libellous and false. I tell you these are the questions ; and I ask you if you can have the front to give the expected answer in the face of a community who know the country as well as you do. Let me ask you how you could reconcile with such a verdict the jails, the tenders, the gibbets, the conflagrations, the murders, the proclamations that we hear of every day in the streets, and see every day in the country? What are the processions of the learned counsel himself, circuit after circuit? Merciful God! what is the state of Ireland, and where shall you find the wretched inhabitant of this land? You may find him, perhaps, in jail, the only place of security, I had almost said of ordinary habitation! If you do not find him there, you may see him flying with his family from the flames of his own dwelling—lighted to his dungeon by the conflagration of his hovel ; or you may find his bones bleaching on the green fields of his country ; or you may find him tossing on the surface of the ocean, and mingling his groans with those tempests, less savage than his persecutors, that drift him to a returnless distance from his family and his home, *without charge, or trial, or sentence.*"

When Mr. Curran came to speak of that part of the publication under trial, which stated that informers were brought forward by hopes of remuneration—"Is that," he said, "a foul assertion? Or will you, upon your oaths, say to the sister country that there are no such abominable instruments of destruction as informers used in the state prosecutions of Ireland? Let me honestly ask you, what do you feel, when in my hearing—when in the face of this audience—you are asked to give a verdict that every man of us, and every man of you, know, by the testimony of your own eyes, to be utterly and absolutely false? I speak not now of the *public proclamation for informers, with a promise of secresy and extravagant reward.* I speak not of those unfortunate wretches who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory. I speak of what your own eyes have seen, day after day, during the progress of this commission, while you attended this court—the number of horrid miscreants who acknowledged, upon their oaths, that they had come from the seat of Government—from the very chambers of the Castle, (where they had been worked upon by the fear of death and hope of compensation to give evidence against their fellows,) that the mild, the wholesome, and the merciful councils of this Government are holden over those catacombs of living death, where the wretch, that is buried a *man*, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and is then dug up a *witness*. Is this a picture created by a hag-ridden fancy, or is it a fact? Have you not seen him, after his resurrection from that tomb, make his appearance upon your table, the image of life and death, and supreme arbiter of both? Have you not marked, when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach? Have you not seen how the human heart, bowed to the awful supremacy of his power in the undissembled homage of deferential horror? How his glance, like the lightning of heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death—a death

which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent! There *was* an antidote—a juror's oath; but even that adamantine chain, which bound the integrity of man to the throne of eternal justice, is solved and molten in the breath which issues from the mouth of the informer. Conscience swings from her moorings; the appalled and affrighted juror speaks what his soul abhors, and consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim—

> —— Et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
> Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

Informers are worshipped in the temple of justice, even as the Devil has been worshipped by pagans and savages—even so in this wicked country is the informer an object of judicial idolatry—even so is he soothed by the music of human groans—even so is he placated and incensed by the fumes and by the blood of human sacrifices."

This extraordinary speech of Mr. Curran is not given here as an example of rhetoric. In fact, there is no rhetoric in it; his description is but a faint and pale image of the horrible truth; and the informer, O'Brien, was only one of that immense "battalion of testimony," which was now regularly drilled and instructed at the Castle of Dublin. Through these foul means the administration was kept fully informed of the designs, the force and the *personnel* of the United Irishmen; it was also enabled, by the same means, to make considerable progress in the grand English policy of sowing dissensions and bad feeling between Catholics and Dissenters. On one side were the honest, tolerant and self-sacrificing leaders of the United Irish Society endeavoring to heal the animosities of ages, to make the people know and trust one another in order to unite for the common good of their unhappy country. On the other was Mr. Pitt, ably seconded by Lord Clare and by Castlereagh, and their dreadful army of spies and secret emissaries, carrying all over the country and scattering broadcast mysterious rumors of intended massacres and assassinations—industriously renewing all the old stories of the "horrors of the Inquisition," (which, indeed, were never so horrible as the horrors of the penal laws.) A paper was even carefully circulated purporting to contain a *printed* list of persons marked out for assassination. Lord Moira, in his place in the English House of Lords, produced this document in debate, describing thus: "He held now in his hand a paper printed, the contents of which were too shocking to read; its avowed object was to point out innocent men, by name, to the poniard of assassins. It loaded His Majesty with the most opprobrious epithets, and reviled the English nation with every term of contumely, affirming it to be the duty of every Irishman to wrest from the hands of English ruffians the property which these English ruffians had wrested from their ancestors."

That this pretended list was the production of some of the Castle emissaries, there can be no doubt. The Lord Chancellor of England declared that he believed the list to be a genuine programme of the "horrid conspiracy" then hatching in Ireland. Lord Moira said, in reply: "As to the paper to which the noble and learned lord, and the noble Secretary had alluded, concerning the names of persons who were marked out for future assassination, he confessed, *he suspected it to be an invention to justify or to support the measures* which had been adopted in Ireland, and of which he had already complained. He suspected this the more, because no printer of a newspaper could have had it from any authentic source, for no man concerned in a conspiracy for assassination would communicate the intention of himself and colleagues. He wished to speak of assassins as he felt, with the greatest indignation and abhorrence; but he must also add, that he believed that they originated in Ireland from private malice and revenge, and would do so from any party that happened to be predominant, while the present dreadful system continued. It was not by a general system of terror that it was to be prevented."

It is easy to conceive, however, what fearful use could be made of all these bold forgeries and wild rumors in the hands of the Castle agents, to exasperate the Protestants, create "alarm," and stop the good work of *Union*. From one cause or another, it is evident, that towards the close of the year 1797, the Union rather abated than

increased. One unequivocal symptom of its decline was the renovation of dissension between the Dissenters and the Catholics in the North. Sir Richard Musgrave, from an anonymous acquaintance, reports, that most of the Presbyterians separated from the Papists in the year 1797; some from "principle, some because they doubted the sincerity of persons in that order; and others, foreseeing that the plot must fail and end in their destruction, took advantage of the proclamation of the 17th of May, and renounced their associates. Numbers withdrew because they doubted of success without foreign assistance. The Presbyterians of the Counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, and where they are warmly attached to the Union from pure republican principles, thought they could succeed without the Papists."

Mr. Plowden bears nearly the same testimony: "Certain it is," says he "that the Northern Unionists generally held back from this time; the Protestants of Ulster were originally Scotch, and still retain much of that guarded policy, which so peculiarly characterizes the inhabitants of North Britain. Some barbarous murders in different parts of the kingdom were committed; but they do not appear to have been perpetrated by members of the Union, or persons in any manner connected with them. By the report of the Secret Committee, it appears, that from the summer of 1797 the disaffected entertained no serious intention of hazarding an effort independent of foreign assistance, until the middle of March. Their policy was to risk nothing so long as their party was gaining strength. Whatever were the immediate cause of the Union's falling off, we find that from the autumn of 1797 the Roman Catholics, first in the North, and afterwards successively throughout the kingdom, published addresses and resolutions expressive of their horror of the principles of the United Irishmen, and pledging themselves to be loyal and zealous in the defence and support of the King and Constitution. The northern addresses admitted the fact, and lamented that many of the Catholic body had been seduced into the Union, and they deprecated the attempts which were made to create dissension amongst persons of different religions. This example was followed by the generality of the Dissenters. If addresses were tests of loyalty, His Majesty had not more loyal subjects throughout the whole extent of the British Empire, than the Irish in the beginning of 1798. Scarcely a parish throughout the kingdom, scarcely a dissenting meeting-house, from which an address of loyalty was not issued, signed by the priest or minister of the flock."

The Catholic addresses, of which Mr. Plowden speaks, were chiefly procured by the influence of the bishops and higher clergy, who were much relied upon at this time, as well as frequently since, to keep the higher classes of Catholics "loyal" to the English Government. The Catholic College of Maynooth had been incorporated by law in June, 1795, and had been opened in the following October for students. Thus for the first time Catholic young men could be educated for the priesthood in their own country without incurring the penalty of death or transportation. The Parliamentary grant, which had amounted to £8,000, was increased to £10,000 in February, 1798, on motion of Mr. Secretary Pelham, who undertook, in this debate, to reply to the furious and foaming declamation of Dr Duigenan. This was a great step in the way of conciliation; and it is further certain that members of the Government deceived the Catholic bishops by implied promises to complete the emancipation at an early day. Indeed, Dr. Hussey, Bishop of Waterford, in a pastoral of his this year, assures his flock very positively: "The Popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished forever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask to divide, to disturb, to oppress it." Thus the bishops and most of the clergy were secured to the English party in the approaching struggle—and by the same treacherous artifice by which they were made generally favorable to the Legislative "Union" two years later; namely, by holding out the hope of speedy emancipation. These hopes were disappointed; the promises were broken, and the Catholics suffered under all their disabilities for thirty years longer.

The strength of the United Irish Society then, as we have seen, was in the North in a great measure broken up. In the other provinces it was, however, growing and strengthening; but without occasioning either disorder or crime; rather, indeed, preventing all evil of that description. This state of things began to surprise and alarm Mr. Pitt, who found the "conspiracy" becoming rather too extensive and dangerous for his purposes; for a moment he felt he might possibly get beyond his depth, and he conceived the necessity of forcing a premature explosion, by which he might excite sufficient horror throughout the country to serve his purpose, and be able to suppress the conspiracy in the bud, which might be beyond his power should it arrive at its maturity.

Individually, Lord Camden was an excellent man, and, in ordinary times, would have been an acquisition to the country, but he was made a cruel instrument in the hands of Mr. Pitt, and seemed to have no will of his own; so that, although we are assured by Sir Jonah Barrington that he was personally and privately a most amiable person, his name will always be pronounced with horror and execration by Irishmen, as the official head of the Irish Government in these dreadful years of the reign of terror.

On a review of the state of Ireland at that period, it must be obvious that the design of Mr. Pitt to effect some mysterious measure in Ireland was now, through the unaccountable conduct of the Irish Government, beginning to develope itself. The seeds of insurrection, which had manifested themselves in Scotland and in England, were, by the vigor and promptitude of the British Government, rapidly crushed; and, by the reports of Parliament, Lord Melville had obtained and published prints of the different pikes manufactured in Scotland, long before that weapon had been manufactured by the Irish peasantry. But in Ireland, though it appeared, from public documents, that Government had full and accurate information of the Irish United Societies, and that their leaders and chiefs were well known to the British Ministry, at the same period, and by the same means that England and Scotland were kept tranquil, so might have been Ireland.

Mr. Pitt, however, found he had temporized to the extremity of prudence; the disaffected had not yet appeared as a collected army, but, in his opinion nevertheless, prompt and decisive measures became absolutely indispensable. The Earl of Carhampton, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, first expressed his dissatisfaction at Mr. Pitt's inexplicable proceedings. His Lordship had but little military experience, but he was a man of courage and decision, ardent and obstinate; he determined, right or wrong, to annihilate the conspiracy. Without the consent of the Irish Government he had commanded the troops that, on all symptoms of insurrectionary movements, they should act without waiting for the presence of any civil power. Martial law had not then been proclaimed. He went, therefore, a length which could not possibly be supported; his orders were countermanded by the Lord Lieutenant; but he refused to obey the Viceroy, under color that he had no rank in the army.

Lord Carhampton found that the troops in the garrison of Dublin were indoctrinated by the United Irishmen; he, therefore, withdrew them, and formed two distinct camps on the south and north, some miles from the capital, and thereby, as he conceived, prevented all intercourse of the army with the disaffected of the metropolis. Both measures were disapproved of by the Lord-Lieutenant, whom Lord Carhampton again refused to obey.

The King's sign manual was at length procured, ordering him to break up his camps and bring back the garrison; this he obeyed, and marched the troops into Dublin barracks. "He then resigned his command, and publicly declared that some deep and insidious scheme of the Minister was in agitation; for, instead of suppressing, the Irish Government was obviously disposed to excite an insurrection.

"Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness of the Irish Government to effect a premature explosion. Free quarters were now ordered, to irritate the Irish population; *slow tortures* were inflicted under the pretence of forcing confessions; the people were goaded and driven to madness." *

General Abercrombie, who succeeded as

* Sir Jonah Barrington. Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation.

Commander-in-Chief, was not permitted to abate these enormities, and therefore resigned with disgust; but not before deliberately stating, in general orders, that the army placed under his command, from their state of disorganization, would soon be much more formidable to their friends than to their enemies; and that he would not countenance or admit free quarters.

About this time occurred an episode in the history of the United Irishmen—the arrest and trial of Arthur O'Connor, Coigley, and others, in England.

From the time O'Connor became a member of the Leinster Directory of the society of the United Irishmen, he was the foremost leader in their affairs. When the United Irishmen solicited the intervention of France in 1796, O'Connor negotiated the treaty with the agent of the French Directory. He and Lord Edward had an interview subsequently with Hoche, and arranged the place of landing, and consequent military operations.

In the early part of 1797 O'Connor had been arrested and committed to the Tower, "vehemently suspected of sundry treasons," rather than charged with any specific crime against the state. After an imprisonment of six months he was liberated. In February, 1798, he came to England, with an intention, as it afterwards appeared, of proceeding to France, in conjunction with John Binns, member of the London Corresponding Society, James Coigley, an Irish priest, and a person of the name of Allen. In the latter end of February they went to Margate, intending to hire a small vessel to convey them to France. Some circumstances in their conduct, however, exciting suspicion, they were all apprehended, and first committed prisoners to the Tower, and afterwards to Maidstone jail. At Maidstone they were tried by a special commission on the 21st and 22d of May, and all of them acquitted, except Coigley, on whom had been found a paper, purporting to be an address from "the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France." Coigley was condemned and executed; and Mr. O'Connor and Binns, after their acquittal, were detained on another charge of treason preferred against them. In the meantime, and in consequence of the motion of Mr. O'Donnel, an act had passed the Irish Parliament, authorizing grand juries to present any newspaper containing seditious or libellous matter as a nuisance; and also authorizing the magistrates, on such presentation, to suppress the paper, and seize and destroy the printing materials, &c. The paper called *The Press* was, therefore, suppressed, and some of its principal supporters taken into custody; but no discovery of importance resulted from this transaction.

During the first three months of 1798 the outrages committed by the magistrates, with the aid of the troops and yeomanry, upon the simple and defenceless people of Leinster, became fearful and notorious. But, painful as must be the details of a slow and uniform agony of a whole people, there can be no history of Ireland in which such details do not hold a conspicuous place. As a perfectly authentic historical document, the speech of the Earl of Moira, in the British House of Peers, (not one statement of which has ever been contradicted,) may be taken as a sufficient picture of the state of the country, even as early as the November of 1797. Here follows an extract: "My lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny, that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances; I have seen it practiced and unchecked; and the effects that have resulted from it have been such, as I have stated to your lordships. I have said that, if such a tyranny be persevered in, the consequence must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice—that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British Government. I have seen the most wanton insults practiced upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression was in hostility to the Government; and yet that has been done in a part of the

country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the city of London. Who states these things, my lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them. Many of the circumstances I know of my own knowledge; others I have received from such channels as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving credit to them.

"His lordship then observed that, from education and early habits, the *curfew* was ever considered by Britons as a badge of slavery and oppression. It then was practiced in Ireland with brutal rigor. He had known an instance where a master of a house had in vain pleaded to be allowed the use of a candle to enable the mother to administer relief to her daughter struggling in convulsive fits. In former times, it had been the custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the inquisition in detestation. One of the greatest horrors with which it was attended was that the person, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his family, immured in a prison, and in the most cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement, or the fate which awaited him. To this injustice, abhorred by Protestants in the practice of the inquisiton, were the people of Ireland exposed. All confidence, all security were taken away. In alluding to the inquisition he had omitted to mention one of its characteristic features. If the supposed culprit refused to acknowledge the crime with which he was charged he was put to the rack, to extort confession of whatever crime was alleged against him by the pressure of torture. The same proceedings had been introduced in Ireland. When a man was taken up on suspicion he was put to the torture; nay, if he were merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at hand; but the punishment of picqueting was in practice, which had been for some years abolished, as too inhuman even in the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbors, picqueted till he actually fainted—picqueted a second time till he fainted again, and, as soon as he came to himself, picqueted a third time till he once more fainted; and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture. Men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of our system. They were notorious, and no person could say who would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty, which he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring the people to give up their arms. It never was denied that this proclamation was illegal, though defended on some supposed necessity; but it was not surprising that some reluctance had been shown to comply with it by men who conceived the Constitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the order the greatest cruelties had been committed. If any one was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence his house, his furniture, and all his property was burnt; but this was not all. If it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated; and, in the execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burnt down in a single night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms; and upon their opinions these fatal consequences followed. Many such cases might be enumerated; but, from prudential motives, he wished to draw a veil over more aggravated facts which he could have stated, and which he was willing to attest before the Privy Council, or at their lordships' bar. These facts were well known in Ireland, but they could not be made public through the channel of the newspapers, for fear of that summary mode of punishment which had been practiced towards the *Northern Star*, when a party of troops in open day, and in a town where the General's headquarters were, went and destroyed all the offices and

property belonging to that paper. It was thus authenticated accounts were suppressed."

The same system of horrors had proceeded, with aggravations of brutality, from November, 1797; and it was in vain that any patriotic Irishman, who still attended Parliament, attempted, from time to time, to procure some kind of inquiry into the necessity for all this. Both Houses of Parliament were entirely in the hands of the Castle; and Clare and Castlereagh bore down all such efforts by the most insolent audacity of assertion.

On the 5th of March, Sir Lawrence Parsons, after a long and interesting speech, made a motion that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the country, and to suggest such measures as were likely to conciliate the popular mind. Lord Caulfield, in a maiden speech of much ability, seconded the motion. Lord Castlereagh, with whom the majority of the House went, vehemently opposed it. He entered into a history of the country for some years back, and concluded from the events that the United Irishmen were not men who would be contented or conciliated by any measures of concession short of a separation from England, and fraternity with the French Republic; that they were in open rebellion, and, therefore, only to be met by force. He reasoned also to prove that the cöercive measures of the Government had been *the consequences, not the causes, of the discontents;* that the excesses charged on the soldiery were naturally to be expected from the state of things, though he did not cease to lament them; and he also contended that where excesses had taken place the laws were open, and able to punish them.

This last assertion of his lordship, about the law, was well known by every man who heard him to be simply false; but not more false than his assertion that military outrages were the consequences, not the cause, of the existing troubles. But being sure of an immense majority at his back, he could say what he pleased. The resolution offered by Sir Lawrence Parsons was negatived by an immense majority.

It was the same case in the House of Lords. Lord Moira, after vainly trying to make an impression on the peers of England, came over to make a last effort with those of Ireland. He made a speech very similar to that which he had made at Westminster, and reciting the same facts; ending with a motion for an address to the Viceroy. Lord Clare, the Chancellor, replied in the same tone of cool and dashing insolence which had now become the settled and preconcerted style of debate with the partisans of the Castle.

The Lord-Chancellor, after paying a just compliment to the character of the noble earl, attributed to his residence out of his own country his ignorance of it. "He asserted, that the system of Government *had been a system of conciliation;* that in no place had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland; in none had it so completely failed."

Lord Moira's motion was also negatived, of course; and it was evident that, so far as Parliament was concerned, the people were to be delivered over without reprieve to the picketings of the soldiery and the knotted scourges of the yeoman.

Some degree of color began at last to be given to the constant statements of Lord Castlereagh—that the country was in open rebellion; for in the months of February and March, there were several tumultuous assemblages at night; their object was to search for arms; and assuredly no people ever stood in more deadly need of arms than the Irish people then did. On one day in March, a party of mounted men even entered the little town of Cahir, County of Tipperary, in the open day, and took away all the arms they could find there. They appear to have gone as they came, without committing any violence or outrage.* Still there was not that general insurrectionary movement for which Mr. Pitt was waiting; and it was now, therefore, resolved to give another turn to the screw

* Plowden *Hist. Review.* This writer, indeed, alleges that the peasants in those two months "committed many murders;" but though a Catholic writer, his well-known political principles make him always too ready to charge crimes, on very doubtful evidence, upon all Catholics who were not "loyal" to the King of England. He does not particularize any of these "many murders;" and it may, therefore, be fairly doubted that there were any murders, except, perhaps, of an occasional tithe-proctor.

of cöercion. It was in the month of April that Sir Ralph Abercrombie, after two or three months' experience of his command, when he found that the army was expected to be used to goad the people to despair, while habits of marauding and "free quarters" were fast destroying the discipline of the troops themselves, resigned his post as Commander-in-Chief. His resignation was undoubtedly caused, as Lord Carhampton's had been, by his discovery that he was expected to act, not for the repression of rebellion, but in order to excite it. Of course, his military habits and principles would not permit him to say as much, nor to hint at any fault on the part of the Lord-Lieutenant; yet the first paragraph of his famous "General Order" was at once seen to be so wholly at variance with the plans and policy of the Government, that there was nothing left for Sir Ralph but to resign, and seek some more honorable employment for his sword. The General Order is as follows:—

"Adjutant-General's Office, Dublin, February 26th, 1798.

["*General Orders.*]

"The very disgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of the conduct of the troops in this kingdom, having too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy; the Commander-in-Chief thinks it necessary to demand from all generals commanding districts and brigades, as well as commanding officers of regiments, that they exert themselves, and compel, from all officers under their command, the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order, and conduct of their men; such as may restore the high and distinguished reputation the British troops have been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world. It becomes necessary to recur, and most pointedly to attend to the standing orders of the kingdom, which at the same time that they direct military assistance to be given at the requisition of the civil magistrate, positively forbid the troops to act (but in case of attack) without his presence and authority; and the most clear and precise orders are to be given to the officer commanding the party for this purpose.

"The utmost prudence and precaution are also to be used in granting parties to revenue officers, with respect to the person requiring such assistance and those employed on the duty; whenever a guard is mounted, patrols must be frequently out to take up any soldier who may be found out of his quarters after his hours.

"A very culpable remissness having also appeared on the part of officers respecting the necessary inspection of barracks, quarters, messes, &c., as well as attendance at roll-calls, and other hours; commanding officers must enforce the attention of those under their command to those points, and the general regulations; for all which the strictest responsibility will be expected from them.

"It is of the utmost importance that the discipline of the dragoon regiments should be minutely attended to, for the facilitating of which the Commander-in-Chief has dispensed with the attendance of orderly dragoons on himself, and desires that they may not be employed by any general or commanding officers but on military and indispensable business.

"G. HEWIT,
"Adjutant-General.

"Lieut.-Gen. Craig,
"*Eastern District Barracks, Dublin.*"

The resignation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was immediately followed by the departure of Mr. Secretary Pelham; who, as Mr. Plowden alleges, also disapproved of the new plan of "prematurely exploding the rebellion" by the simple machinery of goading the people to despair. It is notorious that in Ireland the active Minister, upon whom the odium or merit of the Government measures personally fell, was the first Secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant. Through his mouth did His Excellency speak to the House of Commons; from him did the nation expect the reason, and upon him chiefly rested the responsibility of the Government measures in the belief of the public. His sentiments were, of course, concluded to be in perfect unison with the Lord-Lieutenant, as his voice was the organ of His Excellency. It appears that Mr. Pelham, however earn-

est and firm he had been in opposing Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, which two questions Earl Camden had avowedly been sent to oppose, was very far from approving the harsh and sanguinary means of dragooning the people which had been for some time practiced, and were intended to be persevered in.* He resolved, therefore, to retire from a situation in which he was under the necessity of giving official countenance and support to a system, which in principle he abhorred, and which he knew to have been extorted from the Chief Governor, whose immediate and responsible agent he was before the public. The last time he spoke in public was on Sir Lawrence Parsons' motion, which he opposed in a manner that evidently betrayed the uneasiness of his own situation. Mr. Pelham, however, did not resign. Indeed, Sir Jonah Barrington, and other authorities, affirm that he only went to England on account of ill-health. At any rate, his successor in active duty (but only at first as *locum tenens*) was Lord Castlereagh—afterwards Lord Londonderry—perhaps the ablest, and certainly the worst, man who ever "did the King's business" in Ireland. He was not gazetted as Secretary till the next year.

General Lake was placed provisionally in command of the forces; and the way was now open for the full development of the bloody conspiracy of the Government against the people. There was now concentrated in Ireland a force of at least 130,000 men, including regular troops, English and Scottish fencible regiments and Irish militia. But even this was not enough. On the 23d of April, the new Secretary announced to the House of Commons that two regiments of "foreign troops" had been ordered to Ireland. These were the Hessians, German mercenaries from Hesse Darmstadt and Hesse Cassel, who had been for some time favorite instruments of the British Government for dragooning any refractory population.

On the 30th of March, the whole country was placed under martial law by proclamation. It was the first time that the County of Wexford had been proclaimed under the "Insurrection act;" and "from that moment," says Miles Byrne, "every one considered himself walking on a mine, ready to be blown up; and all sighed for orders to begin." Orders were at once issued from the Castle that the military should proceed at their own absolute discretion in all measures which any officer should judge needful for suppressing that rebellion which did not yet exist, but which it was fully determined should immediately break out. A favorite measure of Lord Castlereagh was the system of "free quarters." His lordship knew thoroughly the people of his country; and was aware that nothing could so certainly and promptly goad them into desperate resistance as the quartering of an insolent and licentious soldiery in their houses and amongst their families. "Free quarters," therefore, were at once ordered; the magistrates of the "Ascendancy" were at the same time assured that whatever they should think fit to do against the people should be considered well done. They had already

* We do not desire to use stronger language than the facts will warrant, nor to advance, without sufficient authority, against any government so atrocious a charge as that of resolving to goad a people into insurrection, in order to make a pretext for slaughtering them first, and depriving their country of its national existence afterwards. This system at this time, viz., 5th April, 1798, Mr. Grattan has thus described: "Here we perceive and lament the effects of inveteracy, conceived by His Majesty's Ministers against the Irish. 'Irritable and quellable, devoted to superstition, deaf to law, and hostile to property;' such was the picture, which at different times his Ministers in Ireland have painted of his people, with a latent view to flatter the English by the degradation of the Irish, and by such sycophantship and malice, they have persuaded themselves to consider their fellow subjects as a different species of human creature, fair objects of religious proscription and political incapacities, but not of moral relationship, or moral obligation; accordingly, they have afforded indemnity for the rich, and new pains and penalties for the people; they have given felonious descriptions of His Majesty's subjects, and have easily persuaded themselves to exercise felonious practices against their lives and properties; they have become as barbarous as their system, and as savage as their own description of their countrymen and their equals; and now it seems they have communicated to the British Minister, at once, their deleterious maxims and their foul expressions, and he too indulges and wantons in villainous discourses against the people of Ireland, sounding the horrid trumpet of carnage and separation. Thus the language of the Ministers becomes an encouragement to the army to murder the Irish.

"We leave these scenes, they are dreadful; a Ministry in league with the abettors of the Orange Boys and at war with the people; a people unable to procure a hearing in either country, while the loquacity of their enemies besieges the throne."

(by the "Indemnity act") *carte blanche*, at any rate; and now, under the new impulsion given by the new Secretary, they vied with one another in atrocity. In the Counties of Kildare, Meath, Dublin, Carlow, Wicklow, and Wexford, the horrors of this oppression were especially grievous. The good Miles Byrne, every word of whose narration is thoroughly worthy of implicit trust, says: "The military placed on free quarters with the inhabitants were mostly furnished by the Ancient Britons; a cruel regiment, which became obnoxious from the many outrages they committed, wherever they were stationed; being quartered in houses where the men had to absent themselves, the unfortunate females who remained had to suffer all sorts of brutality from these ferocious monsters. What hardships, what calamities and miseries had not the wretched people to suffer, on whom were let loose such a body of soldiery as were then in Ireland!"

This gallant old Miles Byrne, writing from his notes sixty years afterwards, (he was but eighteen years old in 1798,) thus details some few of the scenes which passed in his county, and within his own knowledge:—

"Many of the low-bred magistrates availed themselves of the martial law, to prove their vast devotion to Government, by persecuting, and often torturing, the inoffensive country-people. Archibald Hamilton Jacob and the Enniscorthy yeomen cavalry never marched out of the town without being accompanied by a regular executioner, with his ropes, cat o' nine tails, &c.

"Hawtry White, Solomon Richards, and a Protestant minister of the name of Owens, were all notorious for their cruelty and persecuting spirit; the latter particularly so, putting on pitch caps, and exercising other torments. To the credit of some of his victims, when the vile fellow himself was in their power, and was brought a prisoner to the insurgent camp at Gorey, they sought no other revenge than that of putting a pitch cap on him. I had often difficulty in preventing the others, who had suffered so much at his hands, from tearing him to pieces. He, in the end, escaped, with many other prisoners, being escorted and guarded by men who did not consider that revenge, or retaliation of any kind, would forward the sacred cause they were embarked in; particularly, as they were desirous it should not be thought that it was a religious war they were engaged in. Although several of the principal chiefs of the United Irishmen were Protestants, the Orange magistrates did all they could to spread the belief, that the Catholics had no other object in view but to kill their Protestant fellow-subjects, and to give weight to this opinion, they did what they could to provoke the unfortunate people to commit outrages and reprisals, by killing some and burning their houses.

"In short, the state of the country previous to the insurrection, is not to be imagined; except by those who witnessed the atrocities of every description committed by the military and the Orangemen, who were let loose on the unfortunate, defenceless population.

"The infamous Hunter Gowan* now sighed for an opportunity to vent his ferocious propensity of murdering his Catholic neighbors in cold blood. When the yeomanry corps was first formed, he was not considered sufficiently respectable to be charged with the command of one; but in consequence of the proclamation of martial law, he soon obtained a commission of the peace and was created a captain, and was commissioned to raise a cavalry corps; in a short time he succeeded in getting about thirty or forty low Orangemen, badly mounted; but they soon procured better horses, at the expense of the unfortunate farmers, who were plundered without redress. This corps went by the name of the black mob; their first campaign was, to arrest all the Catholic blacksmiths, and to burn their houses. Poor William Butter, James Haydon, and Dalton, smiths whom we employed to shoe our horses and do other work, for many years before, were condemned to be transported, according to the recent law enacted, that magistrates upon their own authority could sentence to transportation.

* This Hunter Gowan had been horsewhipped by one of the Byrnes, old Garrett Byrne, of Ballymanus. Miles Byrne says, "Gowan took the law of Garrett Byrne, and ran him into great expense." He soon, however, found out even a more effectual method of having his revenge upon the Byrnes.

But the monster Hunter Gowan, thinking this kind of punishment too slight, wished to give his young men an opportunity to prove they were staunch blood-hounds. Poor Garrett Fennell, who had just landed from England, and was on his way to see his father and family, was met by this corps, and tied by his two hands up to a tree ; they then stood at a certain distance and each man lodged the contents of his carabine in the body of poor Fennell, at their captain's command.

"They then went to a house close by, where they shot James Darcy, a poor inoffensive man, the father of five children. The bodies of these two murdered victims were waked that night in the chapel of Monaseed, where the unhappy women and children assembled to lament their slaughtered relatives. This chapel was afterwards burned. Poor Fennell left a young widow and two children. This cruel deed took place on the road between our house and the chapel. The day after, the 25th of May, 1798, distant about three miles from our place, one of the most bloody deeds took place that was ever recorded in Irish history since the days of Cromwell. Twenty-eight fathers of families, prisoners, were shot and massacred in the Ball Alley of Carnew, without trial. Mr. Cope, the Protestant minister, was one of the principal magistrates who presided at this execution. I knew several of the murdered men ; particularly, Pat Murphy, of Knockbrandon, at whose wedding I was two years before ; he was a brave and most worthy man, and much esteemed. William Young, a Protestant, was amongst the slaughtered.

"At Dunlavin, County of Wicklow, previous to the rising, thirty-four men were shot without any trial ; officers, to their disgrace, presiding and sanctioning these proceedings. But it is useless to enumerate or continue the list of cruelties perpetrated ; it will suffice to say, that where the military were placed on free quarters, and where all kinds of crime were committed, the people were not worse off than those living where no soldiers were quartered ; for in the latter instance, the inhabitants were generally called to their doors, and shot without ceremony ; their houses being immediately burned or plundered.

"This was the miserable state our part of the country was in at the beginning of May, 1798. All were obliged to quit their houses and hide themselves the best way they could. Ned Fennell, Nicholas Murphy and I, agreed, the last time we met, previous to the insurrection, that through the means of our female friends, we should do everything in our power to keep the people from desponding, for we had every reason to hope, that ere long, there would be orders received for a general rising from the Directory. We also promised to endeavor to get news from Dublin, if possible, and at least from Arklow, through Phil Neill and young Garrett Graham, of that town ; both of them very active and well-known to the principal men in Dublin, and through them and Anthony Perry, we expected shortly to receive instructions for what was best to be done, under the critical circumstances in which we were placed. I was daily in hopes of getting some information from my step-brother Kennedy (at Dublin), and on this account I remained as long as I could in the neighborhood of our place, keeping away, however, from my mother's house ; sleeping at night in the fields, watching in the day-time from the hills and high grounds, to see if the military or yeomen were approaching."

It was a needful part of the general plan of Government to extend and encourage the Orange societies, and to exasperate them against their Catholic neighbors. Of the precise connection between the Castle and the Orange lodges, it is not, of course, easy to ascertain the precise terms and extent. It is, however, notorious, that while the Irish and English Government has always professed to disapprove the sanguinary principles of the Orangemen, they have always relied upon that body in seasons of threatened revolt, as a willing force to crush the mass of the people ; and that even so late as 1848, arms were secretly issued to the lodges from Dublin Castle. We have already seen Mr. Grattan's distinct that "the Ministry was in league with the abettors of the Orange Boys, and at war with the people." In the examination of Mr. Arthur O'Connor before the Secret Committee, we find O'Connor describing the proceedings of the Government in these terms :—

"Finding how necessary it was to have some part of the population on their side, they had recourse to the old religious feuds, and set an organization of Protestants, whose fanaticism would not permit them to see they were enlisted under the banners of religion, to fight for a political usurpation they abhorred. No doubt, by these means you have gained a temporary aid, but by destroying the organization of the Union, and exasperating the great body of the people, you will one day pay dearly for the aid you have derived from this temporary shift.

"*Committee.*—Government had nothing to do with the Orange system, *nor their extermination.*

'*O'Connor.*—You, my lord, (Castlereagh) from the station you fill, must be sensible that the executive of any country has in its power to collect a vast mass of information, and you must know from the secret nature, and the zeal of the Union, that its executive must have the most minute information of every act of the Irish Government. As one of the executive it came to my knowledge, that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation in endeavoring to extend the Orange system, and that the oath of extermination was administered. When these facts are coupled, not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended towards the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from Government, I find it impossible to exculpate the Government from being the parent and protector of these *sworn extirpators.*"

In common fairness, we must give the Orange body the benefit of whatever credit can possibly be accorded to their own denial of their alleged oath of extermination. Early in this year, while the Government was scourging the people into revolt, certain Grand Masters of the Orangemen met in Dublin, and published the following document:—

"*To the Loyal Subjects of Ireland:*

"From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the laws,

"We, the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honor and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to disavow these principles and declare to the world the objects of our institution.

"We have long observed with indignation, the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom, by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies under the specious name of United Irishmen.

"We have seen with pain the lower orders of our fellow-subjects forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

"And we have viewed with horror the successful exertions of miscreants to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence, on the downfall of their country.

"We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Constitution, and pledge ourselves to each other to maintain the laws and support our good King against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country, and by so doing, show to the world that there is a body of men in this island who are ready in the hour of danger to stand forward in the defence of that grand palladium of our liberty, the Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors, under the great King William.

"Fellow-subjects, we are accused of being an institution founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths at which human nature would shudder; but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods, for we solemnly assure you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that *the idea of injuring any one on account of his religious opinions never entered into our hearts!* We regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country.

"We further declare, that we are ready at all times to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under His Majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any

duty which they should think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe should presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land; to these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

"Signed by order of the several lodges in Dublin, for selves and other Masters.

"THOMAS VERNER,
"EDWARD BALL,
"JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
"WILLIAM JAMES,
"ISAAC DEJONCOURT.

The credit which can be given to this profession of principles is much diminished, or reduced to nothing, by the fact already recorded, that immediately on the establishment of the first Orange Lodges in Armagh County, (the first of the above addressers being the founder and first Grand Master) the members of those lodges did forthwith set themselves to the task of extirpating all their Catholic neighbors; solely because they were Catholics; and that in one year they had slain, or driven from their homes, fourteen hundred *families*, or seven thousand individuals.

It is further notorious that the Orange yeomanry serving in Leinster, were amongst the most furious and savage torturers of the people.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1798.

Reynolds, the Informer—Arrests of U. I. Chiefs in Dublin—The Brothers Sheares—Their Efforts to Delay Explosion—Clare and Castlereagh Resolve to Hurry it—Advance of the Military—Half-Hanging—Pitch Caps—Scourging—Judkin Fitzgerald—Sir John Moore's Testimony—His Disgust at the Atrocities—General Napier's Testimony—Catholic Bishops and Peers Profess their "Loyalty"—Armstrong, Informer—Arrest of the Sheares—Arrest and Death of Lord Edward—Mr. Emmet's Evidence before Secret Committee—Insurrection Breaks Out—The 23d of May—Naas—Prosperous—Kilcullen—Proclamation of Lake—Of the Lord Mayor of Dublin—Skirmishes at Carlow—Hacketstown, &c.—Insurgents have the Advantage at Dunboyne—Attack on Carlow—Executions—Sir E. Crosbie—Massacre at Gibbet Rath of Kildare—Slaughter on Tara Hill—Suppression of Insurrection in Kildare, Dublin, and Meath.

THE Government was now preparing its master-stroke, which was both to cause a premature explosion of the insurrection, and to deprive the people at one blow of their leaders, both civil and military. There existed, unfortunately, at that period, one Thomas Reynolds, a silk mercer of Dublin, who had purchased an estate in the County of Kildare, called Kilkea Castle, and from the fortune he had acquired, commanded considerable influence with his Catholic brethren. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conspiracy, having, for these reasons, considered him a proper person to assist in forwarding their revolutionary designs, easily attached him to their cause; and having succeeded, he was soon after sworn an United Irishman, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Dublin; in the year 1797, he accepted the commission of colonel, the offices of treasurer and representative of the County of Kildare, and at last that of delegate for the province of Leinster. He had money dealings about a mortgage of some lands at Castle Jordan with a Mr. Cope, a Dublin merchant, who having lamented to him, in the course of conversation, the undoubted symptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds said that he knew a person connected with the United Irishmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to Government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope assured him that such a person would obtain the highest honors and pecuniary rewards that administration could confer. In short, after making his conditions, and receiving in hand five hundred guineas as a first payment on account, he told Mr. Cope that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an insurrection which was shortly to take place, but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him, but insinuated that it was imparted by a third person.

In consequence of this, Justice Swan, attended by twelve sergeants in colored clothes, arrested the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, while sitting in council in the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge street, on the 12th of March, 1798, and

seized several of their papers, which led to the discovery of all their plans ; and on the same day Messrs. Emmet, M'Neven, Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackson, and Hugh Jackson were arrested and taken into custody ; and warrants were granted against Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Messrs. M'Cormick and Sampson, who, having notice thereof, made their escape.*

The leaders did not intend to make an insurrection till the French came to their assistance ; and they meant in the meantime to continue to increase their numbers, and to add to their stock of arms.

On the removal of so many valuable leaders everything was done that could be done to repair the loss, and to keep the United Irishmen quiet ; for it was now very well understood that the design of the Government was to provoke a premature explosion. The two brothers Sheares, Henry and John, both barristers, and gentlemen of high character and excellent education, took charge of the government of the Leinster Societies. A handbill was immediately circulated, to keep up the spirits of the people, cautioning them against being either "goaded into untimely violence or sunk into pusillanimous despondency." The handbill concluded thus: "Be firm, Irishmen ; but be cool and cautious. Be patient yet awhile. Trust to no unauthorized communication; and above all, we warn you—again and again we warn you—against doing the work of your tyrants by premature, by partial or divided exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at her own time, not theirs."

But Lords Camden, Clare, and Castlereagh were determined that it should be at *their* time. Universal military executions and "free quarters" were at once proclaimed all over the country.

It is difficult to detail with due historic coolness the horrors which followed the proclamation of the 30th of March; nor can we wonder that Dr. Madden expresses himself thus upon the occasion: "The rebellion did not break out till May, 1798, and, to use the memorable words of Lord Castlereagh, even then 'measures were taken by Government to cause its premature explosion ;' words which include the craft, cruelty, and cold-blooded, deliberate wickedness of the politics of a Machiavelli, the principles of a Thug, and the perverted tastes and feelings of a eunuch in the exercise of power and authority, displayed in acts of sly malignity and stealthy, vindictive turpitude, perpetrated on pretence of serving purposes of state."

Besides, Lord Castlereagh, if he was really the chief adviser of those measures to cause a premature explosion, was not the only person who approved of them. The same Secret Committee whose report is so often cited, states, "that it appears, from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out as soon as it did had it not been for the *well-timed measures* adopted by Government subsequent to the proclamation of the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, bearing date 30th of March, 1798." It is necessary to ascertain what these well-timed measures were. On the examination of the state prisoners before this committee in August, 1798, the Lord-Chancellor put the following question to Mr. Emmet: "Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?" To which Mr. Emmet replied: "The free quarters, house-burnings, tortures, and the military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow!" Messrs. M'Neven and O'Connor gave similar replies to the same query.

However that may be, it remains now to give something like a connected narrative of what was actually done, and how the premature explosion did burst out.*

The proclamation, which was published on the 30th of March, declared that a traitorous conspiracy, existing within the kingdom for the destruction of the established government, had been considerably extend-

* A few days after these arrests there was a meeting of the Provincial Committee at the "Brazen Head Hotel." It was there proposed, by a man named Reynolds, a distant relative of the traitor, that Thomas Reynolds should be put out of the way—that is, assassinated. The proposal was rejected unanimously. Madden, 1st Series.

* The authorities for this period are numerous—Sir Richard Musgrave, Hay, Gordon, Miles Byrne, &c.,—for County Wexford. In the text, we adopt in the main the narrative of Plowden, checking it where needful by the documents assembled together by Madden, Lord Camden's dispatches, &c.

ed, and had manifested itself in acts of open violence and rebellion; and that, in consequence thereof, the most direct and positive orders had been issued to the officers commanding his Majesty's forces to employ them with the utmost vigor and decision for the immediate suppression of that conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels and all disaffected persons, by the most summary and effectual measures. To Sir Ralph Abercrombie, then chief commander of the forces, orders were issued from the Lord-Lieutenant to proceed with his army into the disturbed counties, vested with full powers to act according to his discretion for the attainment of the proposed object. A manifesto, dated from his headquarters at Kildare, the 3d of April, was addressed to the inhabitants of the county by the General, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the date of the notice, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to distribute large bodies of troops among them to live at free quarters—promising rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition—and announcing his resolution of recurring to other severities if the county should still continue in a disturbed state.

On the advance of the military into each county, the same notice was given to its inhabitants, and at the expiration of the term prescribed the troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected *or suspected*, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners, whose pecuniary circumstances were often deeply injured by the maintenance of the soldiery, and the waste which was otherwise made of their effects. Numbers of houses, with their furniture, were burned, in which concealed arms had been found, in which meetings of the Union had been holden, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or had been suspected of other practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Numbers were daily scourged, picqueted, or otherwise put to pain, to *force confessions* of concealed arms or plots. Outrageous acts of severity were often committed by persons not in the regular troops—some from an unfeigned and others from an affected zeal for the service of the Crown. These various vexations amounted on the whole to such a mass of disquietude and distress that the exhortations of the chiefs to bear their evils with steady patience, until an opportunity of successful insurrection should occur, proved vain with the lower classes.

To authorize the burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity, though to many that reason was not clear. These burnings, doubtless, caused no small terror and consternation to the disaffected; but they caused also a loss to the community at large, rendered many quite desperate who were deprived of their all, augmented the violence of hatred in those among whom those houseless people took refuge. Men imprisoned on suspicion, or private information, were sometimes half hanged, or strangled almost to death, before their guilt or innocence could be ascertained by trial. Reflecting loyalists were much concerned at the permission or impunity of such acts, which tended strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited by the emissaries of revolution.

Among the causes which, in the troubled interval of time previous to the grand insurrection, contributed to the general uneasiness, were the insults practised by pretended zealots, to the annoyance of the truest loyalists as well as malcontents, on persons who wore their hair short, or happened to have any part of their apparel of a green color, both of which were considered as emblems of republican or of a revolutionary spirit. The term *croppy* was adopted to signify a revolutionist, or an enemy to the established government. Persons of malevolent minds took advantage of these circumstances to indulge their general malignity or private malice, when they could with impunity. On the heads of many, who were selected as objects of outrage, were fixed by these pretended loyalists caps of coarse linen or strong brown paper, smeared with pitch on the inside, which in some instances adhered so firmly as not to be disengaged without a laceration of the hair, and even skin. On the other side, several of the united party made it a practice to seize violently such as they thought proper or were able, and cropped or cut their hair short, which rendered them

liable to the outrage of the pitched cap of those pretended strenuous partisans of the Constitution. Handkerchiefs, ribbons, even a sprig of myrtle and other parts of dress marked with the obnoxious color, were torn or cut away from females unconscious of disloyalty, and undesignedly bearing the imaginary badge. Various other violent acts were committed, so far as to cut away pieces of men's ears, even sometimes the whole ear, or a part of the nose; nor could the staunchest loyalist be certain always of exemption from insult by being clear of all imaginary marks of disloyalty; for on the arrival of a detachment of the army in any part of the country where the inhabitants were known to the officers and soldiers, which was almost always the case, private malice was apt to convey in whispers false intelligence, marking individuals, perhaps the best members of society, as proper objects of military outrage, and they suffered accordingly.

By the system of secret accusation and espionage, thus universally adopted, with other extraordinary measures, in this dangerous crisis, Government made ample room for the exertions of private malice. Magistrates and military officers were empowered to receive informations, to keep the names of the informers profoundly secret, and proceed against the accused according to discretion.

One case deserves particular mention, not because of its peculiar atrocity—for there were very many such,—but on account of the very singular fact that the perpetrator was afterwards punished by law. It is thus recorded by Mr. Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, in his History of the Rebellion:—

"Thomas Fitzgerald, High Sheriff of Tipperary, seized at Clonmel a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbors, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of torture and laceration could hardly be expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudices ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was condemned to pay five hundred pounds to his prosecutor. Many other actions of damages on similar grounds would have been commenced if the Parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings by an act of indemnity for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. A *letter written in the French language*, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature."

This was the same Fitzgerald whom the good and gallant Sir John Moore saw once in the village of Clogheen engaged in his favorite pursuit. Sir John Moore had the misfortune, like Abercrombie, to hold a command in that army of military execution; and on his march from Fermoy, entering the town of Clogheen, he saw a man tied up and under the lash, while the street itself was lined with country people on their knees, with their hats off; nor was his disgust repressed when he was informed that the High Sheriff, Mr. Fitzgerald, was making great discoveries, and that he had already flogged the truth out of many respectable persons. His rule was "to flog each person till he told the truth."

The brave Sir John Moore has borne ample testimony to the barbarity of the policy he had witnessed in Ireland pursued by the authorities, and the revenge the Orange gentry and yeomen indulged in upon the poor. In speaking of Wicklow, where Sir John had been chiefly employed, he states his opinion, "that moderate treatment by the generals, and the preventing of the troops from pillaging and molesting the people would soon restore tranquillity, and the latter would certainly be quiet if the gentry and yeomen would only behave with tolerable decency, and not seek to gratify their ill-humor and revenge upon the poor." *

Major-General William Napier, commenting in the Edinburgh *Review* on the life of

* Review in the Edinburgh of Life of Sir J. Moore. The reviewer was General Wm. Napier.

Sir John Moore, and the indignation he had always expressed at such atrocious cruelty to the poor people, takes occasion to give his own recollections of the period. He exclaims: "What manner of soldiers were thus let loose upon the wretched districts which the Ascendency-men *were pleased to call disaffected?* They were men, to use the venerable Abercrombie's words, who were 'formidable to everybody but the enemy.' We ourselves were young at the time; yet, being connected with the army, we were continually amongst the soldiers, listening with boyish eagerness to their conversation, and we well remember—and with horror to this day—the tales of lust, and blood, and pillage—the record of their own actions against the miserable peasantry—which they used to relate." And it is important to remember that all this while there was no insurrection. True, insurrection was intended and longed for; but the people were then neither ready nor inclined to turn out and fight the King's troops. They knew well that they needed a small organized force of regular troops to form a nucleus of an army, and were still waiting and looking out for the French.

In the very midst of the horrible scourging oppression which was thus driving the people to madness, one can derive no pleasure from the fact that Catholic bishops and peers took that very time to testify their loyalty, their attachment to the English Throne, and their detestation of rebellion. On the 6th of May, the Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Southwell, Kenmare, Sir Edward Bellew, and forty-one other noblemen, gentlemen, and professors of divinity, including Bishop Hussey, President of Maynooth, published a declaration under their signatures, "with a view," says Mr. Plowden, "of rescuing their body from the imputation of abetting and favoring rebellion and treason." The document was thus addressed: "To such of the deluded people now in rebellion against His Majesty's Government in this kingdom as profess the Roman Catholic religion." Those doctors of divinity could vilify rebels very much at their ease; but if one of them had found himself in the position of Father John Murphy, when, on a certain day in this same month of May, returning to his home, he found his house and his humble chapel of Boolavogue smoking in ruins, and his poor parishioners crowding round him in wild affright, not daring to go even to the neighborhood of their ruined homes, "for fear of being whipped, burned, or exterminated by the Orangemen, hearing of the number of people that were put to death unarmed and unoffending through the country"—one would be curious to know what that doctor of divinity would have done upon such an emergency. Probably very much as Father John did.

A certain Captain Armstrong, an officer of the Kildare militia, a man of some landed property and decent position in society, was the person who now undertook to act the part of Reynolds, and serve as a spy upon the brothers John and Henry Sheares. Armstrong gained access to the confidence, and even intimacy, of the Sheares, not only by his agreeable social qualities, but by his pretended zeal in the cause to which they were devoted. He dined with the two brothers, at their house in Baggot street, on the 20th of May: the next morning they were both arrested. Doctor Madden says of this transaction: "Captain Armstrong, in his evidence on the trial of the Sheares, did not think it necessary to state that at his Sunday's interview (May 20th, 1798,) he shared the hospitality of his victims; that he dined with them, sat in the company of their aged mother and affectionate sister, enjoyed the society of the accomplished wife of one of them, caressed his infant children, and on another occasion—referred to by Miss Steele—was entertained with music—the wife of the unfortunate man, whose children he was to leave in a few days fatherless, playing on the harp for his entertainment! These things are almost too horrible to think on.

"Armstrong, after dining with his victims on Sunday, returned to their house no more. This was the last time the cloven foot of treachery passed the threshold of the Sheares. On the following morning they were arrested and committed to Kilmainham jail. The terrible iniquity of Armstrong's conduct on that Sunday—when he dined with his victims, sat in social intercourse with their families a few hours only

before he was aware his treachery would have brought ruin on that household,—is unparalleled."

We may mention here, parenthetically, that Captain Armstrong, after having hanged his hospitable entertainers of Baggot street, lived himself to a good old age (he died in 1858); but in his interview with Dr. Madden, touching some alleged inaccuracies in the work of the latter, he denied having caressed any children at Sheares'. He said "he never recollected having seen the children at all; but there was a young lady of about fifteen there, whom he met at dinner. The day he dined there (and he dined there only once) he was urged by Lord Castlereagh to do so. It was wrong to do so, and he (Captain Armstrong) was sorry for it; but he was persuaded by Lord Castlereagh to go there to dine, for the purpose of getting further information."

Perhaps the history of no other country can show us an example of the first minister of state personally exhorting his spies to go to a gentleman's house and mingle with his family in social intercourse, in order to procure evidence to hang him. However, his lordship did procure the information he wanted. He found that the leaders of the United Irishmen, being at length convinced of the impossibility of restraining the people and keeping them quiet under such intolerable tyranny, had decided on a general rising for the 23d of May.

The whole of the United Irishmen throughout the kingdom, or at least throughout the province of Leinster, were to act at once in concert; and it was their intention to seize the camp of Loughlinstown, the artillery of Chapel-izod, and the Castle of Dublin, in one night—the 23d of May. One hour was to be allowed between seizing the camp of Loughlinstown and the artillery at Chapel-izod; and one hour and a half between seizing the artillery and surprising the Castle; and the parties who executed both of the external plans were to enter the city of Dublin at the same moment. The stopping of the mail coaches was to be the signal for the insurgents everywhere to commence their operations. It was also planned that a great insurrection should take place at Cork at the same time. The united men were, however, at that period, not exactly agreed as to the nature of the insurrection. Mr. Samuel Neilson, with some other of the leaders, were bent upon attacking first the county jail of Kilmainham and the jail of Newgate, in order to set their comrades at liberty; and the project for attacking the latter was also fixed for the 23d of May, the night of the general insurrection. The Sheares, however, and others were of a contrary opinion, and they wished to defer the attack on the jails till after the general insurrection had taken place.

Although the Government had been long in possession, through the communications of Reynolds, Armstrong, and other informers, of all the particulars of the conspiracy, they had hitherto permitted or encouraged its progress, in order, as it has been alleged, that the suppression of it might be effected with more *éclat* and terror. As the expected explosion, however, now drew so near, it was found to be necessary to arrest several of the principal leaders, who might give direction, energy, and effect to the insurrection. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had concealed himself since the 12th of March; and, on the 18th of May, Major Sirr having received information that he would pass through Watling street that night, and be preceded by a chosen band of traitors as an advanced guard, and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by Captain Ryan, Mr. Emerson, of the attorneys' corps, and a few soldiers in colored clothes. They met the party which preceded him, and had a skirmish with them on the quay at the end of Watling street, in which some shots were exchanged; and they took one of them prisoner, who called himself at one time Jameson, at another time Brand.

The arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was effected next day, the 19th of May.

Government having received information that he had arrived in Dublin, and was lodged in the house of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas street, sent Major Sirr to arrest him. He, attended by Captain Swan, of the revenue corps, and Captain Ryan, of the Sepulchre's, and eight soldiers disguised, about five o'clock in the evening repaired in

coaches to Murphy's house. While they were posting the soldiers in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of an escape, Captain Swan perceiving a woman running hastily up stairs, for the purpose, as he supposed, of alarming Lord Edward, followed her with the utmost speed ; and, on entering an apartment, found Lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dressing jacket. He approached the bed and informed his lordship that he had a warrant against him, and that resistance would be vain ; assuring him at the same time that he would treat him with the utmost respect.

Lord Edward sprang from the bed and snapped a pistol, which missed fire, at Captain Swan ; he then closed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in his body ; one of them, under the ribs, was deep and dangerous, and bled most copiously.

At that moment, Captain Ryan entered, and missed fire at Lord Edward with a pocket pistol ; on which he made a lunge at him with a sword cane, which bent on his ribs, but affected him so much that he threw himself on the bed ; and, Captain Ryan having thrown himself on him, a violent scuffle ensued, during which Lord Edward drew a dagger and plunged it into his side. They then fell on the ground, where Captain Ryan received many desperate wounds ; one of which, in the lower part of his belly, was so large that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr, having entered the room, saw Captain Swan bleeding, and Lord Edward advancing towards the door, while Captain Ryan, weltering in blood on the floor, was holding him by one leg and Swan by the other. He, therefore, fired his pistol at Lord Edward, wounding him in the shoulder. His lordship then, quite overpowered, surrendered himself. He was conveyed at once to the Castle. This was two days before the arrest of the Sheares. In their house in Baggot street was found a rough draft of a proclamation, which seems to have been intended for publication on the morning after taking possession of Dublin. It is violent and vindictive, though not approaching in atrocity to the actual scenes which were then daily enacted under the auspices of Government. Still, having been published by the Government, and being authentic, (at least as a rough draft,) it forms a part of the history of the times. It is in these words :—

"Irishmen, your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile Government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands. The national flag—the sacred green—is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism ; and that capital, which a few hours past had witnessed the debauchery, the plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise then, united sons of Ireland—arise like a great and powerful people, to live free, or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider, that for every enemy you disarm you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be secured and transferred to those gallant spirits who want and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or hereafter shall fall in it, shall receive from the hands of the grateful nation an ample recompense out of that property which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands ; and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity ; but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy. We also swear that we will never sheath the sword till every being in the country is restored to those equal rights which the God of nature has given to all men ; until an order of things shall be established in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and talents. As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them. Let them find no quarter, unless they shall prove their repentance by speedily exchang-

ing the standard of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland. Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breasts, and have joined the national standard. Receive with open arms such as shall follow so glorious an example. They can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But, for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand . . . . . Rouse all energies of your souls; call forth all the merits and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity; and, under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory. Heed not the glare of hired soldiery, or aristocratic yeomanry; they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours; and the detested Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn that the treasures it exhausts on its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head. Attack them in every direction, by day and by night. Avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks. Cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces. Let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long-oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies. Vengeance, Irishmen! Vengeance on your oppressors! Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their merciless orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. *Remember Orr!*"

In this proclamation—if it really was intended to be issued as it was drawn up—we have at least the evidence that the United Irishmen were banded together to procure "equal rights for all," and contemplated no oppression of any sect or class of their countrymen. However, such as it was, it must be considered to have been disavowed by other leaders of the United Irishmen, then in prison. In the examination before the Secret Committee of the Lords, as we learn by the memoir of Emmet, MacNeven, and O'Connor, the following examination is found:—

"*Lord Kilwarden*—You seem averse to insurrection; I suppose it was because you thought it impolitic.

"*Emmet*—Unquestionably; for if I imagined an insurrection could have succeeded, without a great waste of blood and time, I should have preferred it to invasion, as it would not have exposed us to the chance of contributions being required by a foreign force; but as I did not think so, and as I was certain an invasion would succeed speedily, and without much struggle, I preferred it even at the hazard of that inconvenience, which we took every means to prevent.

"*Lord Dillon*—Mr. Emmet, you have stated the views of the executive to be very liberal and very enlightened, and I believe yours were so; but let me ask you whether it was not intended to cut off (in the beginning of the contest) the leaders of the opposition party, by a summary mode, such as assassination. My reason for asking you is, John Sheares' proclamation, the most terrible paper that ever appeared in any country. It says that 'many of your tyrants have bled, and others must bleed,' &c.

"*Emmet*—My lords, as to Mr. Sheares' proclamation, he was not of the executive when I was.

"*Lord Chancellor*—He was of the new executive.

"*Emmet*—I do not know he was of any executive, except from what your lordship says; but I believe he was joined with some others in framing a particular plan of insurrection for Dublin and its neighborhood; neither do I know what value he annexed to those words in his proclamation; but I can answer that, while I was of the executive,

there was no such design, but the contrary; for we conceived when one of you lost your lives we lost an hostage. Our intention was to seize you all, and keep you as hostages for the conduct of England; and, after the revolution was over, if you could not live under the new government, to send you out of the country. I will add one thing more, which, though it is not an answer to your question, you may have a curiosity to hear. In such a struggle it was natural to expect confiscations. Our intention was, that every wife who had not instigated her husband to resistance should be provided for out of the property, notwithstanding confiscations; and every child who was too young to be his own master, or form his own opinion, was to have a child's portion. Your lordships will now judge how far we intended to be cruel.

"*Lord Chancellor*—Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?

"*Emmet*—The free quarters, the house-burnings, the tortures, and the military executions in the Counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow.

"*Lord Chancellor*—Don't you think the arrests of the 12th of March caused it?

"*Emmet*—No; but I believe if it had not been for those arrests it would not have taken place; for the people, irritated by what they suffered, had been long pressing the executive to consent to an insurrection; but they had resisted or eluded it, and even determined to persevere in the same line. After these arrests, however, other persons came forward, who were irritated, and thought differently, who consented to let that partial insurrection take place."

On the 21st of May, Lord Castlereagh, by direction of the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote to the Lord-Mayor of Dublin, to inform him that there was a plan for seizing the city, and recommending precautions. The next day, his lordship presented a message to the House of Commons to the same effect, and a loyal address was presented in reply. Great preparations for defence were now made in Dublin. Various civic bodies armed themselves in haste, and placed themselves at the service of the authorities. Among these was the lawyers' corps, which showed great zeal on the occasion; and amongst the members of that body we find the name of a young lawyer who had very lately been called to the bar—Daniel O'Connell.

It was now impossible to prevent the rising. The United Irishmen of Leinster, though thus left without leaders, had got their instructions for action on the 23d of May; and, besides, they felt that no reverse of fortune in the open field could be worse than what they were already suffering.

It appears that the plan of attack formed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been communicated to most of the insurgents; for their first open acts of hostility, though apparently fortuitous, irregular, and confused, bore evident marks of a deep-laid scheme for surprising the military by separate, though simultaneous attacks, to surround in a cordon the city of Dublin, and cut off all succors and resources from without. On that day, (May 23d,) Mr. Neilson* and some others of the leaders were arrested; and the City and County of Dublin were proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council in a state of insurrection; the guards at the Castle and all the great objects of attack were trebled; and, in fact, the whole city was converted into a besieged garrison. Thus the insurgents were unable to effect anything by surprise. Without leaders, and almost without arms or ammunition, they ventured on the bloody contest. Notwithstanding the apparent forwardness of the North, the first commotions appeared in different parts of Leinster. The Northern and Connaught mail coaches were stopped by parties of the insurgents on the night of the 23d of May; and, at about twelve o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a large body of insurgents attacked the town and jail of Naas, about fourteen miles from Dublin, where Lord Gosford commanded. As the guard had been sea-

* Mr. Neilson was seized between nine and ten in the evening, by Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, as he was reconnoitering the prison. A scuffle ensued, and Neilson snapped a pistol at him; by the intervention of two yeomen he was secured and committed. It is reported, and appears probable, that a large number of the conspirators who were awaiting his orders, having lost their leader, dispersed for that night.

sonably increased, in expectation of such an attack, the assailants were repulsed and driven into a narrow avenue, where, without order or discipline, they sustained for some time the attack of the Armagh militia, and of the fencible corps, raised by Sir Watkin William Wynne, and known by the name of the Ancient Britons. The King's troops lost two officers and about thirty men; and the insurgents, as was reported, lost 140 in the contest and their flight. They were completely dispersed, and several of them taken prisoners. On the same day, a small divison of His Majesty's forces were surprised at the town of Prosperous; and a detachment at the village of Clane cut their way through to Naas, with considerable loss. About the same time, General Dundas encountered a large body of insurgents on the hills near Kilcullen, and 130 of them were left dead upon the field.

On the following day, a body of about 400 insurgents, under the command of two gentlemen of the names of Ledwich and Keough, marched from Rathfarnham, in the neighborhood of Dublin, along the foot of the mountain towards Belgatt and Clondalkin. In their progress, they were met by a party of thirty-five dragoons, under the command of Lord Roden. After some resistance, the insurgents were defeated, great numbers were killed and wounded, and their leaders—Ledwich and Keough—were taken. They were immediately tried by a court-martial, and executed.

Although the first effort of the insurgents had been thus defeated, still they entertained the most sanguine hopes of succeeding in another attempt. General Lake, who, upon the resignation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief, published the following notice on the morning of the 24th of May:—

"Lieutenant-General Lake, commanding His Majesty's forces in this kingdom, having received from His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, full powers to put down the rebellion, and to punish rebels in the most summary manner by martial law," &c.

On the same morning, the Lord-Mayor of Dublin issued a proclamation to this effect:—

"Whereas, the circumstances of the present crisis demand every possible precaution, these are, therefore, to desire all persons who have registered arms, forthwith to give in (in writing) an exact list or inventory of such arms at the Town Clerk's office, who will file and enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose; and all persons who have not registered their arms are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or some other of the magistrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their possession; and if, after this proclamation, any person having registered their arms shall be found not to have given in a true list or inventory of such arms; or if any person who has not registered shall be found to have in their power or possession any arms or ammunition whatever, such person or persons will, on such arms being discovered, be forthwith sent on board His Majesty's navy, as by law directed.

"And I do hereby desire that all housekeepers do place upon the outside of their doors a list of all persons in their respective houses, distinguishing such as are strangers from those who actually make part of their family; but as there may happen to be persons who, from pecuniary embarrassments, are obliged to conceal themselves, I do not require such names to be placed on the outside of the door, provided their names are sent to me. And I hereby call upon all His Majesty's subjects within the County of the City of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the public security; as those persons who shall willfully neglect a regulation so easy and salutary, as well as persons giving false statements of the inmates of their houses, must, in the present crisis, abide the consequences of such neglect."

Parliament, being then in session, met as usual, and Lord Castlereagh presented to the House of Commons a message from the Lord-Lieutenant, that he thought it his indispensable duty, with the advice of the Privy Council, under the present circumstances of the kingdom, to issue a proclamation, which he had ordered to be laid before the House of Commons, to whom he remarked, the time for speaking was now gone by, and that period at last come when

deeds and not words were to show the dispositions of members of that House, and of every man who truly valued the Constitution of the land, or wished to maintain the laws, and protect the lives and properties of His Majesty's subjects. Everything which courage, honor, fortune, could offer in the common cause was now called for. The rebels had openly thrown off the mask, &c., &c.

Open war having now been fairly commenced, the Government proceeded to the strongest measures of cöercion. Although by no public official act were the picquettings, stranglings, floggings, and torturings, to extort confessions, justified or sanctioned, yet it is universally known, that under the very eye of Government, and with more than their tacit permission, were these outrages practiced. In mentioning the Irish Government, it is not meant that this system proceeded from its Chief Governor; it was boasted to have been extorted from him. And to this hour it is not only defended and justified, but panegyrized by the advocates and creatures of the furious drivers of that system of terrorism.

So far from there being any doubt of the existence of any such practices a short time previous to and during the rebellion, Sir Richard Musgrave has, in an additional appendix to his memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, given to the public his observations upon whipping and free quarters. He admits, indeed, that whosoever considers it abstractedly, must, of course, condemn it as obviously repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our Constitution, and those of justice and humanity; but he was convinced, that such persons as dispassionately considered the existing circumstances, and the pressure of the occasion under which it was adopted, would readily admit them to be, if not an excuse, at least an ample extenuation of that practice. "Suppose," says he, "the fullest information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subversion of Government, and the destruction of society; and whipping was resorted to.

"As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supersedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures, as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation.

"When the sword of civil war is drawn, the laws are silent. As to the violation of humanity, it should be recollected, that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti; that their object was the extirpation of the loyalists; that of the whippers, the preservation of the community at large.

"This practice was never sanctioned by Government, as they, on the contrary, used their utmost exertions to prevent it; and the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person, and was employed for no other reason but to discover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious schemes of the traitors. Free quarters were confined merely to the province of Leinster.

"When Government was possessed of the evidence that the inhabitants of a village or a town, who had taken the usual oaths to lull and deceive the magistrates, were possessed of concealed arms, and meditated an insurrection and massacre, they sent amongst them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions levied on themselves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

"It has been universally allowed, that the military severities practiced in the County of Kildare occasioned a premature explosion of the plot, which the Directory intended to have deferred till the French effected a landing; and one of them, Mr Emmet, declared in his evidence, upon oath, before the Secret Committee of the Lords, that, but for the salutary effects of those military severities, there would have been a very general and formidable insurrection in every part of the country."

This warm advocate for the torture has not with his usual minuteness favored his reader with any instances of innocent persons having undergone this severe trial from

wanton suspicion, personal revenge, or malevolent cruelty. Yet many such there were; as must necessarily be the case, where the very cast of a countenance that displeased a corporal or common yeoman sufficed to subject the unfortunate passenger to this military ordeal. No man can give credit to the assertion, that *Government used their utmost exertions to prevent it*, who knows anything of the state of Ireland at that disastrous period. In Beresford's Riding House, Sandys' Prevot, the Old Custom House, the Royal Exchange, some of the barracks, and other places in Dublin, there were daily, hourly notorious exhibitions of these torturings, as there also were in almost every town, village, or hamlet throughout the kingdom, in which troops were quartered.*

Many attacks were made by the rebels on the second day of the rebellion, (the 24th of May,) generally with ill-success; the chief of which were those of Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven. There were also several skirmishes near Rathfarnham, Tallagh, Lucan, Luske, Dunboyne, Barretstown, Collon, and Baltinglass. At Dunboyne and Barretstown the insurgents are allowed to have had the advantage. But in all the other encounters, though greatly superior in numbers, they were defeated, with incredible loss of their men.

The non-arrival of the mail-coach at the usual hour of eight o'clock in the morning at Carlow, was to be the signal for rising there and its vicinity. This town lies about forty miles southwest of Dublin. Of the intended attack the garrison was apprised by an intercepted letter, and from Lieutenant Roe, of the North Cork militia, who had observed the peasants assembling in the vicinity late in the evening of the 24th of May. The garrison consisted in the whole of about four hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Mahon, of the Ninth Dragoons, and they were very judiciously posted for the reception of the assailants. A body, perhaps amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred, having assembled before the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half distant from Carlow, marched into the town at two o'clock in the morning on the 25th of May, in a very unguarded and tumultuary manner, shouting as they rushed into Tullow street, with vain confidence, that the town was their own: they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and endeavored to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which were immediately fired by the soldiery. About eighty houses, with some hundred men, were consumed in this conflagration. As about half this column of assailants had arrived within the town, and few escaped from that situation, their loss can hardly be estimated at less than four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the side of the King's troops.

After the defeat, executions commenced here, as they did elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred, in a short time, were hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims was Sir Edward Crosbie, before whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march; he was condemned and shot as an United Irishman. Sir Edward Crosbie had no further connection with the rebels than that they exercised on a lawn before the house, which of course Sir Edward could not prevent.

In the attack upon Slane, a mere handful of troops, about seventeen yeomen and forty of the Armagh militia, although surprised in the houses on which they were billetted, fought their way separately to their rallying post, and then made a vigorous a stand, that some hundreds of the people were with considerable slaughter repulsed. Several of the assailants of this small town appeared dressed in the uniforms of the Cork militia and Ancient Britons; which appearance, in this and several other instances, proved a fatal deceit to the King's troops. They were the spoils taken at Prosperous: at which place the success of the insurgents, amongst other causes, was owing to their having been headed or led on to the attack

* It is too large a credit to be allowed to this author's assertion, that *the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person.* If the security of the monarch be to be found in the affectionate hearts of his people, it is matter of important consideration how far these practices tended more to unite or separate the two kingdoms.

by an officer; as their defeats in most other places, with immense superiority of numbers, were to be attributed to the want of some intelligent person to control and direct them. Their discomfitures in general were not the effect of fear or cowardice, but of want of discipline and organization.

Kildare County was not favorable to the insurgents, because it is generally a flat, grassy plain, where regular cavalry can act with terrible effect. Two weeks were sufficient to crush all insurrectionary movements in that county, and in Meath and Carlow. Yet in that short campaign splendid feats of gallantry were achieved by the half-armed peasantry. At Monastereven, the insurgents were repulsed with some loss, the defenders of the place being in part "loyal" Catholics, commanded by one Cassidy. At Old Kilcullen the insurgents defeated and drove back the advance-guard of General Dundas, with the loss of twenty-two regular soldiers, including a Captain Erskine. But after the first few days, there was in reality no insurrection at all in Kildare County; and the operations of the troops there, though called sometimes "battles," were nothing but onslaughts on disarmed fugitives—in other words, massacres. These proceedings were hailed with triumph in Dublin, as great military achievements. For example, the slaughter of the unresisting, capitulated people at the Gibbet Rath of Kildare, was regarded as a vigorous measure which the emergencies of the time required. The rebels, according to Sir R. Musgrave, amounted to about 3,000 in number; they had entered into terms with General Dundas, and were assembled at a place that had been a Danish fort, called the Gibbet Rath. Having offered terms of submission to General Dundas on the 26th of May, that General dispatched General Welford to receive their arms and grant them protection. Before the arrival of the latter, however, on the 3d of June, the multitude of unresisting people were suddenly attacked by Sir James Duff, who, having galloped into the plain, disposed his army in order of battle, and with the assistance of Lord Roden's Fencible Cavalry, fell upon the astonished multitude, as Sir Richard Musgrave states, "pell mell." Three hundred and fifty men, under terms of capitulation, admitted into the King's peace and promised his protection, were mowed down in cold blood, at a place known to every peasant in Kildare as "the Place of Slaughter," as well remembered as Mullaghmast itself, the Gibbet Rath of the Curragh of Kildare.

The massacre took place on the 3d of June; the terms of surrender were made by one Perkins, a rebel leader, on the part of the insurgents, and General Dundas, on the part of the Government, and with its express sanction and permission for them, on delivering up their arms, to return to their homes. Their leader and his brother were to be likewise pardoned and set at liberty.

It was when the people were assembled at the appointed place, to comply with these conditions, that Sir James Duff, at the head of 600 men, then on his march from Limerick, proceeded to the place to procure the surrendered weapons. One of the insurgents, before giving up his musket, discharged it in the air, barrel upwards; this simple act was immediately construed into a hostile proceeding, and the troops fell on the astonished multitude, and the latter fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued and slaughtered without mercy by a party of Fencible Cavalry, called "Lord Jocelyn's Foxhunters." According to the Rev. James Gordon, upwards of 200 fell on this occasion; Sir R. Musgrave states 350.

"No part of the infamy of this proceeding," says Dr. Madden, "attaches to General Dundas. The massacre took place without his knowledge or his sanction. His conduct throughout the rebellion was that of a humane and brave man."

The brutal massacre on the Curragh is thus described by Lord Camden, the Lord-Lieutenant, in his dispatch to the Duke of Portland:—

"Dublin Castle, May 29th.

"*My Lord*:—I have only time to inform your grace, that I learn from General Dundas that the rebels in the Curragh of Kildare have laid down their arms, and delivered up a number of their leaders.

"By a dispatch I have this instant received, I have the further pleasure of acquainting your grace that Sir James Duff,

who, with infinite alacrity and address, has opened the communication with Limerick, (that with Cork being already open,) had arrived at Kildare whilst the rebels had possession of it, completely routed them and taken the place.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

"CAMDEN."

The same transaction is thus described by the chief actor :—

Extract of a letter from Major-General Sir James Duff to Lieutenant-General Lake, dated Monastereven.

"I marched from Limerick on Sunday morning with sixty dragoons, Dublin militia, three field pieces, and two curricle guns, to open the communication with Dublin, which I judged of the utmost importance to Government. By means of cars for the infantry, I reached this place in forty-eight hours. I am now, at seven o'clock this morning, (Tuesday,) marching to surround the town of Kildare, the headquarters of the rebels, with seven pieces of artillery, 150 dragoons, and 350 infantry, determined to make a dreadful example of the rebels. I have left the whole country behind me perfectly quiet, and well protected by means of the troops and yeomanry corps.

"I hope to be able to forward this to you by the mail coach, which I will escort to Naas. I am sufficiently strong. You may depend on my prudence and success. My guns are well manned, and all the troops in high spirits. The cruelties the rebels have committed on some of the officers and men have exasperated them to a great degree. Of my future operations I will endeavor to inform you.

"P. S.—KILDARE, two o'clock, P. M.—We found the rebels retiring from the town on our arrival, armed ; we followed them with the dragoons. I sent on some of the yeomen to tell them, on laying down their arms, they should not be hurt. Unfortunately, some of them fired on the troops ; * from that moment they were attacked on all sides—nothing could stop the rage of the troops. I believe from two to three hundred of the rebels were killed. We have three men killed and several wounded. I am too much fatigued to enlarge."

There is no need to recount in detail the various slaughters done by the troops, sometimes upon armed insurgents, sometimes upon mere masses of unarmed people. These were all commemorated indifferently by Lord Camden in his dispatches as "battles," "defeats of the rebels," and the like. One of his dispatches describes the most serious part of the rising in Wicklow County :—

"DUBLIN CASTLE, May 26th, 10 A. M.

"*My Lord :*—I have detained a packet, in order to transmit to your grace the information received this morning.

"I have stated in a private letter to your grace, that a party of the rebels, to the amount of several hundreds, were attacked by a detachment of the Antrim militia, a small party of cavalry, and Captain Stratford's yeomanry; and that, being driven into the town of Baltinglass, they lost about 150 men.

"This morning an account has been received from Major Hardy, that yesterday a body of between 3,000 and 4,000 had collected near Dunlavin, when they were entirely defeated, with the loss of 300 men, by Lieutenant Gardner, at the head of a detachment of Antrim militia, and Captain Hardy's and Captain Hume's yeomanry.

"The troops and yeomanry behaved with the utmost gallantry in both actions."

On the same 26th of May another slaughter took place on Tara Hill, in Meath. Some chiefs of the Leinster insurgents had assembled at that point, where they expected to be joined by a force coming from the North. They were here attacked, and after an obstinate defence, killing thirty-two of the soldiers and yeomanry, they were again overpowered, by discipline and superior arms. The issue is told in this dispatch :—

Extract of a letter from Captain Scobie, of the Reay Fencibles, to Lieutenant-General Lake, dated Dunshaughlin, Sunday morning, May 27th, 1798.

"The division, consisting of five companies of His Majesty's Reay Regiment of Fencible Infantry, which I have the honor to command, arrived here yesterday morning according to route, accompanied by

* Plowden describes the affair thus : As the troops advanced near the insurgents to receive their surrendered weapons, one of the latter, foolishly swearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwise than empty, discharged it with the muzzle upwards.

Lord Fingal's troop of yeomen cavalry, Captain Preston's and Lower Kells' troop of cavalry, and Captain Molloy's company of yeomen infantry.

"At half-past three, P M., I was informed that a considerable force of the rebel insurgents had taken station on Tara Hill. I instantly detached three companies of our division, with one field-piece, and the above corps of yeomanry, to the spot, under the command of Captain M'Lean, of the Reay's, the issue of which has answered my most sanguine expectation.

"The rebels fled in all directions; 350 were found dead on the field this morning, among whom is their commander, in full uniform; many more were killed and wounded.

"Our loss is inconsiderable, being nine rank and file killed, sixteen rank and file wounded."

On the whole, it must be admitted that the troops found but little difficulty in crushing the insurgent peasants of Kildare, Dublin, and Meath. The slaughter of the people was out of all proportion with the resistance. The number of deaths arising from torture or massacre, where no resistance was offered, during the year 1798, forms the far greater portion of the total number slain in this contest. The words of Mr. Gordon are: "I have reason to think, more men than fell in battle were slain in cold blood. No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, *with or without arms*." *

In the meantime, events still more serious were taking place in Wexford County.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1798.

Wexford a Peaceable County—Lord Castlereagh's Judicious Measures—Catholics Driven out of Yeomanry Corps—Treatment of Mr. Fitzgerald—United Irish in Wexford—The Priests Oppose that Society—How they were Requited—Miles Byrne—Torture in Wexford—Orangemen in Wexford—North Cork Militia—Hay's Account of the Ferocity of the Magistrates—Massacre of Carnew—Father John Murphy—Burning of his Chapel—Miles Byrne's Account of First Rising—Oulard—Storm of Enniscorthy—Wexford Evacuated by the King's Troops—Occupied by Insurgents—All the County now in Insurrection—Estimated Numbers of Insurgents—Population of the County.

WEXFORD was one of the most peaceable counties in Ireland. Protestants and Catholics lived there in greater harmony than elsewhere; and had united in forming yeomanry corps for defence of the country after the attempted invasion under Hoche. The United Irish organization extended to that county as we know from Miles Byrne; but not with such power as in Meath and Kildare, for the very reason that the people were not, up to that time, subjected to such intolerable oppression. In the first months of 1798, however, everything was changed. Orders were given from the Castle to purify the yeomanry corps, by expelling those who should not take an oath that they were not United Irishmen. The oath was to the effect that they were neither United Irishmen *nor Orangemen;* but practically, the measure was so executed as to disarm none but Catholics, or such Protestants as were known to be liberal in their opinions, like Antony Perry, of Inch. Miles Byrne (the personal memoir of this gallant officer was published only in 1863) gives several examples:—

"White, of Bally-Ellis, raised a foot corps, and got great praise from the Government, as he had it equipped and armed when Hoche's expedition came to Bantry Bay in 1796.

"If this corps was one of the first that was ready to march, it was also one of the first to be disbanded and disarmed, for it was composed principally of Catholics, though the officers were Protestants.

"The corps of yeomanry cavalry, commanded by Beaumont, of Hyde Park, in which Antony Perry, of Inch, or Perry Mount, and Ford, of Ballyfad, were officers, refused to take any oath respecting their being Orangemen, or United Irishmen; at the same time they resolved not to resign, but to continue their service as usual. Soon after, the corps was ordered to assemble, when a regiment of militia was in waiting, and the suspected members were surrounded and disarmed; that is to say, all the Catholics, which were about one-half of the corps, with Perry and one or two other Protestants, being considered too liberal to make part of a corps that was henceforward to be upon the true Protestant, or Orange system."

Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park, gives

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion.

a sample of the proceedings which were carried on throughout the county from the moment of the formidable proclamation of martial law. He writes :—(*See Madden.*)

"Upon the 28th of April, 1798, my house, offices, and grounds, which are very considerable, were taken possession of by 120 cavalry and infantry, and 12 officers, who possessed themselves of all kinds of property within and without, and what they could not consume sent to Athy barracks. They continued in possession about thirty days, until the press of the times obliged them to change their position. Upon the approach of the military, my wife and family, of course, were obliged to fly my habitation, without the shortest previous intimation, and I was sent, under a military escort, to Dublin, where, after an arrest of ninety-one days, I was liberated, without the slightest specific charge of any kind. At the time of my arrest, I commanded as respectable a corps of cavalry as any in the kingdom, containing fifty-six in number, and not the slightest impropriety was ever attached to any of its members. From the time the military possessed themselves of my residence, the most iniquitous enormities were everywhere practiced upon the people of the country ; their houses plundered, their stock of all kinds seized, driven to the barracks, and sold by auction ; their persons arrested, and sentenced to be flogged, at the arbitrary will of the most despicable wretches of the community. A man of the name of Thomas James Rawson, of the lowest order, the offal of a dunghill, had every person tortured and stripped, as his cannibal will directed. He would seat himself in a chair in the centre of a ring formed around the triangles, *the miserable victims kneeling under the triangle until they would be spotted over with the blood of the others.* People of the name of Cronin were thus treated. He made the father kneel under the son while flogging, the son under the father, &c."

Why such a demoniac system was introduced amongst a peaceful people—save to goad them into revolt—it is quite impossible to comprehend. Thousands of men who had avoided the United Irish Society before, now began to join it. The priests were still counselling patience and submission, and doing all in their power to make the people deliver up their pikes and other weapons. Miles Byrne says : "The priests did everything in their power to stop the progress of the association of United Irishmen ; particularly poor Father John Redmond, who refused to hear the confession of any of the United Irish, and turned them away from his knees. He was ill-requited afterwards for his great zeal and devotion to the enemies of his country ; for after the insurrection was all over, Earl Mountnorris brought him in a prisoner to the British camp at Gorey, with a rope about his neck, hung him up to a tree, and fired a brace of bullets through his body. Lord Mountnorris availed himself of this opportunity to show his 'loyalty,' for he was rather suspected on account of not being at the head of his corps when the insurrection broke out in his neighborhood. Both Redmond and the parish priest, Father Frank Cavanagh, were on the best terms with Earl Mountnorris, dining frequently with him at his seat, Camolen Park; which place Father Redmond prevented being plundered during the insurrection. This was the only part he had taken in the struggle."

Various kinds of torture were now habitually applied by the magistrates to extort confession of the two great crimes—having arms, or being United Irish ; and the merest suspicion, or pretence of suspicion, was quite enough to cause a man to be half-hanged, flogged almost to death, or fitted with a pitch cap. Edward Hay gives a good general account of the methods by which the Wexford people were at last maddened to revolt :—

"The Orange system made no public appearance in the County of Wexford until the beginning of April, on the arrival there of the North Cork militia, commanded by Lord Kingsborough. In this regiment there were a great number of Orangemen, who were zealous in making proselytes and displaying their devices—having medals and Orange ribbons triumphantly pendant from their bosoms. It is believed that previous to this period there were but few actual Orangemen in the county ; but soon after, those whose principles inclined that way, finding themselves supported by the mili-

tary, joined the association, and publicly avowed themselves by assuming the devices of the fraternity.

"It is said that the North Cork regiment were also the inventors (but they certainly were the introducers) of pitch-cap torture into the County of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, (and, therefore, called a croppy, by which appellation the soldiery designated an United Irishman,) on being pointed out by some loyal neighbor, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these, well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers; and to the view of vast numbers of people, who generally crowded about the guard-house door, attracted by the cries of the tormented. Many of those persecuted in this manner experienced additional anguish from the melted pitch trickling into their eyes. This afforded a rare addition of enjoyment to these keen sportsmen, who reiterated their horrid yells of exultation on the repetition of the several accidents to which their game was liable from being turned out; for, in the confusion and hurry of escaping from the ferocious hands of these more than savage barbarians, the blinded victims frequently fell, or inadvertently dashed their heads against the walls in their way. The pain of disengaging this pitched cap from the head must be next to intolerable. The hair was often torn out by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded or blistered as to adhere and come off along with it. The terror and dismay that these outrages occasioned are inconceivable. A sergeant of the North Cork, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, was most ingenious in devising new methods of torture. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair cut close, and then set on fire. Some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipped off. Sometimes an entire ear, and often both ears were completely cut off; and many lost part of their noses during the like preparation. But, strange to tell, these atrocities were publicly practiced without the least reserve, in open day; and no magistrate or officer ever interfered, but shamefully connived at this extraordinary mode of quieting the people! Some of the miserable sufferers on these shocking occasions, or some of their relations or friends, actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut short the hair of several persons, whom they either considered as enemies, or suspected of having pointed them out as objects for such desperate treatment.

"This was done with a view that those active citizens should fall in for a little experience of the like discipline, or to make the fashion of short hair so general that it might no longer be a mark of party distinction. Females were also exposed to the grossest insults from these military ruffians. Many women had their petticoats, handkerchiefs, caps, ribbons, and all parts of their dress that exhibited a shade of green, (considered the national color of Ireland,) torn off, and their ears assailed by the most vile and indecent ribaldry. This was a circumstance so unforeseen, and, of course, so little provided against, that many women of enthusiastic loyalty suffered outrage in this manner.

"The proclamation of the County of Wexford having given greater scope to the ingenuity of magistrates to devise means of quelling all symptoms of rebellion, as well as of using every exertion to procure discoveries, they soon fell to the burning of houses wherein pikes, or other offensive weapons, were discovered, no matter how brought there; but they did not stop here, for the dwellings of suspected persons, and those from which any of the inhabitants were found to be absent at night, were also consumed. The circumstance of absence from the houses very generally prevailed throughout the country, although there were the strictest orders forbidding it. This was occasioned at first, as was before observed, from apprehension of the Orangemen, but afterwards proceeded from the actual experience of torture by the people from the yeomen and magistrates. Some, too, abandoned their houses for fear of being whipped,

if, on being apprehended, confession satisfactory to the magistrates could neither be given or extorted; and this infliction many persons seemed to fear more than death itself. Many unfortunate men, who were taken in their houses, were strung up, as it were to be hanged, but were let down now and then to try if strangulation would oblige them to become informers. After these and the like experiments, several persons languished for some time, and at length perished in consequence of them. Smiths and carpenters, whose assistance was considered indispensable in the fabrication of pikes, were pointed out on evidence of their trades as the first and fittest objects of torture. But the sagacity of some magistrates became at length so acute, from habit and exercise, that they *discerned* an United Irishman even at the first glance! And their zeal never suffered any person whom they designed to honor with such distinction to pass off without convincing proof of their attention. . . . . .

"Mr. Hunter Gowan had for many years distinguished himself by his activity in apprehending robbers, for which he was rewarded with a pension of £100 per annum. Now exalted to the rank of a magistrate, and promoted to be captain of a corps of yeomanry, he was zealous in his exertions to inspire the people about Gorey with dutiful submission to the magistracy and a respectful awe of the yeomanry. On a public day in the week preceding the insurrection, the town of Gorey beheld the triumphal entry of Mr. Gowan, at the head of his corps, with his sword drawn and a human finger stuck on the point of it.

"With this trophy he marched into the town, parading up and down the streets several times, so that there was not a person in Gorey who did not witness this exhibition; while in the meantime the triumphant corps displayed all the devices of Orangemen. After the labor and fatigue of the day, Mr. Gowan and his men retired to a public house to refresh themselves, and, *like true blades of game*, their punch was stirred about with the finger that had *graced* their ovation, in imitation of keen fox hunters, who *wkisk* a bowl of punch with the brush of a fox before their boozing commences. This captain and magistrate afterwards went to the house of Mr. Jones, where his daughters were, and while taking a snack that was set before him, he bragged of having blooded his corps that day, and that they were as staunch blood-hounds as any in the world. The daughters begged of their father to show them the croppy finger, which he deliberately took from his pocket and handed to them. Misses dandled it about with senseless exultation, at which a young lady in the room was so shocked that she turned about to a window, holding her hand to her face to avoid the horrid sight. Mr. Gowan, perceiving this, took the finger from his daughters, and *archly* dropped it into the disgusted lady's bosom. She instantly fainted, and thus the scene ended!!! . . . . . .

"Having spent Friday, the 25th of May, with Mr. Turner, a magistrate of the county, at Newfort, he requested me to attend him next day at Newpark, the seat of Mr. Fitzgerald, where, as the most central place, he had appointed to meet the people of the neighborhood. I accordingly met him there on Saturday, the 26th, where he continued the whole day administering the oath of allegiance to vast numbers of people. A certificate was given to every person who took the oath and surrendered any offensive weapon. Many attended who offered to take the oath, and also to depose that they were not United Irishmen, and that they possessed no arms of any kind whatever, and earnestly asked for certificates. But so great was the concourse of these, that, considering the trouble of writing them out, it was found impossible to supply them all with such testimonials at that time. Mr. Turner, therefore, continued to receive surrendered arms, desiring such as had none to await a more convenient opportunity. Numbers, however, still conceiving that they would not be secure without a written protection, offered ten times their intrinsic value to such as had brought pike blades to surrender; but these being unwilling to forego the benefit of a written protection for the moment, refused to part with their weapons on any other condition. Among the great numbers assembled on this occasion were some men from the village of Ballaghkeen,

who had the appearance of being more dead than alive, from the apprehensions they were under of having th 'r houses burned or themselves whipped should they return home. These apprehensions had been excited to this degree because that, on the night of Thursday, the 24th, the Enniscorthy cavalry, conducted by Mr. Archibald Hamilton Jacob, had come to Ballaghkeen; but, on hearing the approaching noise, the inhabitants ran out of their houses, and fled into large brakes of furze on a hill immediately above the village, from whence they could hear the cries of one of their neighbors, who was dragged out of his house, tied up to a thorn tree, and while one yeoman continued flogging him, another was throwing water on his back. The groans of the unfortunate sufferer, from the stillness of the night, reverberated widely through the appalled neighborhood; and the spot of execution these men represented to have appeared next morning 'as if a *pig* had been killed.'"* . . . . . .

On the 25th of May was perpetrated the massacre of Carnew. A large number of prisoners had been shut up in the jail of that place, on suspicion of being guilty of possessing arms, or of knowing some one who possessed arms. These prisoners were all taken out of the jail and deliberately shot in the ball alley, by the yeomen and a party of the Antrim militia, in *presence of their officers.*†

Father John Murphy was curate of Monageer and Boolevogue. He was a gentleman of learning and accomplishments, having studied in the University of Seville. He had now been resident several years, quietly doing the sacred duties of his calling, enjoying the esteem of all his neighbors, and little dreaming that it was to fall to his lot to head an insurrection. Miles Byrne, who knew him well, narrates with much simplicity the story of the good priest's first act of war:—

"The Reverend John Murphy, of the parish of Monageer and Boolevogue, was a worthy, simple, pious man, and one of those Roman Catholic priests who used the greatest exertions and exhortations to oblige the people to surrender their pikes and fire-arms of every description. As soon as the cowardly yeomanry thought that all the arms were given up, and that there was no further risk, they took courage, and set out, on Whit Saturday, the 26th of May, 1798, burning and destroying all before them. Poor Father John, seeing his chapel and his house, and many others of the parish, all on fire, and in several of them the inhabitants consumed in the flames, and that no man seen in colored clothes could escape the fury of the yeomanry, betook himself to the next wood, where he was soon surrounded by the unfortunate people who had escaped; all came beseeching his reverence to tell them what was to become of them and their poor families. He answered them abruptly, that they had better die courageously in the field than be butchered in their houses; that, for his own part, if he had any brave men to join him, he was resolved to sell his life dearly, and prove to those cruel monsters that they should not continue their murders and devastations with impunity. All answered and cried out that they were determined to follow his advice, and to do whatever he ordered. 'Well, then,' he replied, 'we must, when night comes, get armed the best way we can, with pitch-forks and other weapons, and attack the Camolen yeoman cavalry on their way back to Earl Mountnorris, where they will return to pass the night, after satisfying their savage rage on the defenceless country people.'

"Father John's plan was soon put in execution. He went to the high road by which the corps was to return, left a few men near a house, with instructions to place two cars across the road the moment the last of the cavalry had passed, and at a short distance from thence, half a quarter of a mile, he made a complete barricade across the highway, and then placed all those brave fellows who followed him behind a hedge along the road-side; and in this position he waited to receive this famous yeomanry cavalry, returning from being glutted with all manner of crimes during this memorable day, the 26th of May, 1798.

"About nine o'clock at night, this corps, riding in great speed, encountered the above-mentioned obstacle on the road, and were at the same moment attacked from front to

* Edward Hay. † Hay, Madden.

rear by Father John and his brave men, with their pitch-forks. The cavalry, after discharging their pistols, got no time to reload them, or to make much use of their sabres. In short, they were literally lifted out of their saddles, and fell dead under their horses' feet. Lieutenant Booky, who had the command in the absence of Earl Mountnorris, was one of the first killed ; he was a sanguinary villain, and it seemed a just judgment that befell them all. But, be that as it may, Father John and his men were much elated with their victory, and getting arms, ammunition, and horses by it, considered themselves formidable, and able at least to beat the cruel yeomanry in every encounter. They marched at once to Camolen Park, the residence of Lord Mountnorris, where they got a great quantity of arms of every description, and which had been taken from the country people for months before ; and even the carabines belonging to the corps, and which had not been distributed, waiting the arrival of the Earl from Dublin.

"During the night, and the next day, Whit Sunday, the 27th of May, the people flocked in to join Father John's standard, on hearing of his success ; and as soon as the news was known in Gorey, the troops took fright and abandoned the town, letting the prisoners go where they pleased ; but finding that Father John had marched in another direction, they returned and resumed their persecutions as before ; they again arrested great numbers and had them placed in the market-house loft, ready to be butchered the moment the insurgents made their appearance before the town. Poor Perry was amongst the prisoners, and in a dreadful state, having the skin as well as the hair burned off his head. Esmond Cane was arrested that day and made a prisoner."

Father John might now have marched into Wicklow County without much opposition, "but," continues Miles Byrne, "he thought it would be more advisable to raise the whole County of Wexford first, and get possession of the principal towns. In consequence of this decision, on Whit Sunday, the 27th of May, he marched with all his forces, then amounting to four or five thousand men, to Oulard Hill, a distance of ten miles from Wexford, and five from Enniscorthy. He encamped on this hill for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the unfortunate people who were hiding to come and join him. He soon perceived several corps of yeomanry cavalry in sight, but all keeping at a certain distance from the hill, waiting until the infantry from Wexford arrived to make the first attack.

"Shortly after, he saw a large force on the march, flanked by some cavalry, and as soon as they began to mount the hill, Father John assembled his men and showed them the different corps of cavalry that were waiting, he said, 'to see us dispersed by the foot troops, to fall on us and to cut us in pieces ; but let us remain firm together and we shall surely defeat the infantry, and then we shall have nothing to dread from the cavalry, as they are too great cowards to venture into the action.' All promised to conform to his instructions. 'Well, then,' he rejoined, 'we must march against the troops that are mounting the hill, and when they are deployed and ready to begin the attack, we must retreat precipitately back to where we are, and then throw ourselves down behind this old ditch,' pointing to a boundary on the top of the hill. All his instructions were executed as he had ordered.

"The King's troops were commanded by Colonel Foote and Major Lombard, and as soon as they came within about two musket-shots of the insurgents, they deployed and prepared for action, but became enraged when they saw the insurgents retreating back to the top of the hill ; however, they followed quickly, knowing that the hill was completely surrounded by the several corps of yeomanry cavalry, and that it was impossible for the insurgents to escape before they came in with them.

"Father John allowed the infantry to come within half musket-shot of the ditch, and then a few men on each flank and in the centre stood up, at the sight of which the whole line of infantry fired a volley. Instantly, Father John and all his men sallied out and attacked the soldiers, who were in the act of re-charging their arms; and although they made the best fight they

could with their muskets and bayonets, they were soon overpowered and completely defeated by the pikemen, or rather by the men with pitch-forks and other weapons; for very few had pikes at this battle, on account of having given them up by the exhortations and advice of the priests.

"Of this formidable expedition, which was sent from Wexford on the 27th of May to exterminate the insurgents, very few returned to bring the woeful tidings of their defeat, and the glorious victory obtained by the people over their cruel tyrants. Of the North Cork party, that had been the scourge of the country for several months previous, and so distinguished for making Orangemen, hanging, picketing, putting on pitch-caps, &c., Major Lombard, the Honorable Captain De Courcy, Lieutenants Williams, Ware, Barry, and Ensign Keogh, with all the privates but two, were left dead on the field of battle. In short, none escaped except Colonel Foote, a sergeant, a drummer, and the two privates mentioned above. The insurgents had but three killed and five or six wounded. The Shilmalier Cavalry, commanded by Colonel Lehunt, as well as the different corps of cavalry that surrounded the hill during the battle, and which did not take any part in the action, in their precipitate retreat to Wexford, Enniscorthy, and Gorey, shot every man they met on the road; went to the houses, called the people to their doors and put them to death; many who were asleep shared the same fate, their houses being mostly burned.

"Solomon Richards, commander of the Enniscorthy Cavalry, and Hawtry White, who commanded all the troops of cavalry sent from Gorey to exterminate the people, surpassed description. They little thought, however, that for every one they put to death in cold blood, they were sending thousands to join the insurgent camp.

"Father John and his little army now became quite flushed with their last victory. Seeing the King's troops flying and escaping in every direction, they were at a loss to know which division they should pursue; they, however, (having as yet no cavalry,) marched from Oulard Hill and encamped for the night on Carrigrew Hill. Next morning, the 28th of May, at seven o'clock, they marched to Camolen, and from thence to Ferns. Not meeting with any of the King's troops in this town to oppose them, and having learned that they had retreated to Gorey and to Enniscorthy, Father John resolved at once to attack this last town, in order to afford a better opportunity to the brave and unfortunate country people to escape from their hiding places and come to join his standard, he and his little army crossed the Slaney by the bridge at Scarawalsh; and certainly this skillful manœuvre or countermarch had the happiest result; for, immediately on crossing the river, he was joined by crowds."

On their arrival before Enniscorthy, the insurgents amounted to the number of 7,000 men, 800 of whom were armed with guns, which they had seized at Camolen almost immediately after they had been sent to that place by the Earl of Mountnorris. About one o'clock on the 28th of May, Enniscorthy was attacked by this vast multitude, and after a vigorous defence by the comparatively small garrison, was left in possession of the insurgents. The garrison retreated and fell back on Wexford; they lost above ninety of their men, and the town was on fire in several places. They were attended by a confused number of unfortunate loyal inhabitants, but were not pursued by the insurgents, who might have easily cut off their retreat.

To disperse the insurgents, if possible, without battle or concession, or perhaps to divert their attention and retard their progress, an expedient was essayed by Captain Boyd, of the Wexford Cavalry. This officer had, in consequence of a requisition to that purpose of the sheriff and other gentlemen, on the 25th and 27th, from information or suspicion of treasonable designs, arrested Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, of Bargy Castle, John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteigue, and Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park, all three respectable gentlemen of the County of Wexford. Visiting them in prison on the 29th, Captain Boyd agreed with these gentlemen, that one of them should go to the rebels at Enniscorthy, and endeavor to persuade them to disperse and return to their homes; but would not give authority to promise any terms to the in-

surgents in case of submission. Colclough, at the request of Mr. Harvey, agreed to go, on condition of his being accompanied by Mr. Fitzgerald. On the arrival of these two gentlemen at Enniscorthy, about four in the afternoon of the same day, they found the insurgents in a state of confusion, distracted in their councils, and undetermined in any plan of operation; some proposing to attack Newtownbarry, others Ross, others Wexford, others to remain in their present posts; the greater number to march home for the defence of their houses against Orangemen.

It was but the resolution of a moment to march in a body to attack Wexford. Mr. Fitzgerald they detained in the camp, and Mr. Colclough they sent back to announce their hostile intentions.

Mr. Colclough arrived in Wexford early in the evening, and waited in the Bull Ring (a small square in the town so denominated) until the officers and other gentlemen in the place had there assembled, when he informed them, in a very audible voice, from on horseback, that having gone out, according to their directions, to the insurgents on Vinegar Hill, he found, as he had already suggested before his departure, that he possessed no influence with the people, who had ordered him to return and announce their determination of marching to the attack of Wexford; adding that they had detained Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Colclough then requested to be informed, if it were intended to make further trial of his services, or to require his longer attendance, as otherwise they must be sensible how eager he must be to relieve the anxiety of his family by his presence. He was then entreated to endeavor to maintain tranquillity in his own neighborhood, which having promised to do, as much as in his power, he called at the jail to visit Mr. Harvey, with whom he agreed (according to the compact with Captain Boyd) to return next day and take his place in the jail, and then set off through the barony of Forth, for his own dwelling at Ballyteigue, distant about ten miles from Wexford.

Early in the morning of the 29th, Colonel Maxwell, of the Donegal militia, with two hundred men of his regiment and a six-pounder, arrived in Wexford from Duncannon Fort, dispatched by General Fawcett, who had been apprised of the insurrection on the 27th, by Captain Knox, an officer sent to escort Sergeant Stanley, a judge of assize, on his way to Munster. This reinforcement being insufficient, an express was sent from the Mayor of Wexford to the General, requesting an additional force; he expeditiously returned with an exhilarating answer, that the General himself would commence his march for Wexford on the same evening, from Duncannon, with the Thirteenth Regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. On the receipt of this intelligence, Colonel Maxwell, leaving the five passes into the town guarded by the yeomen and North Cork militia, took post with his men on the Windmill Hill, above the town, at day-break on the following morning, the 30th, with the resolution to march against the enemy on the arrival of General Fawcett's army.

That General had marched according to his promise, on the evening of the 29th; but halting at Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, he had sent forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, including eighteen of the artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of Captain Adams, of the Meath militia. This detachment was intercepted early in the morning of the 30th, by the insurgents, under the Three Rocks, which they had occupied as a military station, being about three miles from Wexford; the howitzers were taken and almost the whole party slain *

Colonel Maxwell, informed of the destruction of Captain Adams' detachment, by two officers who had escaped the slaughter, advanced immediately with what forces he could collect, with design to retake the howitzers, and cöoperate with General Fawcett, of whose retreat he had no suspicion,

* The following official account was given of this affair:—

"Dublin Castle, June 2d, 1798.

"Accounts have been received from Major-General Eustace, at New Ross, stating that Major-General Fawcett having marched with a company of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, this small force was surrounded by a very large body between Taghmon and Wexford, and defeated. General Fawcett effected his retreat to Duncannon Fort."

but observing his left flank exposed by the retreat of some of the Taghmon cavalry, and the enemy making a motion to surround him, he retired to Wexford, with the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded.

Everything now wore the aspect of a gloomy, desperate consternation. Some yeomen and supplementaries, posted nearly opposite the jail, were heard continually to threaten to put all the prisoners to death, which so roused the attention of the jailer to protect his charge, that he barricaded the door, and delivered up the key to Mr. Harvey. Some magistrates were admitted to see Mr. Harvey in the jail, and, at their most urgent entreaties, he wrote the following notice to the insurgents :—

"I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend to Christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare your prisoners' lives. "B. B. Harvey.

"*Wednesday, May 30th*, 1798."

Counselor Richards, with his brother, then undertook to announce the surrender of the town to the insurgents, whose camp they reached in safety, though clad in full uniform. Scarcely had these deputies set out upon their mission, when all the military corps, a part of the Wexford infantry under Captain Hughes only excepted, made the best of their way out of town in whatever direction they imagined they could find safety, without acquainting their neighbors on duty of their intentions. The principal inhabitants, whose services had been accepted of for the defence of the town, were mostly Catholics, and, according to the prevalent system, were subject to the greatest insults and taunts. They were always placed in front of the posts, and cautioned to behave well, or that death should be the consequence. Accordingly, persons were placed behind to keep them to their duty, and these were so watchful of their charge, that they would not even permit them to turn about their heads. Thus were the armed inhabitants left at their post, abandoned by their officers, and actually ignorant of the flight of the soldiery, until all possible means of retreating were cut off. Upon the approach of the insurgents, the confusion and dismay were excessive, the few remaining officers and privates ran confusedly through the town, threw off their uniforms, and hid themselves wherever their fears suggested. Some ran for boats to convey them off, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water. Some, from an insufficiency of men's clothes, assumed female attire for the purpose of disguise. Extreme confusion, tumult, and panic were everywhere exhibited. The North Cork regiment, on quitting the barracks, had set them on fire, but the fire was soon after put out.

In the meantime, Mr. Richards having arrived at the Three Rocks, made it known to the insurgent chiefs, that they were deputed to inform the people that the town would be surrendered to them, on condition of sparing lives and properties ; these terms, they were informed, would not be complied with, unless the arms and ammunition of the garrison were also surrendered. Mr. Loftus Richards was, therefore, detained as a hostage, and Counselor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent back to the town, to settle and arrange the articles of capitulation. These gentlemen, on their arrival, to their astonishment, found the place abandoned by the military. A multitude of insurgents was just ready to pour in and take unconditional possession of the town. It was therefore thought necessary to treat with them, in order to prevent the consequences apprehended from such a tumultuary influx of people. Dr. Jacob, then Mayor of the town and Captain of the Wexford infantry, entreated Mr. Fitzgerald to announce to the people rushing in, that the town was actually surrendered ; and to use every argument that his prudence might suggest to make their entry as peaceable as possible. Mr. Fitzgerald complied, and instantly after this communication, thousands of people poured into the town, over the wooden bridge, shouting and exhibiting all the marks of extravagant and victorious exultation. They first proceeded to the jail, released all the prisoners, and insisted that Mr. Harvey should become their com-

mander. All the houses in town, not abandoned by the inhabitants, now became decorated with green boughs, and other emblematic symbols. The doors were universally thrown open, and the most liberal offers made of spirits and drink, which, however, were not as freely accepted, until the persons offering them had first drank themselves, as a proof that the liquor was not poisoned—a report having prevailed to that effect.

The insurgents being in possession of the town, several of the yeomen, having thrown off their uniforms, affected, with all the signs and emblems of the United Irishmen, to convince them of their unfeigned cordiality and friendship; those who did not throw open their doors with offers of refreshment and accommodation to the insurgents, suffered by plunder, their substance being considered as enemy's property. The house of Captain Boyd was a singular exception. It was, though not deserted, pillaged.

Those troops who had fled from Wexford signalized themselves in their retreat by plundering and devastating the country; by burning the cabins and shooting the peasants in their progress; and thus they augmented the number and rage of the insurgents. These excesses were seen from the insurgents' station at the Three Rocks, and it was with extreme difficulty that the enraged multitude were hindered by their chiefs from rushing down upon Wexford, and taking summary vengeance of the town and its inhabitants.

The whole County of Wexford was now in open insurrection. Perhaps, it would be more correct to say that the people had taken to the field because their houses were mostly burned down, and had collected themselves into masses, with such poor arms as they had for their common protection. The aggregate numbers of persons, whether insurgents or fugitives, with their crowds of women and children, far exceeded the numbers of fighting men that the county could furnish. The population of Wexford at that time did not much, if at all, exceed one hundred and fifty thousand persons.*

* In 1841, it was 202,033. In 1851, it was 180,159.—*Thom's Almanac.*

The men who were properly of fighting age, therefore, were not more than thirty thousand. Sir Jonah Barrington has estimated the whole number of those who rose in this county at thirty-five thousand; but even to attain this amount, there must have been counted many thousands of old men, women, and children, besides many thousands more who were unarmed, or only half-armed. These straggling multitudes, then, without camp equipage, or accoutrements, or artillery, (except a few ship-guns, not mounted, and some captured field-pieces,) were now committed to a desperate struggle against the force of a powerful empire, well supplied with everything, and led by veteran generals. The only wonder, to those who read this narration, will be, not that they were finally overpowered, but that they achieved such successes, as for a time they certainly did. If the other thirty-one counties had done as well as Wexford, there would have been that year an end to British dominion.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1798.

Camp on Vinegar Hill—Actions at Ballycannoo—At Newtownbarry—Tubberneering—Fall of Walpole—Two Columns—Bagenal Harvey Commands Insurgents—Summons New Ross to Surrender—Battle of New Ross—Slaughter of Prisoners—Retaliation—Scullabogue—Bagenal Harvey Shocked by Affair of Scullabogue—Resigns Command—Father Philip Roche General—Fight at Arklow—Claimed as a Victory by King's Troops—Account of it by Miles Byrne—The Insurgents Execute some Loyalists in Wexford Town—Dixon—Retaliation—Proclamation by "People of Wexford"—Lord Kingsborough a Prisoner—Troops Concentrated round Vinegar Hill—Battle of Vinegar Hill—Enniscorthy and Wexford Recovered—Military Executions—Ravage of the Country—Chiefs Executed in Wexford—Treatment of Women—Outrages in the North of the County—Fate of Father John Murphy's Column—Of Antony Perry's—Combat at Ballyellis—Miles Byrne's Account of it—Extermination of Ancient Britons—Character of Wexford Insurrection—Got up by the Government.

While the insurgents were holding the town of Wexford, two large "encampments" of them were formed, one at Carrigrew Hill, the other at Carrickbyrne, within six miles of the town of New Ross, situated on the large river Nore, and commanding the main passage into the County of Kilkenny. Their principal headquarters was still at

Vinegar Hill, close by Enniscorthy, situated on the Slaney. They made some rough entrenchments round this hill, and placed a few guns in position there. They then stationed a large garrison in the town, which was relieved every day by a fresh party from the camp. Such great numbers of the exasperated of the people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp that it soon consisted of at least ten thousand men, women, and children. They posted strong picket-guards, sentinels, and videttes in all the avenues leading to the town, and for some miles round it. They then proceeded to destroy the interior of the church of Enniscorthy.*

A body of more than one thousand insurgents, in advancing towards Gorey, on the 1st of June, had taken possession of a small village called Ballycannoo, four miles to the south of Gorey, and were proceeding to take possession of an advantageous post called Ballymanaan Hill, midway between the village and the town, when they were met by the whole of the small garrison of Gorey, and by a steady and well-directed fire the people were soon completely routed. This victorious band, on their return to Gorey, fired most of the houses at Ballycannoo, and entered the town in triumph, with one hundred horses and other spoil which they had taken. In this, as in every other engagement at the beginning of the rebellion, the insurgents elevated their guns too much for execution, which accounts for the paucity of the slain on the part of the King's troops. On this occasion three only were wounded, and none killed. The insurgents are said to have lost above three score.†

This success, coupled with that at Newtownbarry, gave a momentary check to the ardor of the people. A party from Vinegar Hill surrounded this latter town in such a manner that Colonel L'Estrange at first abandoned it. After a retreat of about a mile, he yielded to the solicitations of Lieutenant-Colonel Westenra, and suffered the troops to be led back to the succor of a few determined loyalists, who had remained in the town, and continued a fire from some houses. This accidental manœuvre had all the advantages of a preconcerted stratagem. The insurgents, who had rushed into the street in a confused multitude, totally unapprehensive of the return of the troops, were unprepared, and driven out of the town with the loss of about two hundred men.‡

On advice received at Newtownbarry of the attack intended by the insurgents, an express had been sent to Clonegall, two miles and a half distant, ordering the troops posted there to march immediately to Newtownbarry. The comander of these troops, Lieutenant Young, of the Donegal militia, instead of marching immediately, spent two hours in hanging four prisoners, in spite of the urgent remonstrance of an officer of the North Cork, who considered these men as not deserving death—some of them having actually declined to join the insurgents when it was fully in their power. By this delay, and an unaccountably circuitous march—three miles longer than the direct road,—the troops did not arrive at Newtownbarry till after the action was entirely over. Mr. Young, on his arrival at Clonegall, had commanded the inhabitants to furnish every individual of his soldiers with a feather bed, and had, without the least necessity, turned Mr. Derenzy, a brave and loyal gentleman, and his children, out of their beds. When remonstrances were made to this officer for the incessant depredations of his men, his answer was: "I am the commanding officer, and damn the croppies." §

The insurgents had taken post on Corri-

* This was done strictly in retaliation for the burning and wrecking of Catholic chapels. There were, on the whole, sixty-nine Catholic chapels destroyed during the insurrection; more than thirty in Wexford alone. *Plowden.*

† The Rev. Mr. Gordon recounts [page 136] an occurrence after the battle, of which his son was a witness, which greatly illustrates the state of the country at that time: "Two yeomen, coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud shriek of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he, being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety."

‡ The light in which this conduct of the commanding officer at Newtownbarry was set forth in the official bulletin, was, *that he at first retreated in order to collect his forces.*

§ Gord. 2 edit., p. 151.

grua Hill in great force, where they rested on their arms till the 4th of June. Meantime, the long and anxiously expected army under General Loftus arrived at Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled the loyalists with confidence. The plan was to march the army in two divisions, by different roads on Corrigrua, and attack the enemy in conjunction with other troops. The insurgents were in the meantime preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey. Information had been received by the insurgent chiefs of the intended motions of the army, and they acted upon it. Both armies marched about the same time ; that of the insurgents surprised a division under Colonel Walpole, at a place called Tubberneering. The insurgents instantly poured a tremendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and Walpole received a bullet through the head early in the action. His troops fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a smaller piece, in the hands of the people. They were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which they were galled by the fire of some of the insurgents, who had taken station in the houses. The loyalists of Gorey once more fled to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

Miles Byrne, who was in this bloody action of Tubberneering, (or Clough,) generously pays a tribute to the gallantry of the unfortunate Walpole. He says :—

"It is only justice to the memory of this unfortunate man to say that he displayed the bravery of a soldier, and fought with the greatest perseverance in his critical situation ; but he was soon overpowered by our men, now so flushed with victory that nothing could retard their march onward. Walpole was nearly surrounded by our forces, that outflanked him before he fell. We saw him lying dead on the road, and he had the appearance of having received several gunshot wounds. His horse lay dead beside him, with a number of private soldiers dead and wounded. His troops now fled in great disorder, and could not be rallied : they were taken by dozens in the fields and on the road to Gorey. After they had thrown away their arms, accoutrements, and everything to lighten them, they were yet overtaken by our pikemen. It was curious to see many of them with their coats turned inside out. They thought, no doubt, by this sign of disaffection to the English that, when made prisoners, they would not be injured. But this manœuvre was unnecessary, for I never heard of a single instance of a prisoner being ill-treated during those days of fighting. Our men were in too good-humor to be cruel after the victory they had obtained."

While Walpole's division was attacked by the enemy, General Loftus, being within hearing of the musketry, detached seventy men—the grenadier company of the Antrim militia—across the fields to its assistance ; but they were intercepted, and almost all killed or taken. The General, still ignorant of the fate of Colonel Walpole's division, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, by a long circuit, to the field of battle, where he was first acquainted with the event. For some way he followed the insurgents towards Gorey, but finding them posted on Gorey Hill, from which they fired upon him the cannon taken from Colonel Walpole, he retreated to Carnew ; and still, contrary to the opinion of most of his officers, thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the county to the insurgents, and retreated nine miles further, to the town of Tullow, in the County of Carlow.

Whilst one formidable body of the Wexford insurgents was advancing towards the north, another still more formidable was preparing to penetrate to the southwest. The conquest of New Ross, which is situated on the river formed by the united streams of the Nore and the Barrow, would have laid open a communication with the Counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, in which many thousands were supposed ready to rise in arms at the appearance of their successful confederates. The possession of that important post, when it might have been effected without opposition immediately upon their success at Enniscorthy, had, fortunately for the royal cause, been aban-

doned, on account of a personal difference amongst their chiefs. The insurgent army of Wexford chose Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey,* as soon as he was liberated from prison, for their generalissimo, and they divided into two main bodies—one of which directed its course northward to Gorey; the other, which was headed by Harvey in person, took post on Carrickburn mountain, within six miles of Ross, where it was reviewed and organized till the 4th of June, when it marched to Corbet Hill, within a mile of that town, which it was intended to attack the next morning. Harvey, though neither destitute of personal courage, nor of a good understanding, possessed no military experience, much less those rare talents by which an undisciplined multitude may be directed and controlled. He formed the plan of an attack on three different parts of the town at once, which would probably have succeeded had it been put in execution. Having sent a summons to General Johnson, the commander of the King's troops, with a flag of truce, to surrender the town, the bearer of it, one Furlong, was shot by a sentinel of an outpost.† Whilst Harvey was arranging his forces for the assault, they were galled by the fire of some outposts. He ordered a brave young man, of the name of Kelly, to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and drive in the outposts. Kelly was followed confusedly by a much greater number than he wished. He executed his commission, but could not bring back the men, as ordered. They rushed impetuously into the town, drove back the cavalry with slaughter on the infantry, seized the cannon, and being followed in their successful career by crowds from the hills, seemed some time nearly masters of the town. From a full persuasion of a decided victory in favor of the insurgent army, some officers of the garrison fled to Waterford, twelve miles distant, with the alarming intelligence.

The original plan of attack was thus defeated by this premature, though successful onset, in one quarter. The Dublin and Donegal militia maintained their posts at the market-house, and at a station called Fairgate, and prevented the insurgents from penetrating into the centre of the town; while Major-General Johnson, aided by the extraordinary exertions of an inhabitant of Ross, named M'Cormick, who had served in the army, though not then in commission, brought back to the charge the troops that had fled across the river to the Kilkenny side. They presently recovered their post, and drove the insurgents from the town, the outskirts of which were now in flames, fired by the assailants or disaffected inhabitants, as Enniscorthy had been. The insurgents, in their turn, rallied by their chiefs, returned with fury to the assault, and regained some ground. Again dislodged by the same exertions as before, and a third time rallied, they were at last finally repulsed, after an engagement of above *ten hours*, ending about two o'clock in the afternoon.

The official bulletin, published at Dublin on the 8th of June, stated that, on the 5th, about six in the morning, the insurgents attacked the position of General Johnson, at New Ross, with a very large force and

* The following was the form of their appointment:

"At a meeting of the commanders of the United Army, held at Carrickburn camp, on the 1st of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander-in-chief of the United Army of the County of Wexford, from and after the first day of June, 1798.

"Signed, by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,

"NICHOLAS GRAY, Secretary."

"It was likewise agreed, that Edward Roche should, from and after the 1st day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected, a general officer of the United Army of the County of Wexford.

"Signed by the above authority,

"NICHOLAS GRAY."

† To shoot all persons carrying flags of truce from the insurgents, appears to have been a maxim with His Majesty's forces. In Furlong's pocket was found the following letter of summons to General Johnson:—

"SIR—As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town. Your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

"I am, Sir, B. B. HARVEY,

"General commanding, &c., &c., &c.

"Camp at Corbet Hill, half-past three o'clock in the morning, June 5, 1798."

great impetuosity; but that, after a contest of several hours, they were completely repulsed. The loss of the insurgents was very great, the streets being literally strewed with their carcasses. An iron gun upon a ship carriage had been taken; and late in the evening they retreated entirely to Carrickburn, leaving several iron ship guns not mounted.

General Johnson, in his dispatch, greatly regretted the loss of that brave officer, Lord Mountjoy, who fell early in the contest. A return of the killed and wounded of His Majesty's forces had not then been received, but it appeared not to have been considerable. It was supposed to have been about three hundred, though the official detail afterwards made reduced it to about half that number.*

Sir Jonah Barrington, on the authority of a Protestant gentleman, who was an eye-witness, gives in these words the horrible sequel of the affair of New Ross:—

"The firing, however, continued till towards night, when the insurgents who had not entered the houses, having no officers to command them, retreated through the gate by which they had entered, half a mile to Corbet Hill, leaving some thousands of their comrades asleep in different houses, or in the streets to which the flames had not communicated. Of these, the garrison put hundreds to the sword, without any resistance; and more than five thousand were either killed or consumed by the conflagration."

We now come to a scene of savage vengeance, which, however provoked, it will be always painful for an Irishman to read of. The same night of the defeat and carnage in New Ross, the barn of Scullabogue at the foot of Carrickburn Hill, containing about one hundred loyalist prisoners, and guarded by a small party of insurgents, under John Murphy, of Loughgur, was deliberately fired, and all its inmates burned to death. The occasion of this proceeding was as follows: Some of the people, retreating from New Ross, arrived in violent excitement, and announced that the troops and yeomanry were slaughtering the unresisting prisoners after the fighting was all over—which was true. Moreover, cases were notorious, as at Dunlavin and Carnew, where prisoners had heen put to death with the most wanton cruelty, contrary to all the laws of civilized war; and men maddened by defeat are not likely to form a cool judgment as to the proper application and extent of the doctrine of retaliation in war. Yet there is, unhappily, no other way of enforcing upon an enemy due observance of the laws of war than the sternest retaliation for every outrage done by that enemy against those laws. All the historians of the insurrection* represent that the people who burned the barn did it by way of retaliation. Sir Jonah Barrington says:—

"It is asserted that eighty-seven wounded peasants, whom the King's army had found, on taking the town, in the market-house, used as an hospital, had been burned alive; and that, in retaliation, the insurgents burned above a hundred royalists in a barn at Scullabogue."

Mr. Plowden, although, as a "loyal" Catholic, he thinks it his duty to give hard measure to the "rebels," yet has conscientiously placed this affair of Scullabogue in its true light. He says:—

"There is no question but that the insurgents were universally and unexceptionably determined upon the principle of retaliation and retribution. They considered every man that lost his life under military execution, without trial, as a murdered victim, whose blood was to be revenged—so sanguinary and vindictive had this warfare fatally become. Besides numerous instances of such military executions, wherever the army had gained an advantage,

* The impetuosity and ardor with which the insurgents assailed the town of Ross, and the prodigality with which they threw away their lives, surpassed belief. The troops did not stand it; and the difficulty with which General Johnson rallied them proves the terror which this charge of the insurgents had created. The first assailants had no sooner dislodged the troops, than, instead of pursuing them on their retreat, they fell to plunder, and became quickly disabled to act from intoxication, whereby they were so easily repulsed on the return of the fugitive troops. Sir Richard Musgrave says, [p. 410,] "that such was their enthusiasm that, though whole ranks of them were seen to fall, they were succeeded by others, who seemed to court the fate of their companions, by rushing on our troops with renovated ardor."

* Except Sir Richard Musgrave, whose authority is not to be taken into consideration at all.

they bore deeply in their minds the deliberate and brutal murder of thirty-eight prisoners, most of whom had not (at least who were said and believed not to have) committed any act of treason, at Dunlavin on the 24th of May; and the like wanton and atrocious murder of thirty-nine prisoners of the like description at Carnew, on the morning of Whitsun Monday, merely because the party which had them in custody had orders to march; and they were unwilling to discharge them, but wanted time to examine, much more to try them. A gentleman of punctilious veracity and retentive memory has assured me that he was present in the House of Commons at the examination of a Mr. Frizell, a person of respectability, at the bar of that House, in the summer of 1798, who was a prisoner in the house of Scullabogue on the 4th of June. He was asked every question that could be suggested relative to the massacre; to which his answers were substantially as follows: That, having been taken prisoner by a party of the rebels, he was confined to a room on the ground floor in Scullabogue house, with twenty or thirty other persons; that a rebel guard with a pike stood near the window, with whom he conversed; that persons were frequently called out of the room, in which he was, by name, and he believes were soon after shot, as he heard the report of muskets shortly after they had been so called out; that he understood that many were burned in the barn, the smoke of which he could discover from the window; that the sentinel pikeman assured him that they would not hurt a hair of his head, as he was always known to have behaved well to the poor; that he did not know of his own knowledge, but only from the reports current amongst the prisoners, what the particular cause was for which the rebels had set fire to the barn. Upon which, Mr. Ogle rose with precipitancy from his seat and put this question to him with great eagerness: 'Sir, tell us what the cause was?' It having been suggested that the question would be more regularly put from the chair, it was repeated to him in form; and Mr. Frizell answered that the only cause that he or, he believed, the other prisoners ever understood induced the rebels to this action, was, that they had received intelligence that the military were again putting all the rebel prisoners to death in the town of Ross, as they had done at Dunlavin and Carnew. Mr. Ogle asked no more questions of Mr. Frizell, and he was soon after dismissed from the bar. To those gentlemen who were present at this examination, the truth of this statement is submitted."

As to the number of victims, Dr. Madden, who has examined the subject carefully, sets it down at "about one hundred."

General Bagenal Harvey was inexpressibly shocked by the affair of Scullabogue, especially when he learned that it was done upon a pretended order from himself.

When Cloney saw Harvey, after the flight from New Ross, he found the latter and several of the leaders "lamenting over the smoking ruins of the barn and the ashes of the hapless victims of that barbarous atrocity."

Mr. George Taylor, whose views are those of the Ascendency party, states that Bagenal Harvey, the next morning, was in the greatest anguish of mind when he beheld Scullabogue barn: "He turned from the scene with horror, and wrung his hands, and said to those about him: 'Innocent people were burned there as ever were born. Your conquests for liberty are at an end.' He said to a friend he fell in with, with respect to his own situation: 'I see now the folly of embarking in this business with these people. If they succeed, I shall be murdered by them; if they are defeated, I shall be hanged.'" They were defeated, and he was hung.

The next day after the defeat, the insurgents resumed their position on Carrickburn Hill. There were loud murmurs against their unfortunate Commander-in-Chief; who, on his side, was not too well pleased with the conduct of his men. He, therefore, resigned, and retired to Wexford: but not before issuing "General Orders"—and it was his last act of military command—denouncing the penalty of death against "any person or persons who should take it upon himself or themselves to kill or murder any prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the Commander-in-Chief."

By election Father Philip Roche was now made Commander-in-Chief. The insurgents next attacked some gunboats in the river, but without success. Father Roche then led them to the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Ross, the scene of their late discomfiture. In the meantime, some important movements took place on the northern border of the county. Perhaps, the most critical occasion during the whole insurrection was the advance of the insurgents upon Arklow, in Wicklow County, on the 9th of June, and the battle at that place. The commanders on this occasion were the two Fathers Murphy, John and Michael, and the force was the same which had so thoroughly defeated the King's troops at Tubberneering.

After the defeat of Walpole's army on the 4th of June, the insurgents had wasted much time in Carnew. At length, however, they collected their force at Gorey, and advanced to attack Arklow on the 9th, the first day in which that post had been prepared for defence. Their number exceeded twenty thousand, of whom near five thousand were armed with guns, the rest with pikes, and they were furnished with three serviceable pieces of artillery. The garrison consisted of sixteen hundred men, including yeomen, supplementary men, and those of the artillery. The insurgents attacked the town on all sides, except that which is washed by the river. The approach of that column, which advanced by the sea-shore, was rapid and impetuous; the picket-guard of yeoman cavalry, stationed in that quarter, instantly galloped off in such terror that most of them stopped not their flight till they had crossed the river, which was very broad, swimming their horses, in great peril of drowning. The further progress of the assailants was prevented by the charge of the regular cavalry, supported by the fire of the infantry, who had been formed for the defence of the town, in a line composed of three regiments, with their battalion artillery, those of the Armagh and Cavan militia, and the Durham Fencibles. The main effort of the insurgents, who commenced the attack near four o'clock in the evening, was directed against the station of the Durham, whose line extended through the field in front of the town to the road leading from Gorey.

As the insurgents poured their fire from the shelter of ditches, so that the opposite fire of the soldiery had no effect, Colonel Skerret, the second in command, ordered his men to stand with ordered arms, their left wing covered by a breastwork, and the right by a natural rising of the ground, until the enemy, leaving their cover, should advance to an open attack. This open attack was made three times in most formidable force, the assailants rushing within a few yards of the cannons' mouths; but they were received with so close and effective a fire, that they were repulsed with loss in every attempt. The Durhams were not only exposed to the fire of the enemy's small arms, but were also galled by their cannon. General Needham, fearing to be overpowered by numbers, began to talk of a retreat; to which Colonel Skerret spiritedly replied to the General, that they could not hope for victory otherwise than by preserving their ranks; if they broke, all was lost. By this answer, the General was diverted some time from his scheme of a retreat, and in that time the business was decided by the retreat of the insurgents, who retired, when frustrated in their most furious assault, and dispirited by the death of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed by a cannon shot, within thirty yards of the Durham line, while he was leading his people to the attack.

Such is the generally-received account of the fight at Arklow. The loyalists have always claimed victory. Indeed, the official bulletin runs thus:—

"DUBLIN, June 10th, 1798.

"Accounts were received early this morning by Lieutenant-General Lake, from Major-General Needham, at Arklow, stating that the rebels had, in great force, attacked his position in Arklow at six o'clock yesterday evening. They advanced in an irregular manner, and extended themselves for the purpose of turning his left flank, his rear and right flanks being strongly defended by the town and barrack of Arklow. Upon their endeavoring to enter the lower end of the town, they were charged by the Fortieth Dragoon Guards, Fifth Dragoons, and An-

cient Britons, and completely routed. All round the other points of the position they were defeated with much slaughter. The loss of His Majesty's troops was trifling, and their behavior highly gallant."

One part of this dispatch is certainly false. The insurgents were not "routed." but after remaining for some time in possession of the field of battle, they retired at their leisure, carrying off all their wounded. Sir Jonah Barrington calls it "a drawn battle;" and Miles Byrne, who fought in it, was under the impression that his party had gained a victory, though he admits they did not follow it up as they ought to have done. This fine old soldier, writing of it sixty years afterwards, in Paris, exclaims with bitter regret :—

"How melancholy to think a victory, so dearly bought, should have been abandoned, and for which no good or plausible motive could ever be assigned. No doubt we had expended nearly all our ammunition, but that should have served as a sufficient reason to have brought all our pikemen instantly to pursue the enemy whilst in a state of disorder, and panic-struck, as it really was that day at Arklow.

"My firm belief is, to-day, as it was that day, that if we had had no artillery, the battle would have been won in half the time; for we should have attacked the position of the Durham Fencibles at the very onset, with some thousand determined pikemen, in place of leaving those valiant fellows inactive to admire the effect of each cannon-shot. No doubt our little artillery was admirably directed, and did wonders, until Esmond Kyan's wound deprived the Irish army of this gallant man's services; he was in every sense of the word a real soldier and true patriot.

"Never before had the English Government in Ireland been so near its total destruction. When Hoche's expedition appeared on the coast in 1796, the Irish nation was ready to avail itself of it, to throw off the English yoke; but now the people found they were adequate to accomplish this great act themselves without foreign aid. What a pity that there was not some enterprising chief at their head at Arklow, to have followed up our victory to the city of Dublin, where we should have mustered more than a hundred thousand in a few days; consequently, the capital would have been occupied without delay by our forces; when a provisional government would have been organized, and the whole Irish nation called on to proclaim its independence. Then would every emblem of the cruel English Government have disappeared from the soil of our beloved country, which would once more take its rank amongst the other independent states of the earth."

The town of Wexford was still in the hands of the insurgents. They had appointed a certain General Keogh Governor and Commandant of the town. This extraordinary man, having been a private in His Majesty's service, had risen to the rank of Lieutenant in the Sixth Regiment, in which he served in America. He was a man of engaging address, and of that competency of fortune which enabled him to live comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he appreciated his own abilities highly; in clubs and coffee-houses, he had long been in the habit of censuring the corruptions of Government, and was so violent an advocate for reform, that the Lord-Chancellor had deprived him of the Commission of the Peace, in the year 1796. In order to introduce some order into the town, the insurgents chose certain persons to distribute provisions, and for that purpose to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a ratable portion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each house. Many habitations of the Protestants who had made their escape were plundered, some of them were demolished

Several of the Protestant inhabitants of the town were imprisoned at this time, but only those who were considered the most obnoxious, or were known as Orangemen, and, therefore, bound by oath to exterminate their Catholic neighbors. It must be admitted, that during the three weeks while the insurgents occupied Wexford, many military executions took place; but always on the plea of *retaliation*. For example, on the 6th day of June, under an order from Enniscorthy, ten prisoners at Wexford were selected for execution, and suffered accordingly. Conjectures have been hazarded

why such orders emanated from Enniscorthy rather than from Wexford. The natural inference from the limitation of the victims to half a score, is that the insurgents, who professed to act upon the principles of retaliation, had received information that a similar number of their people had suffered in like manner on the preceding day.

Mr. Plowden remarks, very reasonably: "Bloody as the rebels are represented to have been, there could have been no other reason for their limiting their lust for murder to the particular number of ten."

Most of the sanguinary executions perpetrated at Wexford during this time are attributed to the violence of a man named Dixon, a ship-captain belonging to the port. His atrocity is ascribed to private vengeance.

The Rev. Mr. Dixon, his relative, a Roman Catholic clergyman, having been sentenced to transportation, had been sent off to Duncannon Fort the day preceding the insurrection; he was found guilty on the testimony of one Francis Murphy, whose evidence was positively contradicted by three other witnesses. Under these circumstances, Dixon took a summary method of avenging himself; and was always ready to undertake the charge of doing military execution upon those who were abandoned to his ministrations. An author of candor and credit, the Rev. Mr. Gordon, has stated that he could not ascertain with accuracy the number of persons put to death without law in Wexford during the whole time of its occupation by the insurgents; but believed it to have amounted to one hundred and one. Probably ten times that number of innocent country people had been, during the same three weeks, murdered in cold blood by the yeomanry. It is sad to be obliged to go into such a dismal account; but as the "rebels" have been always very freely vilified for their cruelties, and have had but few friends to plead for them, it is right, at least, to establish the truth, so far as that can now be discovered. Most of the sanguinary deeds were done without, or against, the orders of the leaders, who could not always restrain their exasperated followers; and the following proclamation, issued in Wexford, seems to show that there was no wish to spill the blood of any who had not been guilty of some peculiar atrocities towards the people:—

"*Proclamation of the People of the County of Wexford.*

"Whereas, it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen. Now, we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing with heart and hand to join our glorious cause, as well as to show our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, &c., &c., &c., and to secure and convey them to the jail of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people.

"Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.

"God save the People."

On the 2d of June, a small vessel was taken on the coast and brought into Wexford; and on board this vessel Lord Kingsborough and three officers of the North Cork militia were captured. During his lordship's detention he was lodged in the house of Captain Keogh, and to his humane, spirited, and indefatigable exertions, and those of Mr. Harvey, his lordship acknowledged that his life was due, on the many occasions that the fury of the multitude broke out against him. There were few men in Ireland at this period more unpopular than his lordship—his exploits in the way of extorting confessions by scourgings, and other tortures, had rendered his name a terror to the people. The difficulty of preserving his life from the vengeance of a lawless multitude must have been great.

A considerable concentration of regular troops was now rapidly being formed in the county, with a view to crush the insurrection at once.

On the 19th of June, General Edward Roche, and such of the insurgents of his neighborhood as were at Vinegar Hill, were sent home to collect the whole mass of the people for general defence. By the march of the royal army in all directions, towards Vinegar Hill and Wexford, a general flight of such of the inhabitants as could get off took place.

The alarm was now general throughout the country; all men were called to attend the camps; and Wexford became the universal rendezvous of the fugitives, who reported, with various circumstances of horror, the progress of the different armies approaching in every direction, marking their movements with terrible devastation. Ships of war were also seen off the coast; gunboats blocked up the entrance of the harbor; and from the commanding situation of the camp at the Three Rocks, on the mountain of Forth, the general conflagration, which was as progressive as the march of the troops, was clearly visible. On the approach of the army, great numbers of countrymen, with their wives and children, and any little baggage they could hastily pack up, fled towards Wexford as to an asylum, and described the plunder and destruction of houses, the murders and outrages of the soldiery let loose and encouraged to range over and devastate the country. General Moore, who advanced with a part of the army, did all in his power to prevent these atrocities, and had some of the murderers immediately put to death; but his humane and benevolent intentions were greatly baffled by the indomitable ferocity and revenge of the refugees returning home.

These cruelties, being reported in the town of Wexford, provoked additional cruelties there also; and it was in this moment of alarm, when peremptory orders came for all the fighting men to repair to Vinegar Hill, that the savage Dixon, with the assistance of seventy or eighty men, whom he had made drunk for the purpose, perpetrated upon the Protestant prisoners the slaughter called "Massacre of the Bridge of Wexford," in revenge for the slaughters which the Orangemen were committing upon unarmed people in the country around. When about thirty-five unfortunate men had been murdered, the butchery was stopped, at seven in the evening, by the interference of Father Corrin, and by the alarming intelligence that the post of Vinegar Hill was already almost beset by the King's troops.

After the indecisive affair at Arklow, the royal army, under General Needham, remained for some days close within its quarters; then proceeded to Gorey on the 19th of June, and thence towards Enniscorthy on the 20th, according to a concerted plan, conducted by Lieutenant-General Lake, that the great station of the insurgents at Vinegar Hill should be surrounded by His Majesty's forces, and attacked in all points at once. For this purpose, different armies moved at the same time from different quarters; one under Lieutenant General Dundas; another under Major-Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; that already mentioned from Arklow; and a fourth from Ross, under Major-Generals Johnson and Eustace, who were to make the attack on the town of Enniscorthy. The march of the army from Ross was a kind of surprise to the bands of Philip Roche, on Lacken Hill, who retired after a sharp fight, leaving their tents and a great quantity of plunder behind; separating into two bodies, one of which took its way to Wexford, the other to Vinegar Hill, where the Wexford insurgents where concentrating their forces. This eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles round, had been in possession of the insurgents from the 28th of May, during which time the face of affairs had been growing more and more gloomy for the cause of the people. With the despondency, there also came upon the insurgents a feeling of more vindictive rage. They saw the people could expect no mercy; and as the advancing columns spread devastation and slaughter, and the people on the hill could see the smoke of burning villages, and almost hear the shrieks of tortured and mangled women and children, they again applied their system of retaliation. The prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the in-

surgents, after a sham trial, or no trial at all, were shot or piked. About eighty-four suffered death here in this manner.*

It was at Vinegar Hill that the last engagement of any importance took place between the troops and the people. It was on the 21st of June, and little more than three weeks after Father John Murphy's rising.

Vinegar Hill is a gentle eminence on the banks of the river Slaney; at its foot lies the considerable town of Enniscorthy. At one point the ascent is rather steep, on the others, gradual; the top is crowned by a dilapidated stone building. The hill is extensive, and completely commands the town and most of the approaches to it; the country around it is rich, and sufficiently wooded, and studded with country-seats and lodges. Few spots in Ireland, under all its circumstances, can be more interesting to a traveler. On the summit of the hill the insurgents had collected the remains of their Wexford army; its number may be conjectured from General Lake deciding that twenty thousand regular troops were necessary for the attack; but, in fact, the effective of his army amounted, on the day of battle, to little more than thirteen thousand. The peasantry had dug a slight ditch around a large extent of the base; they had a very few pieces of small half-disabled cannon, some swivels, and not above two thousand fire-arms of all descriptions. But their situation was desperate; and General Lake considered that two thousand fire-arms, in the hands of infuriated and courageous men, supported by multitudes of pikemen, might be equal to ten times the number under other circumstances. A great many women mingled with their relatives, and fought with fury; several were found dead amongst the men, who had fallen in crowds by the bursting of the shells.

General Lake, at the break of day, disposed his attack in four columns, whilst his cavalry were prepared to do execution on the fugitives. One of the columns (whether by accident or design is strongly debated) did not arrive in time at its station, by which the insurgents were enabled to retreat to Wexford, through a country where they could not be pursued by cavalry or cannon. It was astonishing with what fortitude the peasantry, uncovered, stood the tremendous fire opened upon the four sides of their position; a stream of shells and grape was poured on the multitude; the leaders encouraged them by exhortations, the women by their cries, and every shell that broke amongst them was followed by shouts of defiance. General Lake's horse was shot, many officers wounded, some killed, and a few gentlemen became invisible during the heat of the battle. The troops advanced gradually, but steadily, up the hill; the peasantry kept up their fire, and maintained their ground; their cannon was nearly useless, their powder deficient, but they died fighting at their post. At length, enveloped in a torrent of fire, they broke, and sought their safety through the space that General Needham had left by the non-arrival of his column. They were partially charged by some cavalry, but with little execution; they retreated to Wexford, and that night occupied the town.

The insurgents left behind them a great quantity of plunder, together with all their cannon, amounting to thirteen in number, of which three were six-pounders. The loss on the side of the King's forces was very inconsiderable, though one officer, Lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford militia, was killed, and four others slightly wounded—Colonel King, of the Sligo regiment; Colonel Vesey, of the County of Dublin regiment; Lord Blaney, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cole.

Enniscorthy being thus recovered after having been above three weeks in the hands of the insurgents, excesses, as must be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed by the soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who made no distinction between loyalist and insurgent. The most diabolical act of this kind was the firing of a house, which had been used as a hospital by the insurgents, in which numbers of sick and wounded, who were unable to escape from the flames, were burned to ashes.†

* Hay's History. Plowden says that report carried the number of victims as high as four hundred.

† The Rev. Mr. Gordon says, he was informed by a surgeon, that the burning was accidental, the bedclothes having been set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds.

The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day with Enniscorthy, Brigadier-General Moore, according to the plan formed by General Lake, having made a movement towards that quarter from the side of Ross, on the 19th, with a body of twelve hundred troops, furnished with artillery ; and having directed his march to Taghmon, in his intended way to Enniscorthy, on the 20th, was, on his way thither, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, attacked by a large force of the people from Wexford, perhaps five or six thousand, near a place called Goff's Bridge, not far from Hore Town. After an action, which continued till near eight, the insurgents were repulsed with some loss ; yet the fate of the day was long doubtful, and many of the King's troops were killed.

Wexford, which had been taken by the insurgents on the 30th of May, was surrendered to the King's troops on the 23d of June.

"Relying on the faith of Lord Kingsborough's promises of complete protection of persons and properties," we are told by Hay, "several remained in the town of Wexford, unconscious of any reason to apprehend danger ; but they were soon taken up and committed to jail. The Rev. Philip Roach had such confidence in these assurances, and was so certain of obtaining similar terms for those under his command, that he left his force at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way to Wexford unarmed, coming, as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and so little apprehensive of danger that he advanced within the lines before he was recognized, when all possibility of escape was at an end. He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in the most ignominious manner taken up to the camp on the Windmill Hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled down to the jail in such a condition as scarcely to be known. The people whom he left in expectation of being permitted to return quietly home, waited his arrival ; but at last being informed of his fate, they abandoned all idea of peace, and set off, under the command of the Rev. John Murphy, to Fook's Mill, and so on through Scollaghgap into the County of Carlow. . . . . .

"From the encampment at Ballenkeele, commanded by General Needham, detachments were sent out to scour the country. They burned the Catholic chapel of Bellemurrin, situate on the demesne of Ballenkeele, on which they were encamped, besides several houses in the neighborhood."

It is not clear that Lord Kingsborough, who was in Wexford as a prisoner, had power to "promise protection of person and property," in case of surrender. At all events, no attention was paid to those negotiations. Two of the insurgent chiefs, Cloney and O'Hea, repaired to Enniscorthy, to make proposals for capitulation. . . . .

"Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to him with the utmost energy *for their destruction.* To the deluded multitude he promises pardon on their *delivering into his hands their leaders,* surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

"(Signed) G. Lake.

"Enniscorthy, June 22, 1798."

Lord Lake established his headquarters in the house of Captain Keogh, the late commandant of the post—Keogh being now lodged in jail. Cornelius Grogan surrendered, relying on the protection. Messrs. Colclough and Harvey attempted to escape, and concealed themselves in a cave upon the Great Saltee Island, off the coast. Here they were discovered ; were brought to Wexford ; and, a few days after, all these gentlemen, with many others, were tried by martial law and executed. Their heads were cut off and spiked in a row in front of the court-house.*

* Bagenal Harvey was proved, on the trial, to have constantly opposed deeds of blood, and endeavored to prevent the wanton destruction of loyalist property. It was so much the worse for him. The Rev. Mr. Gordon tells us a remarkable trait of the times: "The display of humanity by a rebel was, in general, in the trials by court-martial, by no means regarded as a circumstance in favor of the accused. Strange as it may seem, in times of cool reflection, it was very frequently urged as a proof of guilt. Whoever could be proved to have saved a loyalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder, was considered as having influence among the rebels—consequently a commander. This

As for the unfortunate country people, now left to the mercy of a savage soldiery, they were hunted down in all directions by the yeomanry cavalry. A detail of these horrors would be revolting. We must take a summary from the testimony of those who saw it.

"In short," says Mr. Edward Hay, "death and desolation were spread throughout the country, which was searched and hunted so severely that scarcely a man escaped. The old and harmless suffered, whilst they who had the use of their limbs, and were guilty, had previously made off with the main body of the people. The dead bodies scattered about, with their throats cut across, and mangled in the most shocking manner, exhibited scenes exceeding the usual horrors of war. The soldiery on this occasion, particularly the dragoons of General Ferdinand Hompesch, were permitted to indulge in such ferocity and brutal lust to the sex as must perpetuate hatred and horror of the army to generations."

The treatment of women by these Hessians and the yeomanry cowards was truly horrible; and the less capable of any excuse, as, in this matter at least, there could be no pretence for retaliation.

"It is a singular fact," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "that in all the ferocity of the conflict, the storming of towns and of villages, *women* were uniformly respected by the insurgents. Though numerous ladies fell occasionally into their power, they never experienced any incivility or misconduct. But the foreign troops in our service (Hompesch's) not only brutally ill-treated, but occasionally *shot* gentlewomen. A very respectable married woman in Enniscorthy (Mrs. Stringer, the wife of an attorney,) was wantonly shot at her own window by a German, in cold blood. The rebels (though her husband was a royalist) a short time after took some of those foreign soldiers prisoners, and piked them all, as they told them—'*just to teach them how to shoot ladies.*' Martial law always affects *both* sides. Retaliation becomes the law of nature wherever municipal laws are not in operation. It is a remedy that should never be resorted to but in *extremis*."

On the same shocking subject Mr. Plowden observes:—

"As to this species of outrage, which rests not in proof, it is universally allowed to have been on the side of the military. It produced an indignant horror in the country which went beyond, but prevented retaliation. It is a characteristic mark of the Irish nation neither to forget nor forgive an insult or injury done to the honor of their female relatives. It has been boasted of by officers of rank that, within certain large districts, a woman had not been left undefiled; and upon observation, in answer, that the sex must then have been very complying, the reply was, that the bayonet removed all squeamishness. A lady of fashion, having in conversation been questioned as to this difference of conduct towards the sex in the military and the rebels, attributed it, *in disgust, to a want of gallantry in the croppies.* By these general remarks it is not meant to verify or justify the saying of a field-officer, or a lady of quality, both of whom could be named; but merely to show the prevalence of the general feelings and professions at that time upon these horrid subjects; and, consequently, what effects must naturally have flowed from them. In all matters of irritation and revenge, it is the conviction that the injury exists which produces the bad effect. Even Sir Richard Musgrave admits (p. 428) that, "on most occasions, they did not offer any violence to the tender sex."

There was little more fighting in the county. Separate bands of the insurgents were making their way either into Wicklow on the north, a country of mountains, glens, and lakes, or westward into Carlow by way of Scollaghgap, between Mount Leinster and Blackstairs Mountain.

The northern part of the County of Wexford had been almost totally deserted by all the male inhabitants on the 19th, at the ap-

seems to have arisen from a rage of prosecution, by which the crime of rebellion was regarded as too great to admit any circumstances of extenuation in favor of the person guilty of it, and by which every mode of conviction against such a person was deemed justifiable."

He makes mention of the notoriety of this practice having drawn the following extraordinary exclamation from a Roman Catholic gentleman who had been one of the insurgents: "I thank my God that no person can prove me guilty of saving the life or property of any one!"

proach of the army under General Needham. Some of the yeomanry, who had formerly deserted it, returned to Gorey on the 21st, and, on finding no officer of the army, as was expected, to command there, they, with many others, who returned along with them, scoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houses, besides all the stragglers they met, most of whom were making the best of their way home unarmed from the insurgents, who were then believed to be totally discomfited. These transactions being made known to a body of the insurgents encamped at Peppard's Castle, on the 22d, they resolved to retaliate, and directly marched for Gorey, whither they had otherwise no intention of proceeding. The yeomen and their associates, upon the near approach of the insurgents, fled back with precipitation ; and thence, accompanied by many others, hastened toward Arklow, but were pursued as far as Coolgreney, with the loss of forty-seven men. The day was called bloody Friday. The insurgents had been exasperated to this vengeance by discovering through the country as they came along, several dead men with their skulls split asunder, their bowels ripped open, and their throats cut across, besides some dead women and children. They even saw the dead bodies of two women, about which their surviving children were creeping and bewailing them ! These sights hastened the insurgent force to Gorey, where their exasperation was considerably augmented by discovering the pigs in the streets devouring the bodies of nine men, who had been hanged the day before, with several others recently shot, and some still expiring.

After the return of the insurgents from the pursuit, several persons were found lurking in the town, and brought before Mr. Fitzgerald, particularly Mr. Peppard, sovereign of Gorey ; but, from this gentleman's age and respectability, he was considered incapable of being accessory to the perpetration of the horrid cruelty which provoked and prompted this sudden revenge, and he and others were saved, protected, and set at liberty. At this critical time, the news of the burning of Mr. Fitzgerald's house, still further maddened the people ; but, forgetful of such great personal injury, he exerted his utmost endeavors to restrain the insurgents, who vociferated hourly for vengeance for their favorites, and succeeded in leading them off from Gorey; when, after a slight repast, they resumed their intended route, rested that night at the White Heaps, on Croghan Mountain, and on the 23d set off for the mountains of Wicklow.

Such Wexford men as still remained in arms, having no longer any homes, and afraid to go to their homes if they had, were endeavoring to join the insurgents in other counties. One of these bodies, commanded by the Rev. John Murphy, (with whom was Miles Byrne,) proceeded through the County of Carlow ; and, having arrived before the little town of Goresbridge, in the County of Kilkenny, a show of defence was made at a bridge on the river Barrow, by a party of Wexford militia ; but they were quickly repulsed, driven back into the village, and nearly all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The prisoners were conveyed with the insurgents until they arrived on a ridge of hills which divides the Counties of Carlow and Kilkenny from the Queen's County. Here they put some of the unfortunate prisoners to death, and buried their bodies on the hill. Others escaped and joined their friends. In justice to the memory of the Rev. John Murphy it must here be stated that these murders were done contrary to his solemn injunctions, and that they were the result of long-felt and deadly hatred, entertained by some of the insurgents towards the militia-men. The example of murdering in cold blood was, no doubt, constantly set them by their enemies. If a war of partial extermination had not been proclaimed, no justification whatever could be offered for this atrocity ; but it is well known that, although the practice was not avowedly sanctioned by the constituted authorities, it was in almost all cases unblushingly advised by the underlings of power in Ireland.

" Having rested for the night of the 23d of June on the Ridge, as those hills are called, they proceeded early next morning to Castlecomer, and commenced a furious attack on the town at ten o'clock. The principal resistance offered to their progress was from a party stationed in a house at the foot of

the bridge, which was ably defended, and opposite to which many brave men fell, by rashly exposing themselves in front of so strong a position; for the town could have been attacked and carried with very little loss from another quarter. In fact, every other position was speedily abandoned by the military and yeomanry, who retreated and took up a position on a hill at a respectful distance from the town. Here, as well as in most other places where the insurgents had been engaged, skill alone was wanting to insure success. The people had numbers and courage enough to overthrow any force which had been sent against them, if they had been skilfully commanded. The attack on the well-defended house was fruitlessly kept up for four hours, from which they finally retreated with severe loss, and marched in a northwest direction about five miles, into the Queen's County.* Soon after, finding themselves hard pressed by bodies of troops on three sides, they were obliged to retreat once more in the direction of the Carlow mountains. At Kilcomney they were forced to fight, but without any chance of success. They were entirely routed. Father Murphy was taken three days later, brought to General Duff's headquarters at Tullow, tried by martial law, and, after being first cruelly scourged, was executed. His head, as usual, was spiked in the market-place of the town.

Another of the scattered bands, led by Antony Perry, of Inch, and Father Kearns, penetrated into Kildare, and joining with the Kildare insurgents, attempted to march upon Athlone. They were beaten, however, at Clonard; Perry and Father Kearns were both taken prisoners, and met the usual doom.†

Edward Fitzgerald, Miles Byrne and some other chiefs, still kept a considerable band on foot in the mountains on the border of Wicklow, from whence they occasionally made descents, and attacked some bodies of troops with success. One of these affairs was the assault upon the barracks at Hacketstown; and another was the memorable extirpation of that hated regiment, the "Ancient Britons," at Ballyellis. Before Miles Byrne finally retired into the fastnesses of Wicklow, to join Holt, he had the satisfaction to bear a hand in that bloody piece of work. We let him tell it in his own words:—

"Early in the morning of the 29th of June, it was resolved to march and attack the town of Carnew. The column was halted at Monaseed to repose and take some kind of refreshments, which were indeed difficult to be had, as every house had been plundered by the English troops on their way to Vinegar Hill a few days before.

"The Irish column resumed its march on the high road to Carnew, and in less than half an hour after its departure, a large division of English cavalry, sent from Gorey by General Needham, marched into Monaseed. This division consisted of the notorious Ancient Britons, a cavalry regiment which had committed all sorts of crimes when placed on free quarters with the unfortunate inhabitants previous to the rising. This infernal regiment was accompanied by all the yeomen cavalry corps from Arklow, Gorey, Coolgreeny, &c., and the chiefs of those corps, such as Hunter Gowan, Beaumont, of Hyde Park, Earl Mountnorris, Earl Courtown, Ram, Hawtry White, &c., could boast as well as the Ancient Britons of having committed cold-blooded murders on an unarmed country people. But they never had the courage to meet us on the field of battle, as will be seen by the dastardly way they abandoned the Ancient Britons at Ballyellis.

"The officers of the Ancient Britons, as well as those of the yeomen corps, learned that the Irish forces had just marched off on the road to Carnew, and were informed at a public house, that the insurgents who had been there were complaining how they were fatigued to death by the continual marching and countermarching, and that although they had fire-arms, their ammunition was completely exhausted, and scarce a ball-cartridge remained in their army. The truth of this information could not be doubted. All the information coming through so sure a channel, encouraged the English troops to pursue without delay the insurgents, and to cut them down and exterminate them to the last man, for they could not resist

* Cloney's Memoir. † Madden's Lives.

without ammunition. The Ancient Britons were to charge on the road, whilst the yeomen cavalry, being so well-mounted, were to cover the flanks and to march through the field; and those fox-hunters promised that not one croppy should escape their vengeance.

"All being thus settled and plenty of whisky distributed to the English soldiers, the march to overtake the insurgents commenced, and when about two miles from Monaseed, at Ballyellis, one mile from Carnew, the Ancient Britons being in full gallop, charging, and as they thought, driving all before them, to their great surprise, were suddenly stopped by a barricade of cars thrown across the road, and at the same moment that the head of the column was thus stopped, the rear was attacked by a mass of pikemen, who sallied out from behind a wall, and completely shut up the road, as soon as the last of the cavalry had passed. The remains or ruins of an old deer-park wall, on the right-hand side of the road, ran along for about half a mile; in many parts it was not more than three or four feet high. All along the inside of this our gunsmen and pikemen were placed. On the left-hand side of the road there was an immense ditch, with swampy ground, which few horses could be found to leap. In this advantageous situation, for our men, the battle began; the gunsmen, half covered, firing from behind the wall, whilst the English cavalry, though well mounted, could only make use of their carabines and pistols, for with their sabres they were unable to ward off the thrusts of our pikemen, who sallied out on them in the most determined manner.

"Thus, in less than an hour, this infamous regiment, which had been the horror of the country, was slain to the last man, as well as the few yeomen cavalry who had the courage to take part in the action. For all those who quit their horses and got into the fields were followed and piked on the marshy ground. The greater part of the numerous cavalry corps which accompanied the Ancient Britons kept on a rising ground, to the right side of the road, at some distance, during the battle, and as soon as the result of it was known, they fled in the most cowardly way in every direction, both dismayed and disappointed that they had no opportunity on this memorable day of murdering the stragglers, as was their custom on such occasions. I say 'memorable,' for during the war, no action occurred which made so great a sensation in the country; as it proved to the enemy, that whenever our pikemen were well commanded and kept in close order, they were invulnerable. And, besides, it served to elate the courage and desire of our men to be led forthwith to new combats.

"The English troops that marched out from Carnew retreated back on the town in great haste, when they heard of the defeat of the Ancient Britons at Ballyellis. The infantry, finding that they were closely pursued by our men, barricaded themselves in a large malt house belonging to Bob Blaney. This malt house was spared at the time of the first attack on Carnew, when the great est part of the town was burned, on account of the upright and humane conduct of the owner, Mr. Blaney. Now it had become a formidable and well-fortified barrack, capable of holding out a long time, particularly as our army had no cannon to bring to bear against it. However, it was instantly attacked, and great efforts made to dislodge the enemy, who kept up a continual fire from all the windows; and, as at Hacketstown, every means were taken to approach the doors under cover of beds, straw, &c., but without success, as the men were wounded through the beds and straw, before they could reach the doors. So it became necessary to wait till night came on, when the garrison which occupied this malt house would have no other alternative left it but to surrender at discretion, or be consumed to ashes.

"Edward Fitzgerald and the other chiefs deemed it more prudent, however, to raise the siege and to take a military position on Killcavan Hill for the night, rather than remain before the barracks or malt house; knowing well that General Needham, who commanded the English forces at Gorey, as also the English troops at Ferns and Newtownbarry, would make a forced march to relieve Carnew, and, if possible, endeavor to obtain some kind of revenge for the destruction of their favorite Ancient Britons;

whom they so cowardly abandoned at Ballyellis to their dismal and well-earned doom."

But these combats were now little more than efforts of despair. Fitzgerald, who commanded at Ballyellis, not long after surrendered, along with Aylmer, in Kildare, was detained for some time, then permitted to exile himself, and was known, in 1803, to be residing at Hamburg. Mr Fitzgerald was a gentleman of large property and great personal accomplishments, and had been goaded into resistance by the savage tyranny which he saw carried on around him. Miles Byrne, after these terrible scenes in his native land, afterwards served in the French army for thirty years. He died a Knight of St. Louis and an officer of the Legion of Honor, with the grade of *Chef-de-Bataillon.*

It is to be remarked of this insurrection in Wexford, that scarcely any of its leaders were United Irishmen. Father Murphy, who began it, and some fifteen other clergymen who took an active part in it, not only were not United Irishmen, but had done their utmost to discourage and break up that society, in some cases even refusing the sacrament to those who were members. Therefore, that insurrection was not the result of a conspiracy to make an insurrection, but of the acts of the Government to provoke one.

Next, it is to be observed that this was not a "Popish" rebellion, although every effort was made to give it a sectarian character—first by disarming and disgracing the Catholic yeomanry, next by burning chapels and maltreating priests, and further by the direct incitements and encouragement given to the Orange yeomanry, (who were brought into the county for the purpose,) to practice their favorite plan of exterminating Catholics. Yet some of the most trusted leaders of the people were Protestants; as Harvey, Grogan, one of the two Colcloughs, Antony Perry, and Keogh, Commandant of Wexford. There was, it is true, one Protestant church defaced, as we have seen; but not till long after several Catholic chapels had been demolished. It may be affirmed, that whatever there was of religious rancor in the contest was the work of the Government, through its Orange allies; and with the express purpose of preventing an union of Irishmen of all creeds—a thing which is felt to be incompatible with British Government in Ireland.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1798.

Rising in Ulster—Antrim—Saintfield—Ballinahinch—Insurgents Defeated—McCracken and Monro Hanged—Skirmish in Cork County—Courts-Martial—Many Executions—Hanging of Father Redmond—Surrender of Fitzgerald and Aylmer—Compact between Prisoners and Government—In order to Save the Lives of Byrne and Bond—Compact Violated by Government—Byrne Hanged—Bond Dies Suddenly in Prison—Reign of Terror in Dublin—Brothers Sheares Tried—Hanged—Other State Trials—Curran in Court—"The Three Majors"—Sirr, Swan, and Sandys—The "Major's People"—John Claudius Beresford—Tortures in Dublin—Country in Wild Alarm—Spiked Heads—Fit Time to Propose Legislative Union—Marquis Cornwallis comes as Viceroy—To bring about the Union—"Impression of Horror"—Apparent Measures to End the Devastations—Offers of "Protection"—Not Efficacious—Testimony of Lord Camden himself—True Account of the "Compact"—United Irishmen sent to Fort George.

The rising of the United Irishmen of Ulster was delayed for two weeks after the day agreed upon (May 23d) by the arrest of some of their leaders. On the 7th of June, however, a meeting of magistrates having been appointed in the town of Antrim, for the prevention of rebellion, some insurgents, with design of seizing their persons, attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon, and soon overpowering the troops within it, very nearly gained possession. Major-General Nugent, who commanded in that district, having received intelligence of the intended rising, had ordered a body of troops to march to Antrim, who arrived after the rebels had taken possession of the town. They then attacked the insurgents in the town, but their vanguard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of twenty-three men killed and wounded, of which three were officers, Colonel Durham, who commanded the troops, brought the artillery to batter the town, which obliged the insurgents to abandon it, together with a six-pounder which they had brought with them, and two curricle guns which they had taken from the King's army. They were pursued towards Shane's Castle and Ran-

dal's Town, with considerable slaughter; on this day Lord O'Neil was mortally wounded. * A small body made an unsuccessful assault on the town of Larne, and some feeble attempts were also made at Ballymena and Ballycastle. The main body of these northern insurgents retired to Donegar Hill, where, disgusted with their want of success and other circumstances, they agreed to surrender their arms, and almost all of them dispersed.

On the 8th of June another body of insurgents in the County Down, near Saintfield, under the command of a Dr. Jackson, set fire to the house of a man named Mackee, an informer against the United Irishmen. They placed themselves the next day in ambuscade, and nearly surrounded a body of troops under Colonel Stapleton, consisting of York Fencibles and yeoman cavalry, of whom they killed about sixty. The infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven back in confusion, rallying with a coolness not very common in this war, succeeded in repulsing their assailants, but could not pursue, and eventually themselves retreated to Belfast. The loss of the insurgents was very small. The next day, under command of Henry Monro, a shopkeeper in Lisburn, they took possession of a strong post on Windmill Hill, above the little town of Ballinahinch, near the centre of the County Down, and at the house and in the demesne of Lord Moira. On the 12th, General Nugent, marching from Belfast, and Colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, formed with fifteen hundred men a junction near the Windmill Hill, of which they gained possession, together with the town, which before the action they wantonly set on fire. The action was maintained about three hours with artillery, with little or no execution. At length, the Monaghan regiment of militia, posted with two field-pieces at Lord Moira's great gate, was attacked with such determined fury by the pikemen of the insurgents that it fell back in disorder. The want of discipline in the insurgents lost what their valor had gained. The disordered troops found means to rally, while the Argyleshire Fencibles, entering the demesne, were making their attack on another side. The insurgents, confused and distracted, retreated up the hill, and making a stand at the top, at a kind of fortification, defended the post for some time with great courage, but at length gave way and dispersed in all directions. Their loss exceeded a hundred; that of the royal army not above half that number. The main body of these insurgents retired to the mountains of Slieve Croob, where they soon surrendered or separated, returning to their several homes; and thus terminated this short and partial, but active insurrection in the north, in the course of which some slighter actions had taken place, particularly at Portaferry, where they were repulsed by the yeomanry. They also set fire to a revenue cruiser, in which forty men perished.

The official bulletin of the affair of Ballinahinch is as follows:—

"Dublin Castle, eleven o'clock, A. M., June 14, 1798.

"Intelligence is just arrived from Major-General Nugent, stating that, on the 11th instant, he had marched against a large body of rebels who were posted at Saintfield. They retired on his approach to a strong position on the Saintfield side of Ballinahinch, and there made a show of resistance, and endeavored to turn his left flank; Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart arriving from Down with a pretty considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and yeomanry, they soon desisted, and retired to a very strong position behind Ballinahinch.

"General Nugent attacked them next morning at three o'clock, having occupied two hills on the left and right of the town, to prevent the rebels from having any other choice than the mountains in their rear for their retreat. He sent Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart to post himself, with part of the Argyle Fencibles and some yeomanry, as well as a detachment of the Twenty-second Light Dragoons, in a situation from whence he could enfilade the rebel line; whilst Colonel Leslie, with part of the Monaghan militia, some cavalry, and yeoman infantry, should make an attack upon their front. Having two

* He had ridden into the town to attend the meeting of the magistrates, not knowing that the insurgents were in possession of it. He shot one who had seized the bridle of his horse, after which he was dragged from his saddle, and so wounded with pikes that he died in a few days.

howitzers and six six-pounders with the two detachments, the Major-General was enabled to annoy them very much from different parts of his position.

"The rebels attacked impetuously Colonel Leslie's detachment, and even jumped into the road from the Earl of Moira's demesne to endeavor to take one of his guns; but they were repulsed with slaughter. Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart's detachment was attacked by them with the same activity, but he repulsed them also, and the fire from his howitzer and six-pounder soon obliged them to fly in all directions. Their force was, on the evening of the 12th, near five thousand; but, as many persons are pressed into their service, and almost entirely unarmed, the general does not suppose that, on the morning of the engagement, their numbers were so many.

"About four hundred rebels were killed in the attack and retreat, and the remainder were dispersed all over the country. Parts of the towns of Saintfield and Ballinahinch were burned. . . . Three or four green colors were taken, and six one-pounders, not mounted, but which the rebels fired very often, and a considerable quantity of ammunition."

Of course, the failure in Ulster was attended by the usual penalty of failure. The leader of the Antrim insurgents was Henry Joy McCracken, a manufacturer of Belfast, a brave, well-educated, and highly-estimable man in the prime of life. He and some others were tried and executed in Belfast. Monro was carried to Lisburn and hung at his own door, his wife and family being in the house.

An attempt at insurrection was next made in Cork County. The principal action, and the only one, which Government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynascarty, where, on the 19th of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six-pounders, under the command of their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Clognakelty to Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, mostly armed with pikes. The attack was made from a height on the left of the column so rapidly and fiercely that the troops had scarcely time to form. It seems plain, from Sir Hugh O'Reilly's dispatch, that at this moment there was imminent danger of his detachment being cut to pieces, when, fortunately for him, a hundred men of the "Caithness Legion," under Major Innes, came up on the flank of the insurgents, and assailed them with so sharp and well-sustained a fire of musketry that O'Reilly had time to rally his men and get his guns into position. At last the people were forced to retire, but were not pursued. Sir Hugh estimates their loss at one hundred and thirty. He does not tell his own. This action took place on the 19th of June.

There remained little to do now but to try and execute insurgent leaders by martial law. Courts-martial were instituted everywhere at the headquarters of commanding officers. These terrible tribunals were in full action throughout Wexford County—in New Ross, Enniscorthy, Gorey, Newtownbarry, and Wexford town—and multitudes were hung or transported. Amongst the executions which caused the most horror was that of Father John Redmond, who had absolutely done nothing to favor the insurrection. "His body after death underwent the most indecent mutilations." *

Those Wexford insurgents who remained with Mr. Fitzgerald, along with Mr. Aylmer, as outstanding chiefs, negotiated with General Dundas, to whom they surrendered on the 12th of July, on condition that all the other leaders who had adventured with them should be at liberty to retire whither they pleased out of the British dominions. The same terms were afterwards secured by General Moore to Mr. Garret Byrne, who was sent into confinement in the Castle of Dublin, together with Messrs. Fitzgerald and Aylmer, by which they fared much better than those who laid down their arms in Wexford, depending on the faithful fulfillment of the terms entered into with Lord Kingsborough.

* Gordon's History. Mr. Gordon knew Mr. Redmond well, and declared that during the insurrection he was mostly hiding in Protestant houses to avoid the "rebels," who considered him an enemy to their cause.

The plan of proposing terms for saving the lives of Mr Oliver Bond and Mr. Byrne was proposed through Mr. Dobbs, a member of Parliament. That gentleman went with the sheriff to the prison in which Mr. A. O'Connor was confined, on the 24th of July, with a paper* signed by seventy state prisoners, purposing to give such information as was in their power of the arms, ammunition, schemes of warfare, internal regulations and foreign negotiations of the United Irishmen, provided the lives of Messrs. Bond and Byrne should be spared.

In consequence of this agreement, some of the insurgent chiefs, who were still in arms, among whom was Mr. Aylmer, of Kildare, surrendered themselves.† Several principals of the Union, particularly Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, Dr. MacNeven, and Samuel Neilson, gave details on oath in their examinations before the secret committees of the two Houses of Parliament, in whose reports, although garbled and falsified, published by authority of Government, is contained a mass of information concerning the conspiracy. Yet certain it is, that whatever were the original terms of the contract, and by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, the principal prisoners (fifteen in number) were not liberated, and a power was reserved or assumed by ministers to retain them in custody, at least during the continuance of the war with France. Oliver Bond died in the meantime in prison, "of apoplexy," as was given out; but the friends of this gentleman believe to the present hour that he was murdered at night by one of the jailers or turnkeys of Newgate prison —for what cause or at whose instigation was never known. The other prisoner, Byrne,—to save whose life, along with that of Bond, the contract was expressly made— was hung.

During the whole time of the insurrection the city of Dublin was held under strict military law. A large force, consisting chiefly of yeomanry, was kept constantly in the metropolis. The grand and royal canals, which were fifty feet broad and twelve deep, were a security against a surprise; and the several bridges were strongly palisaded, and guarded both by night and by day. The trials and executions of some of the principal leaders in the rebellion tended to keep others in awe, and prevented any further attempts of individuals. Among others, an insurgent officer, a Protestant, named Bacon, having been apprehended disguised in female apparel, was executed on the 2d of June, near Carlisle bridge. On the 14th, was executed, on the same scaffolding, Lieutenant Esmond. On the 12th of July, Henry and John Sheares were brought to trial, condemned, and soon after put to death. The trial of John M'Cann, who had been Secretary of the Provincial Committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th; that of Michael William Byrne, delegate from the County Committee of Wicklow, and that of Oliver Bond, on the 23d. Mr. Curran was the leading counsel on all

* The following was the agreement signed by seventy-three on the 29th of July :—

"That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power, of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen, and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever, and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and Government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of Government, and give security not to pass into an enemy's country, if on their so doing they are to be freed from prosecution, and also Mr. Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope, that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as may choose to benefit by it."

Signed by seventy-three persons.

29th of July, 1798.

† In a pamphlet, styled a Letter from Arthur O'Connor to Lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, January the 4th, 1799, that Minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract, and a misrepresentation to Parliament of the transactions between him and the prisoners of state. Other charges are made, one of which is that the information given by these prisoners to Government was garbled, to serve the purposes of the ministry, and particularly that of a hundred pages, delivered by O'Connor himself, only one had been published in the reports of the secret committees. Since to this pamphlet, in which his lordship is peremptorily challenged to disprove any of the charges therein made, no reply has appeared, we have only the honor of his lordship for a disproof of these accusations, which *may be* a vindication to persons unacquainted with his lordship's character. The pamphlet was said to have been suppressed by Government, at least was not otherwise than clandestinely sold and circulated.

these trials; and it was a service of danger. The Court was usually crowded with armed men; and as the undaunted advocate delivered his powerful and indignant pleadings, often at midnight, amidst a hostile and menacing audience, the lamplight glittered upon serried bayonets, and he was sometimes interrupted by a clash of arms. "What is that?" he sternly exclaimed, on the trial of Oliver Bond. "The question was occasioned by a clash of arms among the military that thronged the Court. Some of those who were nearest to the advocate appeared, from their looks and gestures, about to offer him personal violence; upon which, fixing his eye sternly upon them, he exclaimed: 'You may assassinate, but you shall not intimidate me.'"*

While the insurrection was raging in Wexford, and capital convictions and executions were very frequent all over the country, it must be supposed that the people of Dublin were in a state of profound alarm, sometimes real and genuine terror, sometimes a factitious alarm, created by the agents of Government to furnish excuse for brutal acts of severity. Then was the reign of the "three Majors," Sirr, Swan, and Sandys. These men had been officers of the militia; and all in a sufficiently-decent rank of life—the last-named, indeed, was brother-in-law to Mr. under-Secretary Cooke. This triumvirate were now really the rulers of Dublin; and the most indispensable of all the agencies of the Castle. Their services chiefly consisted in organizing and maintaining a band of wretches, who were employed at the assizes throughout the country, but especially in the vicinity of Dublin, as informers. They were known to the people by the name of the "Batallion of Testimony."

It is said, on high authority, that the employment of spies and informers tends rather to the increase than the suppression of crime, and that a good government has no need of their infamous services. One thing is certain, that their services were thought useful to a bad government; and the same circumstance that rendered their services necessary, made their infamy a matter of little moment to their employers. From the year 1796 to 1800, a set of miscreants, steeped in crime, sunk in debauchery, prone to violence, and reckless of character, constituted what was called the "Major's People." A number of these people were domiciled within the gates of the Castle, where there were regular places of entertainment allotted for them contiguous to the Viceroy's palace; for another company of them, a house was allotted opposite Kilmainham jail, familiarly known to the people by the name of the "Stag House;" and for one batch of them, who could not be trusted with liberty, there was one of the yards of that prison, with the surrounding cells, assigned to them, which is still called the "Stag Yard." These persons were considered under the immediate protection of Majors Sirr, Swan, and Sandys, and to interfere with them in the course of their duties as spies or witnesses, was to incur the vengeance of their redoubtable patrons.

Sandys had been a captain in the Longford militia. Shortly after his marriage with the sister of the under-Secretary's wife, he was appointed Brigade-Major to the garrison of Dublin. In 1797, '98, and '99, he presided over the Prevot Prison, in the Royal Barracks, a filthy, close, dark, and pestilential place of confinement, with a small court-yard, and some ill-constructed sheds, set up to afford increased accommodation for the multitude of persons daily sent to the depot.

Major Sandys carried on a regular trade in the official advantages of his functions in the Prevot. He sold indulgences to the state prisoners, of a little more than the ordinary scant allowances of air, light, and food. He sold exemption from the taws and triangles for money and for goods, for every marketable commodity.

The court-yard of that miserable den was ringing forever, by day and by night, with the shrieks of wretches scourged at the Major's triangles, to extort confessions, or to force the prisoners to make statements inculpating others. The court in the rear of the Royal Exchange was another place of torture; but, perhaps, the most dreadful scene of continual lacerations, pitch-cappings, and picketings, in Dublin, was in the Riding-School in Marlborough street, where

* Life of Curran. By his son.

the punishments were administered under the eye and by the direction of Mr. John Claudius Beresford, a scion of the great house of Waterford.* Yet, in a debate in the English House of Commons, in March, 1801, on the Irish Martial Law bill, in reply to an observation with respect to the use of torture, made by Mr. Taylor, Lord Castlereagh had certainly the boldness to affirm, that "torture never was inflicted in Ireland, with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of Government." Mr. John Claudius Beresford, who was the most competent of all men to speak on that subject, observed, that "it was unmanly to deny torture, as it was notoriously practiced;" and in a subsequent debate in the House of Lords, on another occasion, in the Imperial Parliament, Lord Clare avowed the practice, and defended it on the grounds of its necessity.

No specific orders, undoubtedly, emanated from the Government to Mr. Beresford to convert the Riding-School into a scourging-hall—to Mr. Hepenstal to make a walking-gallows of his person—to Mr. Love for the half-hanging of suspected rebels at Kilkea Castle—to Mr. Hunter Gowan for burning down the cabins of the croppies—to the High Sheriff of Tipperary for the laceration of the peasant's back, of which Sir John Moore was an eye-witness—to Captain Swaine for the picketings at Prosperous, or Sir Richard Musgrave for writing a treatise in defence of torture; or to all the other gentlemen of "discernment and fortitude" for adopting "the new expedient" for discovery of crime.

"But," observes Dr. Madden, "it is in vain, utterly futile and fruitless, to deny the constant use of torture in 1797 and 1798, in the Riding-House, Marlborough street, under the direction of John Claudius Beresford, and in the Prevot Prison in the Royal Barracks, then governed by Major Sandys, brother-in-law to Mr. under-Secretary Cooke, (Lord Castlereagh's chief official in the Secretary's office;) occasionally, too, in the Royal Exchange, and in the small vacant space adjoining the entrance to the Upper Castle Yard, immediately behind the offices of Lord Castlereagh, and having on the opposite side the back part of the Exchange, where, *under the very windows of Lord Castlereagh's office*, the triangles were set up for fastening the wretches to, who were flogged—tortured even to death."

There was at that time a military order enforced in Dublin, that every householder should expose a list on his front door of all the inmates of his house; but this observance being complied with by no means insured families against domiciliary visits from the military, or from the "Major's People," whenever there was any suspicion that obnoxious persons or papers might be secreted there. There are still alive many who recollect the terror and agony of households when invaded by these odious wretches, who did not generally confine themselves to their ostensible errand, but insulted women and girls, and carried off valuable plate. One instance of this is mentioned in a speech of Curran, where a silver cup was taken possession of because it had engraved upon it the words *Erin go bragh!* The accounts of pay and weekly "subsistence money," given to the "Major's People," as well as to other common swearers, are extant, and may be read in the collections of Dr. Madden. When it is remembered that scenes similar to these were passing in every town, as well as Dublin; that many bridges and "gallows-hills" showed their blackening corpses swinging in the winds; that in front of many court-houses, and over the gateways of many jails, ghastly heads were grinning upon spikes,* while every hour gave birth to some new and fearful rumor of horrors yet unknown, some idea may be formed of the Terror in Ireland.

The country was now, therefore, precisely

* Dr. Madden has gone to the trouble of collecting a great many of the authentic cases of half-hangings, scourgings, and other tortures inflicted in those days.

* On the trial of John Magee for libel, in 1813, O'Connell, in his memorable speech on that occasion, thus alludes to Toler, (Lord Norbury,) when employed on special commissions: "Why, in one circuit, during the administration of the cold-hearted and cruel Camden, there were one hundred individuals tried before *one* judge; of these, ninety-eight were *capitally convicted*, and *ninety-seven hanged!* One escaped, but he was a soldier, who murdered a peasant—a thing of a trivial nature. *Ninety-seven victims in one circuit!!*"

Toler was Solicitor-General in 1798, but was sometimes put on the Commission, and went circuit.

in the frame of mind which Mr. Pitt considered favorable for facilitating his favorite measure, a Legislative Union. Divided into two bitterly hostile parties, vindictive rage on the one side, affright and despondency on the other—the United Irish Society ruined, partly by the savage extirpation of Catholic insurgents, partly by the defection of the Republican Presbyterians of the North, and the mutual distrust which had been carefully sown between these two sections of that organization—all hope of either Catholic Emancipation or Reform (through an *Irish* Parliament) being now apparently adjourned to an indefinite futurity, it was believed that the parties would, at last, be led to throw themselves into the arms of England, who would know how to take care of them all. Accordingly, Lord Camden, having done his office in stirring up rebellion, was recalled, and the Marquis Cornwallis, already unfavorably known in two worlds, arrived in Ireland on the 20th day of June—the very day before the battle of Vinegar Hill—to assume the reins of government, but invested, besides the vice-regal power, with the additional authority of Commander of the forces. It appeared that the instructions of this nobleman were to moderate by degrees the horrible rage of extermination. The estimates given of his character and conduct by contemporary Irish writers are wonderfully various. Sir Jonah Barrington says of him: "Lord Cornwallis was now selected to complete the project of a Union, and Lord Castlereagh was continued as Chief Secretary. His system was of all others the most artful and insidious; he affected impartiality while he was deceiving both parties; he encouraged the United Irishman, and he roused the royalist; one day he destroyed, the next day he was merciful. His system, however, had not exactly the anticipated effect. Everything gave reason to expect a restoration of tranquillity; but it was through the impression of *horror* alone that a union could be effected; and he had no time to lose, lest the country might recover its reason."

Mr. Plowden, on the other hand, who was devoted to the measure of a union, and was himself already writing pamphlets in its favor, can find no terms strong enough in lauding Lord Cornwallis. He says: "This appointment, in this critical juncture, appears, under Providence, to have been the immediate salvation of Ireland, not only by putting an immediate check upon the uncontrolled ferociousness of the soldiery, by stopping military executions, suspending the sentences of courts-martial till he had himself revised the minutes, by converting the system of cöercion and terrorism into that of conciliation, by gaining the affections of the people, by drawing upon himself the hatred of the Orangemen, *by bringing to bear the incorporate union with Great Britain*, as the efficient means of redressing popular grievances, and crushing the seeds of perpetual feuds and acrimony kept up chiefly by the subsistence of Orangeism."

Lord Cornwallis certainly did, not long after his arrival, begin to interpose a check upon the bloody work then going on in Wexford. On the 28th of June, after the heads of the Wexford leaders had been duly spiked in front of the jail, and the yeomanry cavalry had glutted themselves for one whole week with carnage and conflagration, picketings, and scourgings, Lord Lake was removed from command in that quarter, and it was given to General Hunter, with directions to put an end to the indiscriminate slaughter. A proclamation was issued and printed in the Dublin *Gazette*, but not till the 3d of July (thus giving the Orangemen one other week's bloody carnival)—authorizing His Majesty's generals to give *protections* on certain terms. The proclamation is in these words:—

"Whereas, it is in the power of His Majesty's generals, and of the forces under their command, entirely to destroy all those who have risen in rebellion, against their sovereign and his laws: yet it is nevertheless the wish of Government, that those persons who, by traitorous machinations, have been seduced, or by acts of intimidation, have been forced from their allegiance, should be received into His Majesty's peace and pardon, ——— commanding in the county of ——— specially authorized thereto, does hereby invite all persons who may be now assembled in any part of the said county against His Majesty's peace, to surrender

themselves and their arms, and to desert the leaders who have seduced them ; and for the acceptance of such surrender and submission the space of fourteen days from the date hereof is allowed, and the towns of ——— are hereby specified, at each of which places one of His Majesty's officers and a Justice of the Peace will attend ; and upon entering their names, acknowledging their guilt, and promising good behavior for the future, and taking the oath of allegiance, and, at the same time, abjuring all other engagements contrary thereto, they will receive a certificate, which will entitle them to protection so long as they demean themselves as becomes good subjects.

"And, in order to render such acts of submission easy and secure, it is the general's pleasure that persons who are now with any portion of the rebels in arms, and willing to surrender themselves, do send to him, or to ——— any number from each body of rebels not exceeding ten, with whom the general, or ——— will settle the manner in which they may repair to the above towns, so that no alarm may be excited, and no injury to their persons be offered.

"June 29, 1798."

Then follows the form of certificate of "protection." Next, on the 17th of July, a message from the Viceroy was read in the House of Commons, signifying the King's pleasure that an "Amnesty act" should be passed, with certain conditions and large exceptions. Accordingly, such a bill was passed in favor of all rebels who had not been leaders ; who had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions mentioned in the proclamation. But, practically, there was no cessation, at least in the unhappy County of Wexford, of the horrors of military outrage, even after the proclamation. General Hunter, indeed, seems to have endeavored to appease the minds of the people, and restore confidence and tranquillity to that distracted country.

But some principal gentlemen of the county, and others besides, attempted to interpose their authority to supersede the tenor of the general pardon held out by proclamation, pursuing the same line of arbitrary conduct which they had practiced previous to the insurrection. They even proceeded to the length of presuming to tear some of the protections, which the country people had obtained ; but this coming to the General's knowledge, he quieted them by threatening to have them tied to a cart's tail and whipped. Others had been rash enough to levy arbitrary contributions for the losses they had sustained during the insurrection. A curate was induced to wait on the General with an account of an intended "massacre" of the Protestants, which he detailed with the appearance of the utmost alarm, and was patiently heard out by the General, who then addressed him with this marked appellation and strong language :— "*Mr. Massacre*, if you do not prove to me the circumstances you have related, I shall get you punished in the most exemplary manner, for raising false alarms, which have already proved so destructive to this unfortunate country." The curate's alarm instantly changed its direction and became personal ; and on allowing that his fears had been excited by vague report to make this representation, his piteous supplication, and apparent contrition, procured him forgiveness.

The various outrages that were committed in the country, prevented numbers from coming into the quarters of the several commanding officers to obtain protections, as many of the yeomen and their supplementaries continued the system of conflagration, and shooting such of the peasantry as they met ; and this necessarily deterred many from exposing themselves to their view, and prevented, of course, the humane and moderate intentions of the present government from having their due effect. The melancholy consequence of such a system of terror, persecution, and alarm, had very nearly brought on the extermination of an extensive and populous tract of the County of Wicklow, called the Macomores ; the perpetration of the plan was providentially prevented by the timely and happy intervention of Brigade-Major Fitzgerald, under the directions and orders of General Hunter. Incessant applications and remonstrances had been made by different magistrates in Gorey and its vicinity to Government, complaining that this range of country was infested with

constant meetings of rebels, who committed every species of outrage, and these reports were confirmed by affidavits; they were credited by Government, to whom they were handed in by a magistracy presumed to be deliberate, grave, and respectable; the Viceroy was rendered indignant at these reiterated complaints, and orders were sent to the different generals and other commanding officers, contiguous to the devoted tract, to form a line along its extent on the western border, and at both ends, north and south, on the land side, so as to leave no resource to the wretched inhabitants, *who were to be slaughtered by the soldiery, or to be driven into the sea*, as it is bounded by the Channel on the eastward. Even *women and children were to be included* in this terrific example. The execution of this severe exemplary measure was intrusted to the discretion of General Hunter, who fortunately discovered the inhuman misrepresentation that had produced those terrific orders. The devoted victims found an opportunity to implore protection from the incursions of the black mob (they thus denominated the supplementaries to the different corps of yeomanry) who wreaked their vengeance even upon those who had received protection from General Needham, at Gorey, as different parties of the soldiery and yeomanry waited their return in ambush, and slaughtered every one they could overtake.

This prevented many from coming in for protection. Afterwards these sanguinary banditti made incursions into the country, fired into the houses, thus killing and wounding many unoffending peasants. Several houses after being plundered were burned, and the booty was brought into Gorey. By the frequency of these horrible excesses and depredations, such houses as remained unburned were of course crowded with several families, and this multiplied the number of victims at each succeeding incursion. At last, most of the inhabitants took refuge on the hills, and armed themselves with every offensive weapon they could procure.

The false alarmists were not depressed by several discomfitures, for although General Hunter reported the country to be in a perfect state of tranquillity, they again returned to the charge, and renewed their misrepresentations. Mr. Hawtry White, Captain of the Ballaghkeen Cavalry, and a Justice of the Peace for the county, sent several informations to Government of the alarming state of the country; and the commanding officer at Gorey was so far persuaded of the intention of a general rising, that he quitted the town and encamped on a hill above it. These representations, made under the semblance of loyalty, had not, however, the wished-for weight with the Government. General Hunter was ordered to inquire into the information of Mr. Hawtry White. Major Fitzgerald was again sent out, and the result of his inquiry was, that the information was unfounded. Upon this the General ordered Mr. Hawtry White to be brought to Wexford, and he was accordingly conducted thither and put under arrest; and on his still persisting in his false representations, he was conducted to the island, where, he asserted, the rebels were encamped, and, lo! no island appeared above the water. Mr. Hawtry White was conducted back to Wexford, and General Hunter determined to bring him to a court-martial. Many gentlemen and ladies, however, interfered in the most earnest manner to prevent this investigation, representing that Mr. White's great age might have subjected him to the imposition of fabricated information; and the firmness of the General relaxed at the instance of so many respectable persons.

To show how very far the people of the country were really protected by the proclamations and protections, announced by Lord Cornwallis, it will be needful only to give one or two extracts from the "Memoirs and Correspondence" of that nobleman, published many years later:—

[*Extract of a letter of Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, dated the 8th of July*, 1798.]

"The Irish militia are totally without discipline, contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance is made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches, either with or without arms, come within their power—in short, murder appears to be their favorite pastime."—(Vol. ii., p. 357.)

[*Extract of a letter from Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross.*]

"DUBLIN CASTLE, July 24, 1798.

"Except in the instances of the six state trials that are going on here, there is no law either in town or country but martial law, and you know enough of that to see all the horrors of it, even in the best administration of it. Judge, then, how it must be conducted by Irishmen, heated with passion and revenge. But all this is trifling compared to the numberless murders that are hourly committed by our people without any process or examination whatever. The yeomanry are in the style of the loyalists in America, only much more numerous and powerful, and a thousand times more ferocious. These men have saved the country, but they now take the lead in rapine and murder. The Irish militia, with few officers, and those chiefly of the worst kind, follow closely on the heels of the yeomanry in murder and every kind of atrocity, and the fencibles take a share, although much behindhand with the others. The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders, which are still committed by the rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side; and as long as they furnish a pretext for our parties going in quest of them, I see no prospect of amendment.

"The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood; and the conversation even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c.; and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company. So much for Ireland and my wretched situation."—(Vol. ii. p. 368).

The Marquis Cornwallis issued the following "General Orders," with the view of restraining the murderous and rapacious conduct of the troops in Ireland, dated August 31, 1798:—

"It is with great concern that Lord Cornwallis finds himself obliged to call on the general officers and the commanding officers of regiments in particular, and in general on officers of the army, to assist him in putting a stop to the licentious conduct of the troops, and in saving the wretched inhabitants from being robbed, and in the most shocking manner ill-treated, by those to whom they had a right to look for safety and protection.

"Lord Cornwallis declares that if he finds that the soldiers of any regiment have had opportunities of committing those excesses from the negligence of their officers, he will make those officers answerable for their conduct; and that if any soldiers are caught either in the act of robbery, or with the articles of plunder in their possession, they shall be instantly tried, and immediate execution shall follow their conviction."

The editor of the Cornwallis memoirs informs us (p. 13, vol. iii,) that between the landing of the French, in the autumn of 1798, and the month of February, 1799, (a period of four months,) although there were three hundred and eighty persons tried by court-martial, one hundred and thirty-one capitally convicted, and ninety executed, yet the number of the latter fell short of what "the loyal party expected and desired"—and he adds, "Many persons in England, as well as in Ireland, who were considered mild and temperate in their views, severely censured what they termed a ruinous system of lenity; nor was the British Government free from a participation in such feelings."

At p. 90, vol. iii., we find the following observations:—

"To Dr. Duigenan's letter Lord Castlereagh replied on the 6th of March, 1799, that, exclusive of all persons tried at the assizes, Lord Cornwallis had decided personally upon four hundred cases; that out of one hundred and thirty-one condemned to death, eighty-one had been executed; and that four hundred and eighteen persons had been transported or banished, in pursuance of the sentences of courts-martial, since Lord Cornwallis had arrived in Ireland."

[*Extract from a letter of Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross, April* 15, 1799.

"You write as if you really believed that there was any foundation for all the lies and nonsensical clamor about my lenity. On my arrival in this country I put a stop to the burning of houses and murder of the inhabitants by the yeomen, or any other persons who delighted in that amusement; to the flogging for the purpose of extorting con-

fession; and to the free-quarters, which comprehend universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country."—(Vol. iii., p. 89.)

We have seen that the clamor about Lord Cornwallis' clemency was in reality "nonsensical," as he declares; and that he is not even to be credited with the amount of lenity to which he himself lays claim. In fact, it is altogether impossible to believe that, with the immense military force then in Ireland, and of which he was absolute Commander-in-Chief, he could not (if he would) have put a stop to the murders and depredations upon the now defenceless people. The only admissible theory of his conduct is, that he had instructions to keep alive what Barrington calls the "impression of horror," until the Union should be effectuated.

All this time there was nothing changed in the state of things in Dublin itself. The three majors and their "people" still predominated with absolute sway, and the state trials were proceeding, before carefully packed juries, of course. It was under this lenient and conciliatory Cornwallis that some of the best and worthiest gentlemen of Ireland were hunted to death by the basest of mankind, with the prostituted forms of law, before judges predetermined to convict, and juries of Orangemen specially brought together by perjured sheriffs, not to try, but simply to hang. The two brothers Sheares were hung and beheaded in front of Newgate prison on the 22d of July, (a month after the accession of Cornwallis to the viceroyalty.) Byrne and Bond were both convicted and sentenced to death. It was at this moment that the "compact" already mentioned was entered into by certain of the state prisoners with the Government, with a view of stopping, if possible, the further effusion of blood, and specifically and expressly of saving the lives of Byrne and Oliver Bond. As the Government not only violated that compact, but made it the occasion of slandering men to whom all was lost except their honor, it is necessary, in justice to those best and purest of Irish patriots, to record the actual facts. They are to be found in the collections of the laborious Dr. Madden.

The account of the compact of the state prisoners with the Irish Government, taken from the original draft of that document in the handwriting of Thomas Addis Emmet, John Sweetman, and William James MacNeven, was drawn up by them in France, on their liberation from Fort George, and remained in the possession of John Sweetman. The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of Thomas A. Emmet:—

"We, the undersigned, until this day state prisoners and in close custody, feel that the first purpose to which we should apply our liberty is to give to the world a short account of a transaction which has been grossly misrepresented and falsified, but respecting which we have been compelled to silence for nearly the last three years. The transaction alluded to is the agreement entered into by us and other state prisoners with the Irish Government, at the close of the month of July, 1798; and we take this step without hesitation, because it can in nowise injure any of our friends and former fellow-prisoners, we being among the last victims of perfidy and breach of faith.

"From the event of the battles of Antrim and Ballinahinch, early in June, it was manifest that the northern insurrection had failed in consolidating itself. The severe battle of Vinegar Hill, on the 21st of the same month, led to its termination in Leinster; and the capitulation of Ovidstown, on the 12th of July,* may be understood as the last public appearance in the field of any body capable of serving as a rallying point. In short, the insurrection, for every useful purpose that could be expected from it, *was at an end;* but blood still continued to flow—courts-martial, special commissions, and, above all, sanguinary Orangemen, now rendered doubly malevolent and revengeful from their recent terror, desolated the country, and devoted to death the most virtuous of our countrymen. These were lost to lib-

* The event preceding the massacre of the capitulated body of the United Irishmen, on the Rath of the Curragh of Kildare, by the command of Major-General Sir James Duff, executed chiefly by the yeomanry cavalry of Captain Bagot, and the *Fox-hunters' Corps*, commanded by Lord Roden.

erty, while she was gaining nothing by the sacrifice.

"Such was the situation of affairs when the idea of entering into a compact with Government was conceived by one of the undersigned, and communicated to the rest of us conjointly with the other prisoners confined in the Dublin prisons, by the terms of which compact it was intended that as much might be saved and as little given up as possible. It was the more urgently pressed upon our minds, and the more quickly matured, by the impending fate of two worthy men. Accordingly, on the 24th of July, the state prisoners began a negotiation with Government, and an agreement was finally concluded, by the persons named by their fellow-prisoners, at the Castle of Dublin, and was finally ratified by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Cooke, three of the King's ministers. In no part of this paper were details or perfect accuracy deemed necessary, because the ministers, and particularly Lord Castlereagh, frequently and solemnly declared that it should in every part be construed by Government with the utmost liberality and good faith; and particularly the last clause was worded in this loose manner to comply with the express desire of the ministers, who insisted upon retaining to Government the entire popularity of the measure; but it was clearly and expressly understood, and positively engaged, that every leading man, not guilty of deliberate murder, should be included in the agreement who should choose to avail himself of it, in as full and ample a manner as the contracting parties themselves, and that there should be a general amnesty, with the same exceptions, for the body of the people.

"We entered into this agreement the more readily, because it appeared to us that by it the public cause lost nothing. We knew, from the different examinations of the state prisoners before the Privy Council, and from conversations with ministers, that Government was already in possession of all the important knowledge which they could obtain from us. From whence they derived their information was not entirely known to us, but it is now manifest that *Reynolds*, M'Ginn, and Hughes—not to speak of the minor informers—had put them in possession of every material fact respecting the internal state of the Union; and it was from particular circumstances well known to one of us, and entirely believed by the rest, that its external relations had been betrayed to the English Cabinet, through the agency of a foreigner with whom we negotiated.

"This was even so little disguised that, on the preceding 12th of March, the contents of a memoir which had been prepared by one of the undersigned at Hamburg, and transmitted thence to Paris, were minutely detailed to him by Mr. Cooke. Nevertheless, those with whom we negotiated seemed extremely anxious for our communications. Their reasons for this anxiety may have been many, but two, particularly, suggested themselves to our minds. They obviously wished to give proof to the enemies of an Irish republic and of Irish independence of the facts with which they were themselves well acquainted; while, at the same time, they concealed from the world their real sources of intelligence. Nor do we believe we are uncharitable in attributing to them the hope and wish of rendering unpopular and suspected men in whom the United Irishmen had been accustomed to place an almost unbounded confidence. The injurious consequences of Government succeeding in both these objects were merely personal; and, as they were no more, though they were revolting and hateful to the last degree, we did not hesitate to devote ourselves that we might make terms for our country.

"What were these terms? That it should be rescued from civil and military execution; that a truce should be obtained for liberty, which she so much required. There was also another strongly-impelling motive for entering into this agreement. If Government, on the one hand, was desirous of rousing its dependents by a display of the vigorous and well-concerted measures that were taken for subverting its authority and shaking off the English yoke; so we, on the other hand, were not less solicitous for the vindication of our cause in the eyes of the liberal, the enlightened, and patriotic. We perceived that, in making a fair and

candid development of those measures we should be enabled boldly to avow and justify the cause of Irish union, as being founded upon the purest principles of benevolence, and as aiming only at the liberation of Ireland. We felt that we could rescue our brotherhood from those foul imputations which had been industriously ascribed to it—the pursuit of the most unjust objects by means of the most flagitious crime.

"If our country has not actually benefited to the extent of our wishes and of our stipulations, let it be remembered that this has not been owing to the *compact*, but to the *breach of the compact*—the gross and flagrant breach of it, both as to the letter and spirit, in violation of every principle of plighted faith and honor.

"Having been called upon to fulfill our part of the compact, a stop being put to all further trials and executions, a memoir was drawn up and signed by two of the undersigned, together with another of the body, (they being selected by Government for that purpose,) and was presented to Mr. Cooke on the 4th of August. It was very hastily prepared in a prison, and, of course, not so complete and accurate as it might otherwise have been; but sufficiently so to draw from Mr. Cooke an acknowledgment that it was a complete fulfillment of the agreement; though he said the Lord-Lieutenant wished to have it so altered as not to be a justification of the United Irishmen, which, he said, it manifestly was.

"Upon the refusal to alter it, Government thought proper to suppress it altogether, and adopted a plan which they had already found convenient for promulgating, *not the entire truth*, but so much of the truth as accorded with their views, and whatever else they wished to have passed upon mankind under color of authority for the truth. This was no other than examination before the secret committees of Parliament. By these committees several of us were examined; and, to our astonishment, we soon after saw in the newspapers, and have since seen in printed reports of these committees, misrepresented and garbled, and, as far as relates to some of us, very untrue and fallacious statements of our testimony—even in some cases, the very reverse of what was given. That no suspicion may attach to this assertion from its vagueness, such of us as were examined will, without delay, state the precise substance of our evidence on that occasion.

"The Irish Parliament thought fit, about the month of September in the same year, to pass an act to be founded expressly on this agreement. To the provisions of that law we do not think it worth while to allude, because their severity and injustice are lost in comparison with the enormous falsehood of its preamble. In answer to that we most distinctly and formally deny that any of us did ever publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, *acknowledge crimes*, *retract opinions*, or *implore pardon*, as is therein most falsely stated. A full and explicit declaration to this effect would have been made public at the time, had it not been prevented by a message from Lord Cornwallis, delivered to one of the subscribers, on the 12th of that month. Notwithstanding we had expressly stipulated at the time of the negotiation for the entire liberty of publication, in case we should find our conduct or motives misrepresented, yet this perfidious and inhuman message threatened that such declaration would be considered as a breach of the agreement on our part, and in that case the executions in *general should go on as formerly*.

"Thus was the truth stifled at the time; and we believe firmly that to prevent its publication has been one of the principal reasons why, in violation of the most solemn engagements, we were kept in close custody ever since, and transported from our native country against our consent.

"We conceive that to ourselves, to our cause, and to our country, and to posterity, we owe this brief statement of facts, in which we have suppressed everything that is not of a nature strictly vindicatory; because our object in this publication is not to criminate, but to defend. As to their truth, we positively aver them, each for himself, as far as they fall within his knowledge, and we firmly believe the others to be the truth, and nothing but the truth."

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of John Sweetman:—

"On the 12th of March, 1798, the depu-

ties from several counties having met in Dublin, to deliberate upon some general measures for Union, were arrested in a body at Mr. Bond's, as were also many other of its principal agents, and put into a state of solitary confinement. Some of those persons were examined by the Privy Council previous to their committal to prison ; when it appeared, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the negotiations of the United Irishmen with France had been betrayed to the British Government. On the 30th, the kingdom was officially declared in a state of rebellion, and put under martial law. A proclamation from the Lord-Lieutenant had directed the military to use the most summary methods for repressing disturbances ; and it was publicly notified by the commanders in some counties that, unless the people brought in their arms within ten days from the period of publication, large bodies of troops would be quartered on them, who should be licensed to live at free-quarters, and that other severities would be exercised to enforce acquiescence. In the latter end of May, the united armed men of the County Kildare felt themselves obliged to take the field, and hostilities commenced between them and the King's forces on the 24th. About this time the Counties of Wexford and Wicklow were generally up, and those of Down, Derry, Antrim, Carlow, and Meath were preparing to rise. The appeal to arms in these counties was attended with various success on both sides, and the military were invested with further powers by a proclamation, issued by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, directing the generals to punish all attacks upon the King's forces, according to martial-law, either by death or otherwise, as to them should seem expedient. For some time the people had the advantage in the field ; but the defeat at New Ross on the 5th of June, at Antrim on the 7th, that of Arklow on the 9th, of Ballinahinch on the 12th, of Vinegar Hill on the 21st, and Kilconnell on the 26th, with the evacuation of Wexford, and some unsuccessful skirmishes which afterwards took place in the County of Wicklow, removed all hope of maintaining the contest *for the present* with any probability of success. In the interim troops were arriving from England, and several regiments of English militia had volunteered their services for Ireland. About the end of June, a proclamation was issued, promising pardon and protection to all persons, except the leaders, who should return to their allegiance and deliver up their arms, which, it was said, had a very general effect. A large body of the Kildare men had already surrendered to General Dundas, and on the 21st of July another party, with its leaders, capitulated to General Wilford. The King's troops by this time were victorious in every quarter ; and the park of artillery which had been employed in the south had returned to the capital.

"It was now upwards of two months since the war broke out, during which time no attempt had been made by the French to land a force upon the coast, nor was there any satisfactory account then received that such a design was in contemplation. The expedition of Buonaparte and the forces under his command were already ascertained to have some part of the Mediterranean for their object. No other diversion was made by the French to distract the British power during this period. Military tribunals, composed of officers who, in many instances, as it was publicly admitted, had not exceeded the inconsiderate age of boyhood, were everywhere instituted, and a vast number of executions had been the consequence. The yeomen and soldiery, licensed to indulge their rancor and revenge, were committing those atrocious cruelties which unfortunately distinguish the character of civil warfare. The shooting of innocent peasants at their work was occasionally resorted to by them as a species of recreation —a practice so inhuman that unless we had incontestible evidence of the fact we never should have given it the slightest credence. During these transactions, a special commission, under an act of Parliament, passed for the occasion, was sitting in the capital ; and the trials having commenced, it was declared from the bench that to be proved an United Irishman was sufficient to subject the party to the penalty of death, and that any member of a baronial or other committee was accountable for every act

done by the body to which he respectively belonged in its collective capacity, whether it was done without his cognizance in his absence, or even at the extremity of the land. As it was openly avowed that convictions would be sought for only through the medium of informers, the Government used every influence to dignify the character of this wretched class of beings in the eyes of those who were selected to decide on the lives of the accused; and they so effectually succeeded as to secure implicit respect to whatever any of them chose to swear, from juries so appointed, so prepossessed. It was made a point by the first connections of Government to flatter those wretches, and some peers of the realm were known to have hailed the arch-apostate Reynolds with the title of 'Saviour of his country.'"

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of William James MacNeven:—

"In the case of Mr. Bond, the jury, with an indecent precipitation, returned a verdict of guilty, on the 23d of July, and on the 25th he was sentenced to die. Byrne was also ordered for execution. In this situation of our affairs a negotiation was opened with Government, and proceeded in through the medium of Mr. Dobbs. An agreement was in consequence concluded and signed, which among other things stipulated for the lives of Byrne and Bond; but Government thought fit to annul this by the execution of Byrne. As, however, the main object, *the putting a stop to the useless effusion of blood*, was still attainable, it was deemed right to open a second negotiation. In its progress, Government having insisted on some dishonorable requisitions, which were rejected with indignation, occasioned the failure of this also. It was, however, proposed by them to renew it again, and deputies from the jails were appointed to confer with the official servants of the Crown. A meeting, accordingly, took place at the Castle on the 29th of July, when the final agreement was concluded and exchanged.

"In addition to the *fulfillment to the letter* of this agreement, the official servants of the Crown pledged the faith of Government for two things—one that the result and end of that measure should be the putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and that all executions should cease, except in cases of willful murder; the other was, that the conditions of the agreement should be liberally interpreted. The agreement was, in the course of a day or two, generally signed by the prisoners.

"Having thus stated the facts, we proceed to declare our reasons for entering into and ratifying this agreement: First. Because we had seen, with great affliction, that in the course of the appeal to arms, while four or five counties out of the thirty-two were making head against the whole of the King's forces, no effectual disposition was manifested to assist them, owing, as we believe, to the extreme difficulty of assembling, and the want of authentic information as to the real state of affairs. Second. Because the concurring or quiescent spirit of the English people enabled their Government to send not only a considerable additional regular force, but also many regiments of English militia into Ireland. Third. Because it was evident that in many instances the want of military knowledge in the leaders had rendered the signal valor of the people fruitless. Fourth. Because, notwithstanding it was well known in France that the revolution had commenced in Ireland—an event that they were previously taught to expect—no attempt whatever was made by them to land any force during the two months which the contest had lasted, nor was any account received that it was their intention even shortly to do so. Fifth. Because, that by the arrest of many of the deputies and chief agents of the Union, and by the absence of others, the funds necessary for the undertaking were obstructed or uncollected, and hence arose insurmountable difficulties. Sixth. Because, from the several defeats at New Ross and Wexford, no doubt remained on our minds that further resistance, for the present, was not only vain, but nearly abandoned. Seventh. Because we were well assured that the proclamation of amnesty issued on the 29th of June had caused great numbers to surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance. Eighth. Because juries were so packed, justice so perverted, and the testimony of the basest informers so respected, that trial was

but a mockery, and arraignment but the tocsin for execution. Ninth. Because we were convinced by the official servants of the Crown, and by the evidence given on the trials, that Government was already in possession of our external and internal transactions—the former they obtained, as we believe, through the perfidy of some agents of the French Government at Hamburg; the latter through informers who had been more or less confidential in all our affairs. Tenth, and final. Every day accounts of the murders of our most virtuous and energetic countrymen assailed our ears; many were perishing on the scaffold, under pretext of martial or other law, but many more the victims of individual Orange hatred and revenge. To stop this torrent of calamity, to preserve to Ireland her best blood . . . we determined to make a sacrifice of no trivial value—we agreed to abandon our country, our families, and our friends.

"And now we feel ourselves further called upon to declare that an act, passed in Ireland during the autumn of 1798, reciting our names, and asserting that we had 'retracted our opinions, acknowledged our crimes, and implored pardon,' is founded upon a gross and flagrant calumny—neither we, the undersigned, nor any of our fellow-prisoners, so far as we know or believe, having ever done either the one or the other; and we solemnly assert that we never were consulted about that act, its provisions, or preamble, and that no copy of it was ever sent to us by any servant of the Crown—though repeatedly promised by the under-Secretary—nor by any other person. On the the contrary, it had, unknown to us, passed the House of Commons, when one of us, (Samuel Neilson,) having seen by mere accident an abstract of it in an English newspaper, remonstrated with the servants of the Crown on the falsity of the preamble, and was silenced only by a message from the Lord-Lieutenant, that it was his positive determination to annul the agreement and *proceed with the executions*, &c., if any further notice whatever was taken of the preamble, or if one word was published on the subject. We did not conceive ourselves warranted, situated as things then were, in being instrumental to a renewal of bloodshed. We have ever since been constrained to silence, for, in violation of a solemn agreement, we have been kept *close prisoners*.

"To our country and to our posterity, we felt that we owed this declaration; and to their judgment upon our conduct and motives we bow with respectful submission."

These gentlemen were all still kept close prisoners. Three of them, Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, and Dr. MacNeven, were twice, in the course of the year 1798, brought up and examined, as already described, before secret committees of both Houses, and in April, 1799, were sent to Fort George, a strong place near Inverness, in the Highlands of Scotland, where they were kept prisoners until the peace of Amiens. The names of the Fort George prisoners were:—

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.
ARTHUR O'CONNOR,
ROGER O'CONNOR,
WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN,
JOHN SWEETMAN,
MATTHEW DOWLING,
JOHN CHAMBERS,
EDWARD HUDSON,
GEORGE CUMMING,
SAMUEL NEILSON,
THOMAS RUSSELL,
ROBERT SIMMS,
WILLIAM TENNENT,
ROBERT HUNTER,
HUGH WILSON,
JOHN SWEENY,
JOSEPH CUTHBERT,
WILLIAM STEELE DIXON,
JOSEPH CORMICK.

"We were selected," says Dr. Steele Dixon, in his narrative, "from the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, but principally from the city of Dublin and town of Belfast; we comprehended in our body three magistrates, three barristers, two physicians, one attorney, one apothecary, one printer and bookseller, one printer and proprietor of a newspaper, one dentist, one military captain, one runner to a bank, one merchant tailor, and one Presbyterian minister, with an eminent porter brewer, two wholesale merchants, one broker, and two young gentlemen without profession, trade, or calling. . . . I should have added,

a clergyman of the Church of England, as Arthur O'Connor was ordained as such previous to his being called to the bar ; and as Episcopal ordination impresses an indelible character, he not only then was, and now is, but ever must be, a *clergyman.* Of our circumstances, I shall only say, that we *had* all been *independent*, most of us *respectable*, in our professions, some possessed of large capitals in trade, and others of considerable landed property. Perhaps it may not be amiss to mention here that, as we were selected from the three principal provinces of Ireland, we were respectively members of the three principal Churches in the kingdom, and which alone Government has yet acknowledged *as Churches.* Nor is it unworthy of notice that the number of Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians in our little colony, was in an *inverse ratio* of the number of each denomination in Ireland at large. Perhaps the proportion may be stated as follows, though not correctly :—

Catholics, (two-thirds of the people,) prisoners... 4
Presbyterians, (more than one-fifth of the people,) prisoners..... 6
Protestants, (less than one-seventh of the people,) prisoners.....10

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1798.

Parliament—The Acts of Attainder—French Landing under Humbert—Killala—Conduct of the little French Army—Ballina—The Races of Castlebar—Panic and Rout of the British Force—French give a Ball—Lord Cornwallis Collects a Great Army—Marches to meet the French—Encounters them at Ballinamuck—Defeat and Capture of the French—Recovery of Ballina—Slaughter—Courts-Martial, &c.—End of the Insurrections of 1798—New French Expedition—Commodore Bompart—T. W. Tone—Encounter British Fleet at Mouth of Lough Swilly—Battle—the Hoche Captured—Tone a Prisoner—Recognized by Sir George Hill—Carried to Dublin in Irons—Tried by Court-Martial—Condemned to be Hanged—His Address to the Court—Asks as a Favor to be Shot—Refused by Cornwallis—Suicide in Prison.

In the midst of this reign of terror and of vengeance, Parliament continued to sit from time to time. Lord Castlereagh's majority in Parliament had its functions to discharge, as well as the "Major's People," in the general system of operations which were all to lead towards, and end in, the one grand point—a Legislative Union. On the 18th of July, Lord Castlereagh, after a long speech on the rebellion in general, and its atrocities, (which were all, according to him, on the part of the people,) proposed that a measure should be brought in to grant compensation to such of His Majesty's *loyal* subjects as had sustained losses in their property during the insurrection. This bill was brought in, was passed, and commissioners were appointed for carrying it into effect. On the 27th, the Attorney-General brought in a bill for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, in order that their estates might be forfeited. All efforts in opposition to this new procedure against men who were all dead and had never been convicted of any crime, proved quite fruitless. It was the informer Reynolds, who had been implicitly trusted by the unsuspecting Lord Edward, that proved the case against him, to the satisfaction of the Committee. Curran was heard in defence, on the part of Lady Pamela Fitzgerald and her children, and made a very strong argument. On the unheard-of nature of this species of proceeding, he said : "Upon the previous and important question, namely, the guilt of Lord Edward, (without the full proof of which no punishment can be just,) I have been asked by the Committee if I have any defence to go into. . . . Sir, I now answer the question : I have no defensive evidence—it is impossible that I should. I have often of late gone to the dungeon of the captive, but *never have I gone to the grave of the dead,* to receive instructions for his defence—nor, in truth, have I ever before been at the trial of a dead man." It was all in vain ; that Parliament was quite ready to make a new precedent, in order to starve the widows and children of dead rebels. The bills of Attainder passed.* Besides these, the Parliament was busy with its "Fugitive bill," and its "Banishment bill," excepting from all

* A remnant of Lord Edward's property was saved for his widow by Mr. Ogilvie, Lord Edward's stepfather, who bought it when sold in Chancery to satisfy a mortgage. But what was saved was a trifle; and Lady Pamela died in poverty. As to Mr. Grogan, who possessed a large estate, Sir Jonah Barrington says :—

"This Attainder bill was one of the most illegal

amnesty certain United Irishmen not then in the country, and certain others who were to be allowed to exile themselves. These two lists comprehend one hundred and forty names, including Napper Tandy, Wolfe Tone, Richard McCormick, Dean Swift, Lewins, Emmet, Neilson, O'Connor, &c.; and all the names may be found in one of the appendixes of Madden. The last-named gentlemen, indeed, before their banishment, had some years to pass in the dreary fortress of Fort George.

The whole country was still under martial-law; many were suffering the extreme penalty, and that wholesome feeling, called by Barrington "an impression of horror," was sufficiently prevalent for all the purposes of Mr. Pitt, when his policy was materially served by a new and most pitiful French invasion, which came too late to serve Ireland, but was in admirable time to help England.

Fortunately for England, and, therefore, unhappily for Ireland, the French Republic was, during the year 1798, in its most helpless and chaotic condition. Napoleon was in Egypt; and the miserable Directory, with neither money nor credit, was lamentably unequal to the exigencies of the time. Wolfe Tone was still in France. As the news of each arrest, and of each action, successively reached France, he urged the generals and Government to assist the gallant and desperate struggle of his countrymen, and pressed on them the necessity of availing themselves of the favorable opportunity which flew so rapidly by. They began their preparations without delay; but money, arms, ammunition, and ships, all were wanting. By the close of June, the insurrection was nearly crushed, and it was not till the beginning of July that Tone was called up to Paris, to consult with the Ministers of the War and Navy Departments on the organization of a new expedition. At this period his journal closes, and the subsequent events are elsewhere recorded.

The plan of the new expedition was to dispatch small detatchments from several ports, in the hope of keeping up the insurrection, and distracting the attention of the enemy, until some favorable opportunity should occur for landing the main body, under General Kilmaine. General Humbert, with about one thousand men, was quartered for this purpose at Rochelle; General Hardy, with three thousand, at Brest; and Kilmaine, with nine thousand, remained in reserve. This plan was judicious enough, if it had been taken up in time. But, long before the first of these expeditions was ready to sail, the insurrection was subdued in every quarter.

The indignation of the unfortunate Irish was just and extreme against that French Government, which had so repeatedly promised them aid, and now appeared to desert them in their utmost need.

A miserable expedition, at the instance of Napper Tandy, was at length fitted out, of which Tone's son thus speaks :—

"The final ruin of the expedition was hurried by the precipitancy and indiscretion of a brave but ignorant and imprudent officer. This anecdote, which is not generally known, is a striking instance of the disorder, indiscipline, and disorganization which began to prevail in the French army. Humbert, a gallant soldier of fortune, but whose heart was better than his head, impatient of the delays of his Government, and fired by the recitals of the Irish refugees, determined to begin the enterprise on his own responsibility, and thus oblige the Directory to second or to abandon him."

With three or four ships, about one thousand men, and a small force of artillery—without instructions, and without any assurance of being supported, he compelled the captains to select for the most desperate attempt which is, perhaps, recorded in history. Three Irishmen accompanied him, Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, of Lisburn, and Sullivan, nephew to Madgett, whose name is often mentioned in Tone's memoirs. On the 22d of August they made the coast of Connaught, and landing in the Bay of Killala, immediately stormed and occupied that little town.

The Protestant Bishop of Killala was

and unconstitutional acts ever promoted by any government; but after much more than £10,000 costs to Crown officers, and to Lord Norbury, as Attorney-General, had been extracted from the property, the estates were restored to the surviving brother."

The surviving brother had fought on the royalist side during the insurrection.

then at his house, called the Castle, and there was with him a company of parsons, holding a visitation. It is from his narrative that we learn the details; and he especially bears witness to the excellent conduct of the French, both officers and men; although his testimony to this effect was "at the expense of his own translation"*

The French entered the bay under English colors; and the feint succeeded so well that two of the bishop's sons, with the Port-Surveyor, took a fishing-boat and went out with the intention of going on board one of the ships; they were presently surprised to find themselves prisoners. Between seven and eight, a terrified messenger came and told the bishop that the French were landed, and that near three hundred of them were within a mile of the town. The cavalry officers rode off directly, in full speed, with the intelligence to Ballina. The yeomanry and fencibles drew up before the castle-gate, and resolutely advanced into the main street to meet the French advance-guard.

Borne down by numbers, and seeing two of their corps fall, they were seized with a panic, and fled. Kirkwood and nineteen yeomen were taken, and ordered into close custody at the castle. All opposition being now at an end, the French General marched into the castle-yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see the bishop, who, fortunately, was conversant with the French language. Humbert desired him to be under no apprehension for himself or his people; they should be treated with respectful attention, and nothing should be taken by the French troops but what was absolutely necessary for their support; a promise which, as long as those troops continued in Killala, was most religiously observed.

Mr. Kirkwood was examined, as to the supplies that could be drawn from the town and neighborhood to assist the progress of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by some Irish officers, who came with the French, to which he answered with such an appearance of frankness and candor, that he gained the esteem of the French General, who told him he was on his parole, and should have full permission to return to his family, and attend to his private affairs. The conjugal affection of this gentleman on the next day made him forget his parole, and go to attend his sick wife, who, from the dread of the enemy, had secreted herself in the mountains. Enraged at this breach of parole, the French took everything they wanted out of his stores—oats, salt, and iron, to a considerable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling-house, as they would have done if he had not fled; so that when he returned he found it a wreck.

The bishop's castle was made the head-quarters of the French General. But such excellent discipline was constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in Killala, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach, presented to them—a side-board of plate and glasses, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great-coats, as well of the guests as of the family—not one single article of private property was carried away.

On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by pushing forward to Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he had mounted on the best horses he could seize. A green flag was mounted over the castle-gate, with the inscription *Erin go Bragh*, importing to invite the country people to join the French. Their cause was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the meantime, whatever was bought was paid for in drafts on the future Directory.

Though cash was wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good to a considerable extent. The first that offered their service received complete clothing to the amount of about a thousand. The next comers, at least as many, received arms and clothing, but no shoes and stockings. To the last, arms only were given. And of arms, Colonel Charost assured the bishop, five thousand and five hundred stand were delivered.

* Sir J. Barrington. *Rise and Fall, &c.*

The Right Rev. narrator thus describes the little army of invaders :—

"Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline ; yet, if you except the grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low, their complexion pale and sallow, their clothes much the worse for the wear ; to a superficial observer they would have appeared almost incapable of enduring any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no cover but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had served in Italy, under Buonaparte, the rest were from the Army of the Rhine."

The French, and the Irish officers who accompanied them, did not find the Connaught people so well prepared to receive them, nor so well organized, as they had hoped and expected. The general insurrection which was just suppressed had not penetrated into Mayo at all ; yet the bishop mentions some circumstances to show that the landing was not unexpected by the peasantry of those parts. At any rate, a French flag displayed anywhere in Ireland, was sure to attract the fighting part of the population around it—as, indeed, the same phenomenon would do at this day. The bishop, whose professional prejudices may lead him to exaggerate a little, gives a curious account of the astonishment of the French when they found their Irish allies were devout Catholics—as if they had not known this before ; he says :—

"The contrast with regard to religious sentiments between the French and their Irish allies was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot ; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men who boasted openly in our hearing, that they had just driven Mr. Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland. It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their services, declare, that they were come to take arms for France and the Blessed Virgin."

Humbert left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the possession of two hundred men and six officers, and on the 25th, about seven o'clock in the evening, took possession of Ballina, from whence the garrison fled on his approach. Here he left behind him an officer named True, with a very small part of the French and several of the Irish recruits. Humbert was sensible of the advantage of pushing forward with vigor, and a rapid progress into the interior could alone bring the natives to his standard. At Ballina many hundred peasants repaired to the French standard, and with eagerness received arms and uniforms. The French commander determined to attack the forces at Castlebar, and began his march on the morning of the 26th, with eight hundred of his own men, and less than fifteen hundred Irish.

There was then in Castlebar an army of six thousand men, under command of General Lake, including some fine militia regiments, with the Marquis of Ormond, General Lord Hutchinson, the Earls of Longford and Granard, and Lord Roden, with his boasted regiment of cavalry, called the "Foxhunters," who had shown themselves capable of at least riding down flying and disarmed peasants in Meath and Kildare. It was a force with which General Lake reasonably enough thought he should give a good account of eight hundred French and some raw levies of Connaught men. The English commander expected the French to advance by the high road leading to Castlebar ; but Humbert, having good guides, took the way over the pass of Barnagee, westward, and so appeared, early in the morning, not precisely at the point where he was looked for.

General Lake with his staff had just arrived and taken command, (as an elder officer,) as Lord Hutchinson had determined to march the ensuing day and end the question, by a capture of the French detachment. The change of commanders had occasioned discontent and demoralization amongst the troops ; at least that is one of the reasons or excuses which loyalist writers have been

fain to allege for the shameful conduct of the British force in the action which followed. Plowden says, on this subject :—

"There is no question but that a very serious difference happened previous to the disgraceful action at Castlebar, between General (now Lord) Hutchinson and General Lake ; and that the army in general was strongly affected by the former's having been superseded in his command by the latter. General Hutchinson was acquainted with every inch of the country, and had prepared an able and efficient plan for stopping the progress of the enemy ; he commanded alike the confidence of the army and the affections of the natives. As cruelty and cowardice are ever inseparable, it was unlikely that troops, which had debased themselves by massacring the fugitive, surrendered or unoffending, by burning their houses and destroying their property, by torturing, strangling, and flogging the suspected to extort confessions, should, when left to themselves, or under the command of the promoter of that savage warfare, bravely face an enemy, upon whom they dared not exercise their wonted atrocities."

However that might be, on the appearance of the French and Irish deploying from the pass of Barnagee, Sir Jonah Barrington describes thus the singular action that followed :—

"The troops were moved to a position, about a mile from Castlebar, which, to an unskilled person, seemed unassailable. They had scarcely been posted, with nine pieces of cannon, when the French appeared on the opposite side of a small lake, descending the hill in columns, directly in front of the English. Our artillery played on them with effect. The French kept up a scattered fire of musketry, and took up the attention of our army by irregular movements. In half an hour, however, our troops were alarmed by a movement of small bodies to turn their left, which, being covered by walls, they had never apprehended. The orders given were either mistaken or misbelieved ; the line wavered, and, in a few minutes, the whole of the royal army was completely routed ; the flight of the infantry was as that of a mob, all the royal artillery was taken, our army fled to Castlebar, the heavy cavalry galloped amongst the infantry and Lord Jocelyn's Light Dragoons, and made the best of their way, through thick and thin, to Castlebar, and towards Tuam, pursued by such of the French as could get horses to carry them.

"About nine hundred French and some peasants took possession of Castlebar, without resistance, except from a few Highlanders, stationed in the town, who were soon destroyed."

So violent was the panic of the British, that they never halted till they reached Tuam, forty miles from the field of battle. They lost the whole of their artillery—fourteen pieces—five stand of colors, and in killed, wounded, and prisoners, eighteen officers and three hundred and fifty men—but the French calculated the loss of the enemy at six hundred. The fugitives renewed their march, or rather flight, from Tuam on the same night, and proceeded to Athlone, where an officer of Carbineers with sixty of his men arrived at one o'clock, on Tuesday, the 29th, having performed a march of above seventy English miles—the distance of Athlone from Castlebar — in twenty-seven hours. The whole battle and rout are familiarly known to this day in Connaught, as the "*Races of Castlebar*."

The French having thus easily possessed themselves of the county town of Mayo, immediately gave a ball and supper. Sir Jonah Barrington says :—

"The native character of the French never showed itself more strongly than after this action. When in full possession of the large town of Castlebar, they immediately set about putting their persons in the best order, and the officers advertised a ball and supper that night, for the ladies of the town ; this, it is said, was well attended ; decorum in all points was strictly preserved ; they paid ready money for everything ; in fact, the French army established the French character wherever they occupied."

But they thought of something else besides amusement. With that love of order which is a distinguishing trait of their nation, they established districts, each under its own elected magistrate ; they repressed any disposition which showed itself on the part of the people to maltreat the loyalist inhabitants, if, indeed, such disposition ex-

isted, as the bishop affirms. A provincial government was at once established, with Mr. Moore, of Moore Hall, as President, and proclamations were issued in the name of the "Irish Republic."

From the terror which this handful of French troops inspired, we may form some idea of the effects which might have followed the landing of even Humbert's little force anywhere in the south of Ireland, while the Wexford men were gallantly holding their own county ; or we may conjecture what might have been the result if Humbert had brought with him ten thousand men instead of one thousand, even, in that month of August, crushed as the people had been by the savage suppression of their insurrection ;—or, if Grouchy had marched inland with his six thousand men, at the moment when the people were eager to begin the rising, and the English had but three thousand regular troops in the island. It seemed as if England were destined to have all the luck, and either by favor of the elements or the miscalculations of her enemies, to escape, one after another, the deadly perilst hat forever beset her empire.

As it was, this arrival of Humbert, even followed by so brilliant a victory, was really so much profit to the British Government. Barrington truly remarks :—

"The defeat of Castlebar, however, was a victory to the Viceroy ; it revived all the horrors of the rebellion which had been subsiding, and the desertion of the militia regiments tended to impress the gentry with an idea that England alone could protect the country."

The Marquis Cornwallis determined to collect a great army, and march in imposing force ; but he did not hasten his movements so much as it was thought he might have done ; and, in the meantime, the French and insurgents were profiting by the delay. It was said that forty thousand of the Westmeath people were preparing to assemble at the Crooked Wood, in that county, so as to join the French on their passage, and march on the metropolis.

At length, the Marquis was ready ; and having assured himself of the presence of twenty thousand men on his line of march, he thought himself strong enough to encounter the eight hundred audacious Frenchmen and their Irish allies. These latter were by no means increasing, but rather diminishing since the day of Castlebar ; and indeed, at no time exceeded two thousand men —a circumstance which greatly surprised and disgusted the French.

The Marquis proceeded on the 30th of August on the road to Castlebar, and arrived on the 4th of September at Hollymount, fourteen miles distant from Castlebar ; in the evening of that day he received intelligence, that the enemy had abandoned his post, and marched to Foxford.

The advanced guard of the French having arrived at Coloony, was opposed on the 5th by Colonel Vereker, of the city of Limerick militia, who had marched from Sligo for the purpose, with about two hundred infantry, thirty of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Light Dragoons, and two curricle guns. After a smart action of about an hour's continuance, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of his artillery, to Sligo.

This opposition, though attended with defeat to the opposers, is supposed to have caused the French General to relinquish his design on Sligo. He directed his march by Drumnahair towards Manorhamilton, in the County of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six-pounders dismounted, and throwing five pieces more of artillery over the bridge at Drumnahair, into the river. In approaching Manorhamilton he suddenly wheeled to the right, taking his way by Drumkerin, perhaps with design of attempting, if possible, to reach Granard, in the County of Longford, where an insurrection had taken place. Crawford's troops hung so close on the rearguard of the French, as to come to action with it on the 7th, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, in which action they were repulsed with some loss, and admonished to observe more caution in the pursuit.

The French army passing the Shannon at Ballintra, and halting some hours in the night at Claone, arrived at Ballinamuck, County Longford, on the 8th of September, so closely followed by the troops of Colonel Crawford and General Lake, that its rearguard was unable to break the bridge at Ballintra, to impede the pursuit ; while

Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army, crossed the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown, in the County of Longford, in order to intercept the enemy in front, on his way to Granard; or, should he proceed, to surround him with an army of thirty thousand men. In this desperate situation, Humbert arranged his forces, with no other object, as it must be presumed, than to maintain the honor of the French arms. The rear-guard having been attacked by Colonel Crawford, about two hundred of the French infantry surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves for above half an hour, when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they also surrendered, after they had made Lord Roden, with a body of dragoons, a prisoner. His lordship had precipitately advanced into the French lines to obtain their surrender. The Irish insurgents who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with the slaughter of about five hundred men, which seems much less to exceed the truth than the returns of slain in the south-eastern parts of the island. About one thousand five hundred insurgents were with the French army at Ballinamuck, at the time of the surrender of Humbert. The loss of the King's troops was officially stated at three privates killed, twelve wounded, three missing, and one officer wounded. The troops of General Humbert were found, when prisoners, to consist of seven hundred and forty-six privates, and ninety-six officers, having sustained a loss of about two hundred men since their landing at Killala on the 22d of August.

Vengeful executions began on the field of battle. It appears that, on the day of the "Races of Castlebar," a considerable part of the Louth and Kilkenny regiments, not finding it convenient to retreat, thought the next best thing they could do would be to join the victors, which they immediately did, and in one hour were completely equipped as French riflemen. About ninety of those men were hung by Lord Cornwallis at Ballinamuck. One of them defended himself by insisting "that it was the army, and not he, who were deserters; that whilst he was fighting hard they all ran away, and left him to be murdered."

A Mr. Blake, who had been an officer in the British army, was also executed on the field. Bartholomew Teeling and Matthew Tone (brother of Theobald Wolfe Tone) were among the prisoners, and were both executed within a few days in Dublin. Mr. Moore, President of the Provincial Government, which had been instituted at Castlebar, was one of the prisoners at Ballinamuck, and was sentenced to banishment. Roger Maguire, one of the leaders of the Irish insurgents, was transported, and his father, a brewer, was hung.

The small French garrison which had been left in Killala still occupied that place, and great part of North Connaught continued in insurrection.

On the 22d of September, thirty-two days after the landing of the French army, and fifteen after its capture at Ballinamuck, a large body of troops arrived at Killala, under the command of Major-General Trench, who would have been still some days later in his arrival, had he not been hastened by a message from the bishop, to announce the fearful apprehensions his lordship's family and the other loyalists were under.

The bishop's narrative of what followed indicates that the recovery of this place by the British forces was a scene rather of indiscriminate massacre than of combat. He describes how "a troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina, women and children, tumbled over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army."

There was, however, a momentary resistance.

The insurgents quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, and posted themselves under the low stone-walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the King's troops. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench

had divided his forces at Crosmolina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Crosbie and Maurice Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry, their Colonel, the Earl of Glandore, attending the General.

The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the insurgents could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these people fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears.

The attempt at resistance lasted twenty minutes, when the insurgents scattered in two directions, some into the town where they were shot down in the streets, some along the shore of the bay, where they were enfiladed by a gun placed in position for that purpose.

The court-martial began the day after, and sat in the house of Mr. Morrison. They had to try not less than seventy-five prisoners at Killala, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, besides those who might be brought in daily. The two first persons tried at this tribunal were General Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke. The trial of these two gentlemen was short. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hung the next morning in the park behind the castle.

So ended the last of the series of partial insurrections in Ireland in the year 1798. Little reliance is to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the several engagements and encounters. According to the most probable accounts to be had from the War Office, the number of the army lost in this rebellion amounts in the whole to nineteen thousand seven hundred men; and according to the general Government accounts of the total loss of the insurgents, it exceeded fifty thousand, without including women and children, great numbers of whom were shot down by the yeomanry, or burned in their own houses. The mere loss of life, too, gives but a faint idea of the sufferings endured by the poor people. Many hundreds had been put to the torture, and lacerated by cruel scourging to extort information. Never, perhaps, was any national insurrection in the world so savagely crushed; never was insurrection so thoroughly justified by the oppression which provoked it; and never were chiefs of any insurrection more pure in their motives, more gallant, honorable, and self-sacrificing, than those whose bodies were now swinging upon gibbets, whose heads were grinning upon spikes, or who were languishing in various prisons, to expiate the crime of loving their country and hating its oppressors.

The policy of Mr. Pitt was now in full operation; and the "impression of horror" was strong and deep; indeed, the plans of the Minister were rather aided by the driftless and helpless French expeditions, which the imbecile government of the Directory sent to help the insurgents, but which came too late, and arrived at the wrong places. Before narrating the measures of the Government with a view to the Legislative Union, it is necessary to tell how it fared with Theobald Wolfe Tone. The founder of the United Irish Society was not a man to evade the consequences and responsibilities of his own acts, nor to take his ease in France, where he held a high commission in the army, while his comrades were perishing on the field or on the gallows. He never for one moment relaxed his efforts to effect the great task of his life; which was to bring an adequate force of Frenchmen into Ireland, and so to stop and to punish the shocking atrocities, of which every new report tortured his soul.

The news of Humbert's attempt, as may well be imagined, threw the Directory into the greatest perplexity. They instantly de-

termined, however, to hurry all their preparations, and send off at least the division of General Hardy, to second his efforts, as soon as possible. The report of his first advantages, which shortly reached them, augmented their ardor and accelerated their movements. But such was the state of the French navy and arsenals, that it was not until the 20th of September that this small expedition, consisting of one sail of the line and eight frigates, under Commodore Bompart, and three thousand men, under General Hardy, was ready for sailing. The news of Humbert's defeat had not yet reached France.

Paris was then crowded with Irish emigrants, eager for action. Some Irishmen embarked before Bompart, in a small and fast-sailing vessel, with Napper Tandy at their head. They reached, on the 16th of September, the Isle of Raghlin, on the north coast of Ireland, where they heard of Humbert's disaster; they merely spread some proclamations, and escaped to Norway. Three Irishmen only accompanied Tone in Hardy's flotilla; he alone was embarked in the Admiral's vessel, the Hoche, the others were on board the frigates. These were Mr. T. Corbett, and MacGuire, two brave officers, who afterwards died in the French service, and a third gentleman, connected by marriage with his friend Russell.

At the period of this expedition, Tone was hopeless of its success, and in the deepest despondency at the prospect of Irish affairs. Such was the wretched indiscretion of the Government, that before his departure, he read himself, in the *Bien Informé*, a Paris newspaper, a detailed account of the whole armament, where his own name was mentioned in full letters, with the circumstance of his being on board the Hoche. There was, therefore, no hope of secresy. He had all along deprecated the idea of those attempts on a small scale. But he had also declared, repeatedly, that, if the Government sent only a corporal's guard, he felt it his duty to go along with them; he saw no chance of Kilmaine's large expedition being ready in any reasonable time, and, therefore, determined to accompany Hardy. His resolution was, however, deliberately taken, in case he fell into the hands of the enemy, never to suffer the indignity of a public execution. And his son, William Theobald Wolfe Tone, informs us that he had expressed himself to this effect "at dinner, in our own house, and in my mother's presence, a little before leaving Paris." *

At length, about the 20th of September, 1798, that fatal expedition set sail from the Bay de Camaret. It consisted of the Hoche, seventy-four; Loire, Resolue, Bellone, Coquille, Embuscade, Immortalité, Romaine, and Semillante, frigates; and Biche, schooner, and aviso. To avoid the British fleets, Bompart, an excellent seaman, took a large sweep to the westward, and then to the northeast, in order to bear down on the northern coast of Ireland, from the quarter whence a French force would be least expected. He met, however, with contrary winds, and it appears that his flotilla was scattered; for, on the 10th of October, after twenty days' cruise, he arrived off the entry of Loch Swilly, with the Hoche, the Loire, the Resolue, and the Biche. He was instantly signalled, and, on the break of day, next morning, 11th of October, before he could enter the bay or land his troops, he perceived the squadron of Sir John Borlase Warren, consisting of six sail of the line, one razee of sixty guns, and two frigates, bearing down upon him. There was no chance of escape for the large and heavy man-of-war. Bompart gave instant signals to the frigates and schooner to retreat through shallow water, and prepared alone to honor the flag of his country and liberty, by a desperate but hopeless defence. At that moment, a boat came from the Biche for his last orders. That ship had the best chance to get off. The French officers all supplicated Tone to embark on board of her. "Our contest is hopeless," they observed, "we will be prisoners of war, but what will become of you?" "Shall it be said," replied he, "that I fled, whilst the French were fighting the battles of my country?" He refused their offers, and determined to stand and fall with the ship. The Biche accomplished her escape.

The British Admiral dispatched two men-

* *Memoirs of Wolfe Tone;* by his son. Published in Washington. The English edition is much mutilated.

of-war, the razee and a frigate, after the Loire and Resolue, and the Hoche was soon surrounded by four sail of the line and a frigate, and began one of the most obstinate and desperate engagements which have ever been fought on the ocean. During six hours, she sustained the fire of a whole fleet, till her masts and rigging were swept away, her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cock-pit, her shattered ribs yawned at each new stroke, and let in five feet of water in the hold, her rudder was carried off, and she floated a dismantled wreck on the waters; her sails and cordage hung in shreds, nor could she reply with a single gun from her dismounted batteries to the unabating cannonade of the enemy. At length, she struck. The Resolue and Loire were soon reached by the English fleet; the former was in a sinking condition; she made, however, an honorable defence; the Loire sustained three attacks, drove off the English frigates, and had almost effected her escape; at length, engaged by the Anson, razee of sixty guns, she struck, after an action of three hours, entirely dismasted. Of the other frigates, pursued in all directions, the Bellone, Immortalité, Coquille, and Embuscade were taken, and the Romaine and Semillante, through a thousand dangers, reached separate ports in France.

During the action, Tone commanded one of the batteries, and, according to the report of the officers who returned to France, fought with the utmost desperation, and as if he was courting death. When the ship struck, confounded with the other officers, he was not recognized for some time; for he had completely acquired the language and appearance of a Frenchman. The two fleets were dispersed in every direction, nor was it till some days later that the Hoche was brought into Loch Swilly, and the prisoners landed and marched to Letterkenny. Yet rumors of his being on board must have been circulated, for the fact was public at Paris. But it was thought he had been killed in the action. It was, at length, a gentleman well-known in the County Derry as a leader of the Orange party, and one of the chief magistrates in that neighborhood, Sir George Hill, who had been his fellow-student in Trinity College, and knew his person, who undertook the task of discovering him. It is known that in Spain, grandees and noblemen of the first rank pride themselves in the functions of familiars, spies, and informers of the Holy Inquisition; it remained for Ireland to offer a similar example. The French officers were invited to breakfast with the Earl of Cavan, who commanded in that district. Tone sat undistinguished amongst them, when Sir George Hill entered the room, followed by police officers. Looking narrowly at the company, he singled out the object of his search, and, stepping up to him, said, "Mr. Tone, I am *very happy* to see you." Instantly rising, with the utmost composure, he replied, "Sir George, I am happy to see you; how is Lady Hill and your family?" * Beckoned into the next room by the police officers, an unexpected indignity awaited him. It was filled with military, and one General Lavau, who commanded them, ordered him to be ironed, declaring that, as on leaving Ireland, to enter the French service, he had not renounced his oath of allegiance, he remained a subject of Britain, and should be punished as a traitor. Seized with a momentary burst of indignation at such unworthy treatment and cowardly cruelty to a prisoner of war, he flung off his uniform, and cried, "These fetters shall never degrade the revered insignia of the free nation which I have served." Resuming then his usual calm, he offered his limbs to the irons, and 'when they were fixed, he exclaimed, "For the cause which I have embraced, I feel prouder to wear these chains than if I were decorated with the star and garter of England."

From Letterkenny he was hurried to Dublin without delay. Contrary to usual custom, he was conveyed, during the whole route, fettered and on horseback, under an escort of dragoons. The escort was composed of Cambridgeshire yeomanry cavalry, and commanded by a Captain Thackeray, af-

* Dr. Madden points out that this Sir George Hill was a regular secret agent of the Government, and quotes several payments made to him—and through him to other agents — out of the Secret Service money. See accounts of Secret Service money in Madden's work.

terwards a clergyman and Rector of Dundalk. He often, long afterwards, described this journey, and said that Tone was the most delightful companion he ever traveled with.

Though the reign of terror was drawing to a close, and Lord Cornwallis had restored some appearance of legal order and regular administration in the kingdom, a prisoner of such importance to the Irish Protestant Ascendancy party, as the founder and leader of the United Irish Society, and the most formidable of their adversaries, was not to be trusted to the delays and common forms of law. Though the Court of King's Bench was then sitting, preparations were instantly made for trying him summarily before a court-martial. It has been erroneously stated that Tone imagined his French commission would be a protection to him, and that he pleaded it on his trial. He never, indeed, was legally condemned; for, though a subject of the Crown, (not of Britain, but of Ireland,) he was not a military man in that kingdom; he had taken no military oath, and, of course, the court-martial which tried him had no power to pronounce on his case, which belonged to the regular criminal tribunals. But his heart was sunk in despair at the total failure of his hopes, and he did not wish to survive them. To die with honor was his only wish, and his only request to be shot like a soldier. For this purpose he preferred himself to be tried by a court-martial, and proffered his French commission, not to defend his life, but as a proof of his rank, as he stated himself on his trial.

If further proof were required that he was perfectly aware of his fate, according to the English law, his own journals, written during the Bantry Bay expedition, afford an incontestible one. (*See Journal of December* 26, 1796.) "If we are taken, my fate will not be a mild one; the best I can expect is to be shot as an *emigré rentré*, unless I have the good fortune to be killed in the action; for, most assuredly, if the enemy will have us, he must fight for us. Perhaps I may be reserved for a trial, for the sake of striking terror into others, in which case I shall be hanged as a traitor, and emboweled, &c. As to the emboweling, '*Je m'en fiche.*' If ever they hang me, they are welcome to embowel me if they please. These are pleasant prospects! Nothing on earth could sustain me now but the consciousness that I am engaged in a just and righteous cause."

Tone appeared before this Court in the uniform of a *Chef de Brigade* (Colonel.) The firmness and cool serenity of his whole deportment gave to the awe-struck assembly the measure of his soul. Nor could his bitterest enemies, whatever they deemed of his political principles, and of the necessity of striking a great example, deny him the praise of determination and magnanimity.

The members of the Court having taken the usual oath, the Judge Advocate proceeded to inform the prisoner that the court-martial, before which he stood, was appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant of the kingdom, to try whether he had or had not acted traitorously against His Majesty, to whom, as a natural-born subject, he owed all allegiance, from the very fact of his being born in the kingdom. And, according to the usual form, he called upon him to plead guilty or not guilty.

The prisoner admitted all the facts, "stripping the charge of its technical word *traitorously*." He would make no defence, and give no trouble, but asked leave to read an address, giving his own account of his conduct. This address is given at full length in his son's memoir, and is in these words:—

"*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Court-martial*—I mean not to give you the trouble of bringing judicial proof to convict me legally of having acted in hostility to the Government of His Britannic Majesty in Ireland. I admit the fact. From my earliest youth, I have regarded the connection between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation; and felt convinced that, whilst it lasted, this country could never be free nor happy. My mind has been confirmed in this opinion by the experience of every succeeding year, and the conclusions which I have drawn from every fact before my eyes. In consequence, I determined to apply all the powers which my individual efforts could move, in order to separate the two countries.

"That Ireland was not able, of herself, to throw off the yoke, I knew. I, therefore, sought for aid wherever it was to be found. In honorable poverty I rejected offers, which, to a man in my circumstances, might be considered highly advantageous. I remained faithful to what I thought the cause of my country, and sought in the French Republic an ally to rescue three millions of my countrymen, from—" . . . . . .

The President here interrupted the prisoner, observing, that this language was neither relevant to the charge, nor such as ought to be delivered in a public court. One member said, it seemed calculated only to inflame the minds of a certain description of people, (the United Irishmen,) many of whom might probably be present; and that, therefore, the Court ought not to suffer it. The Judge Advocate said, he thought, that if Mr. Tone meant this paper to be laid before His Excellency, in way of *extenuation*, it must have quite a contrary effect, if any of the foregoing part was suffered to remain.

Tone—"I shall urge this topic no further, since it seems disagreeable to the Court; but shall proceed to read the few words which remain."

General Loftus—"If the remainder of your address, Mr. Tone, is of the same complexion with what you have already read, will you not hesitate for a moment in proceeding, since you have learned the opinion of the Court?"

Tone—"I believe there is nothing in what remains for me to say, which can give any offence. I mean to express my feelings and gratitude towards the Catholic body, in whose cause I was engaged."

General Loftus—"That seems to have nothing to say to the charge against you, to which only you are to speak. If you have anything to offer in defence or extenuation of that charge, the Court will hear you; but they beg that you will confine yourself to that subject."

Tone—"I shall, then, confine myself to some points relative to my connection with the French army. Attached to no party in the French Republic, without interest, without money, without intrigue, the openness and integrity of my views raised me to a high and confidential rank in its armies. I obtained the confidence of the Executive Directory, the approbation of my generals, and, I venture to add, the esteem and affection of my brave comrades. When I review these circumstances, I feel a secret and internal consolation which no reverse of fortune, no sentence in the power of this Court to inflict can ever deprive me of, or weaken in, any degree. Under the flag of the French Republic I originally engaged, with a view to save and liberate my own country. For that purpose, I have encountered the chances of war amongst strangers; for that purpose, I have repeatedly braved the terrors of the ocean, covered, as I knew it to be, with the triumphant fleets of that power, which it was my glory and my duty to oppose. I have sacrificed all my views in life; I have courted poverty; I have left a beloved wife unprotected, and children, whom I adored, fatherless. After such sacrifices, in a cause which I have always conscientiously considered as the cause of justice and freedom—it is no great effort at this day, to add, 'the sacrifice of my life.'

"But I hear it said, that this unfortunate country has been a prey to all sorts of horrors. I sincerely lament it. I beg, however, it may be remembered, that I have been absent four years from Ireland. To me, these sufferings can never be attributed. I designed, by fair and open war, to procure the separation of the two countries. For open war I was prepared; but if, instead of that, a system of private assassination has taken place, I repeat, while I deplore it, that it is not chargeable on me. Atrocities, it seems, have been committed on both sides. I do not less deplore them; I detest them from my heart; and to those who know my character and sentiments, I may safely appeal for the truth of this assertion. With them, I need no justification.

"In a cause like this, success is everything. Success, in the eyes of the vulgar, fixes its merits. Washington succeeded, and Kosciusko failed.

"After a combat nobly sustained, a combat which would have excited the respect and sympathy of a generous enemy, my fate was to become a prisoner. To the eternal

disgrace of those who gave the order, I was brought hither in irons, like a felon. I mention this for the sake of others; for me, I am indifferent to it; I am aware of the fate which awaits me, and scorn equally the tone of complaint and that of supplication.

"As to the connection between this country and Great Britain, I repeat it, all that has been imputed to me, words, writings, and actions, I here deliberately avow. I have spoken and acted with reflection, and on principle, and am ready to meet the consequences. Whatever be the sentence of this Court, I am prepared for it. Its members will surely discharge their duty; I shall take care not to be wanting to mine."

This speech was pronounced in a tone so magnanimous, so full of noble and calm serenity, as seemed deeply and visibly to affect all its hearers, the members of the Court not excepted. A pause ensued of some continuance, and silence reigned in the hall, till interrupted by Tone himself, who inquired, whether it was not usual to assign an interval between the sentence and execution? The Judge Advocate answered, that the voices of the Court would be collected without delay, and the result transmitted forthwith to the Lord-Lieutenant. If the prisoner, therefore, had any observations to make, now was the moment.

Tone—"I wish to offer a few words relative to one single point—to the mode of punishment. In France, our *Emigrés*, who stand nearly in the same situation in which I suppose I now stand before you, are condemned to be shot. I ask, that the Court should adjudge me the death of a soldier, and let me be shot by a platoon of grenadiers. I request this indulgence, rather in consideration of the uniform which I wear, the uniform of a *Chef de Brigade* in the French army, than from any personal regard to myself. In order to evince my claim to this favor, I beg that the Court may take the trouble to peruse my commission and letters of service in the French army. It will appear from these papers, that I have not received them as a mask to cover me, but that I have been long and *bona fide* an officer in the French service.

Judge Advocate—"You must feel that the papers you allude to, will serve as undeniable proofs against you."

Tone—"Oh!—*I know it well*—I have already admitted the facts, and I now admit the papers as full proofs of conviction."

The papers were then examined; they consisted of a brevet of *Chef de Brigade*, from the Directory, signed by the Minister of War; of a letter of service, granting him the rank of Adjutant-General; and of a passport.

General Loftus—"In these papers you are designated as serving in the Army of England."

Tone—"I did serve in that army, when it was commanded by Buonaparte, by Desaix, and by Kilmaine, who is, as I am, an Irishman. But I have served elsewhere."

General Loftus observed, that the Court would, undoubtedly, submit to the Lord-Lieutenant the address which he had read to them, and, also, the subject of his last demand. In transmitting the address, he, however, took care to efface all that part of it which he would not allow to be read. Lord Cornwallis refused the last demand of the prisoner, and he was sentenced to die the death of a traitor, in forty-eight hours, on the 12th of November. This cruelty he had foreseen; for England, from the days of Llewellyn of Wales, and Wallace of Scotland, to those of Tone and Napoleon, has never shown mercy or generosity to a fallen enemy. He, then, in perfect coolness and self-possession, determined to execute his purpose, and anticipate their sentence.

The sentence upon Tone, pronounced by a court-martial, was obviously illegal; and so every lawyer knew it to be. But the people looked on as if in stupor. The son of Tone has truly described the condition of Dublin at that moment:—

"No man dared to trust his next neighbor, nor one of the pale citizens to betray, by look or word, his feelings or sympathy. The terror which prevailed in Paris, under the rule of the Jacobins, or in Rome, during the proscriptions of Marius, Sylla, and the Triumviri, and under the reigns of Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, and Domitian, was never deeper or more universal than that of Ireland, at this fatal and shameful period. It was, in short, the feeling which made the people, soon after, passively acquiesce in the Union, and in the extinction of their

name as a nation. Of the numerous friends of my father, and of those who had shared in his political principles and career, some had perished on the scaffold, others rotted in dungeons, and the remainder dreaded, by the slightest mark of recognition, to be involved in his fate."

But there was one friend of the gallant prisoner who was determined that the law of the land should at least be invoked, and one effort made to rescue this noble Irishman from the jaws of death. The friend was John Philpot Curran. He believed that by moving the Court of King's Bench to assert its jurisdiction some delay might be interposed — the French Government might threaten to retaliate upon some important prisoner of war—the case might thus become a political and not a criminal one, and, in the end, either through threats of retaliation, or by an arrangement with the British Government, Tone might be saved.

On the next day, November 12th, (the day fixed for his execution,) the scene in the Court of King's Bench was awful and impressive to the highest degree. As soon as it opened, Curran advanced, leading the aged father of Tone, who produced his affidavit that his son had been brought before a bench of officers, calling itself a court-martial, and sentenced to death. "I do not pretend," said Curran, "that Mr. Tone is not guilty of the charges of which he is accused. I presume the officers were honorable men. But it is stated in this affidavit, as a solemn fact, that Mr. Tone had no commission under His Majesty; and, therefore, no court-martial could have cognizance of any crime imputed to him whilst the Court of King's Bench sat in the capacity of the great Criminal Court of the land. In times when war was raging, when man was opposed to man in the field, courts-martial might be endured; but every law authority is with me whilst I stand upon this sacred and immutable principle of the Constitution—that martial law and civil law are incompatible, and that the former must cease with the existence of the latter. This is not, however, the time for arguing this momentous question. My client must appear in this Court. He is cast for death this very day. He may be ordered for execution whilst I address you. I call on the Court to support the law, and move for a *habeas corpus*, to be directed to the Provost-Marshal of the barracks of Dublin and Major Sandys, to bring up the body of Tone."

Chief-Justice—"Have a writ instantly prepared."

Curran—"My client may die whilst the writ is preparing."

Chief-Justice—"Mr. Sheriff, proceed to the barracks and acquaint the Provost-Marshal that a writ is preparing to suspend Mr. Tone's execution, and see that he be not executed."

The Court awaited, in a state of the utmost agitation and suspense, the return of the Sheriff. He speedily appeared, and said: "My lord, I have been to the barracks, in pursuance of your order. The Provost-Marshal says he must obey Major Sandys. Major Sandys says he must obey Lord Cornwallis." Mr. Curran announced, at the same time, that Mr. Tone (the father) was just returned, after serving the *habeas corpus*, and that General Craig would not obey it. The Chief-Justice exclaimed: "Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody; take the Provost-Marshal and Major Sandys into custody, and show the order of the Court to General Craig."

The general impression was now that the prisoner would be led out to execution, in defiance of the Court. This apprehension was legible in the countenance of Lord Kilwarden, a man who, in the worst of times, preserved a religious respect for the laws, and who, besides, I may add, felt every personal feeling of pity and respect for the prisoner, whom he had formerly contributed to shield from the vengeance of Government on an occasion almost as perilous. His agitation, according to the expression of an eye-witness, was magnificent.

The Sheriff returned at length with the fatal news. He had been refused admittance in the barracks; but was informed that Mr. Tone, who had wounded himself dangerously in the neck the night before, was not in a condition to be removed. In short, on the night before, after writing a letter to the French Directory, and a touch

ing adieu to his wife, while the soldiers were erecting a gibbet for him in the yard before his window, he cut his throat with a knife. But it was not effectually done, and he lingered in that dungeon, stretched on his bloody pallet, in the extremity of agony, seven days and nights. No friend was allowed access to him; and nobody saw him but the prison surgeon, a French emigrant, and, therefore, his natural enemy. At length he died.*

The Government allowed the body to be carried away by a relative named Dunbavin, and it was buried in the little churchyard of Bodenstown, County Kildare, where Thomas Davis caused a monumental slab to be erected in his memory.

"Thus passed away," says Madden, "one of the master spirits of his time. The curse of Swift was upon this man—he was an Irishman. Had he been a native of any other European country, his noble qualities, his brilliant talents, would have raised him to the first honors in the state, and to the highest place in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. His name lives, however, and his memory is probably destined to survive as long as his country has a history. Peace be to his ashes!"

The expenses incurred in first exciting the insurrection, next in suppressing it, and afterwards in carrying out its real object—a Legislative Union, are estimated moderately by Dr. Madden, as follows:—

From 1797 to 1802, the cost of the large military force that was kept up in Ireland, estimated at £4,000,000 per annum	£16,000,000
Purchase of the Irish Parliament	1,500,000
Payment of claims of suffering loyalists	1,500,000
Secret Service money, from 1797 to 1804, (from official reports,)	53,547
Secret Service money previous to August 21, 1797, date of first entry in preceding account—say from date of Jackson's mission in 1794, estimated at	20,000
Probable amount of pensions paid for services in suppression of the rebellion and the promotion of the Union, to the present time	1,200,000
Increased expense of legal proceedings and judicial tribunals	500,000
Additional expenditure in public offices, consequent on increased duties in 1798, and alterations in establishments attendant on the Union, the removal of Parliamentary archives, and compensation of officers, servants, &c.	800,000
Total	£21,573,547

The whole of which was the next year, in the arrangement of the terms of "Union," carried to the account of Ireland, and made part of *her* national debt—as if it were Ireland that profited by these transactions.

The military force, in Ireland during and immediately after, the insurrection, was:—

FROM PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

The Regulars	32,281
The Militia	26,634
The Yeomanry	51,274
The English Militia	24,201
Artillery	1,500
Commissariat	1,700
Total	137,590

These figures are taken from a report of the Parliamentary proceedings of the 18th of February, 1799. They are introduced in a speech of Lord Castlereagh, prefacing a motion on military estimates. He did not think that one man could be then spared of the 137,590, though the rebellion was completely over, and though he had to deal with a population only *one-half* of the present. We have not at hand the means of ascertaining the force of 1800, but there is ground for concluding that it was over that of 1799, though the time of the rebellion was still further off by a year.

But, in fact, Ministers had in reserve still another ordeal which our country had to pass through—the *Union;* and this immense military force was still thought needful, "as good lookers-on"—to use Lord Strafford's phrase of a century and a half earlier.

* Madden states that one friend of Tone, a Mr. Fitzpatrick, of Capel street, was admitted to see him once. This is a matter on which Tone's son, who was then far away, might easily have been misinformed. Madden further testifies that the surgeon, a Dr. Lentaigne, was a very good and humane man.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1798—1799.

Examination of O'Connor, Emmet, and MacNeven—Lord Enniskillen and his Court-Martial—Project of Union—Bar Meeting—Speech from the Throne—Union Proposed—Reception in the Lords—In the Commons—Ponsonby—Fitzgerald—Sir Jonah Barrington—Castlereagh's Explanation—Speech of Plunket—First Division on the Union—Majority of One—Mr. Trench and Mr. Fox—Methods of Conversion to Unionism—First Contest a drawn Battle—Excitement in Dublin.

Parliament continued sitting. In August and September, 1798, the examination of Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, and Dr. MacNeven, proceeded before the secret committees. While the report of these examinations was still secret, the Dublin newspapers under the control of the Government, published some very garbled and falsified accounts of them, calculated not only to criminate and degrade those gentlemen themselves, but to hold them forth as betraying their comrades and associates. The object of this was very plain. They thought it necessary to protest against it by a published card. Thereupon, they were examined again; were asked whether they meant to retract anything; were shown the minutes of their evidence as taken down, and interrogated as to its correctness and fidelity. They answered that they found it correct, so far as it went; but Emmet declared that very much of their evidence was *omitted*. On the whole, they admitted that the report *shown to them* was substantially correct, (except the omissions,) and that they had only meant to protest against the false newspaper accounts. Their new examination was triumphantly paraded as a complete exculpation of the committees from all charge of garbling; but, in fact, the newspapers could not have come by even their partial and carefully-distorted accounts of this evidence, except through some one connected with the Government or secret committees; and so the intended effect was in part produced, without the Government seeming to be a party to it. This affair is obscure; but, in justice to the unfortunate gentlemen then in the hands of most unscrupulous enemies, it is right to throw all the light possible upon it. Arthur O'Connor, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, gives this account of the misunderstanding:—

"At the instance of Government, Emmet, MacNeven, and I, drew up a memoir containing thirty-six pages, giving an account of the origin, principles, conduct, and views of the Union, which we signed and delivered to you on the 4th of August last. On the 6th, Mr. Cook came to our prison, and after acknowledging that the memoir was a perfect performance of our agreement, he told us that Lord Cornwallis had read it, but, as it was a vindication of the Union, and a condemnation of the Ministers, the Government, and Legislature of Ireland, he could not receive it; and, therefore, he wished we would alter it. We declared we would not change one letter—it was all true, and it was the truth we stood pledged to deliver. He then asked us if Government should publish such parts only as might suit them, whether we would refrain from publishing the memoir entire. We answered that, having stipulated for the liberty of publication, we would use that right when and as we should feel ourselves called on. To which he added that, if we published, he would have to hire persons to answer us; that then he supposed we would reply, by which a paper war would be carried on without end between us and the Government. Finding that we would not suffer the memoir to be garbled, and that the literary contest between us and these hirelings was not likely to turn out to your credit, it was determined to examine us before the secret committees, whereby a more complete selection might be made out of the memoir, and all the objectionable truths—with which it was observed it abounded—might be suppressed. For the present I shall only remark that, of one hundred pages, to which the whole of the information I gave to the Government and to the secret committees amounts, only one page has been published."

On the 6th of October, Parliament was prorogued with a highly congratulatory speech from the Throne, on the suppression of the "dangerous and wicked rebellion," and on the glorious victory obtained by "Sir Horatio Nelson over the French fleet in the Mediterranean."

About the same time occurred a certain sham court-martial, under the presidency of the Earl of Enniskillen, a Colonel in the army—a great favorite with the Orangemen, and probably an Orangeman himself. A man named Wollaghan, a yeoman, had brutally shot a poor, peaceable man in his own house. The affair is not otherwise deserving of notice than that the evidence on this trial shows the horrid state of the country. A corporal of the corps deposed that a certain Captain Armstrong, who commanded at Mount Kennedy before and after the murder, had given orders "that any body of yeomanry going out, (he would not wish them less than nine or ten for their own safety,) and, if they should meet with any rebels, whom they knew or suspected to be such, they need not be at the trouble of bringing them in, but were to shoot them on the spot; that he (the witness) communicated this to the corps, and, is very certain, in the hearing of the prisoner Wollaghan, who was a sober, faithful, and loyal yeoman, and not degrading the rest of the corps—one of the best in it; that it was the practice of the corps to go out upon scouring parties without orders," &c.

The affair, however, made a noise—became notorious; and Lord Cornwallis thought himself obliged to disapprove the judgment of the court-martial, (which acquitted Wollaghan,) and to rebuke Lord Enniskillen. The murderer, however, was only dismissed the service. The Orangemen were highly disgusted with Lord Cornwallis, and called him "Croppy Corny." But the cases of local tyranny and brutality exercised upon the people were very seldom, indeed, brought into any court. Seldomer still were they punished. The juryman who should have ventured to hesitate about acquitting an Orangeman would have been himself hunted down as a "croppy." The moment was come to propose the *Union* as the only way of putting a stop to these horrors, and to all the other woes of Ireland.

Even before the fury of rebellion had subsided, had the British Ministry recommended preparatory steps to enable the Irish Government to introduce the proposal of a Legislative Union with plausibility and effect upon the first favorable opening. In pursuance of this recommendation, a pamphlet was written, or procured to be written, by Mr. Edward Cooke, the under-Secretary of the Civil Department. It was published anonymously, but was well understood to speak the sentiments of the British Administration, and the Chief-Governor, and those of the Irish Administration who went with his excellency upon the question of union. It was circulated with incredible industry and profusion throughout every part of the nation, and certainly was productive of many conversations on the question under the then existing circumstances of that nation; the most prominent of which were—the still unallayed horrors of blood and carnage, the excessive cruelty and vindictive ferocity of the Irish yeomanry towards their countrymen, compared with the pacific, orderly, and humane conduct of the English militia, of which about eighteen regiments were still in the country, and, above all, the confidence which the conciliatory conduct of the Chief-Governor inspired. This pamphlet was considered as a kind of official proclamation of the sentiments of Government upon the question, and had no sooner appeared than it produced a general warfare of the press, and threw the whole nation into a new division of parties.

No sooner was the intention of Government unequivocally known, than most of the leading characters took their ranks according to their respective views and sentiments, the Earl of Clare at the head of the Unionists, and the Right Honorable Mr. Foster, his late zealous colleague in the extorted system of coercion and terror, put himself at the head of the Anti-Unionists. Amongst the first dismissals for opposing the Union were those of Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the Prime-Sergeant. The most interesting public meeting upon the subject of the Union was that of the gentlemen of the Irish bar. It has before been observed, that in Ireland the bar was the great road that led to preferment, and few were the families in the nation which looked up to it that did not furnish one member or more to that profession. The bar, consequently, commanded a very pow-

erful influence over the public mind, even independently of the weight of respectability attending the opinions of that learned body. In pursuance of a requisition signed by twenty-seven lawyers of the first respectability and character in the profession, a meeting of the Irish bar took place on the 9th of December, at the Exhibition House in William street, to deliberate on the question of Legislative Union. The meeting was very numerous.

It must be observed that the bar of Ireland was the only great body in the state or in society that Lords Clare and Castlereagh feared, as a serious obstruction to their plans. In its ranks were the most accomplished statesmen and most formidable debaters of the country, and the most earnest opponents of Union to the last were barristers. Lord Clare, therefore, had taken measures to corrupt the bar, by creating a great many new legal offices, which they were expected to solicit, and for which they would sell themselves to the Castle. He doubled the number of the bankrupt commissioners; he revived some offices, created others, and, under pretence of furnishing each county with a local judge, in two months he established thirty-two new offices, of about six or seven hundred pounds per annum each. His arrogance in court intimidated many whom his patronage could not corrupt; and he had no doubt of overpowering the whole profession.

There was much interest, therefore, felt in the result of this preliminary meeting of the bar. Among those who had called the meeting were fourteen of the King's counsel: E. Mayne, W. Saurin, W. C. Plunket, C. Bushe, W. Sankey, B. Burton, J. Barrington, A. M'Cartney, G. O'Farrell, J. O'Driscoll, J. Lloyd, P. Burrowes, R. Jebb, and H. Joy, Esquires,—a very distinguished list of names; some of which will be met with again and again, before the final catastrophe of the nation. Saurin spoke against the Union project. "He was a moderate Huguenot," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "and grandson of the great preacher at The Hague—an excellent lawyer and a steadfast and pious Christian." Sir Jonah goes on to describe this important meeting:—

"Mr. Saint George Daly, a briefless barrister, was the first supporter of the Union. Of all men he was the least thought of for preferment; but it was wittily observed, 'that the Union was the first brief Mr. Daly had spoken from.' He moved an adjournment.

"Mr. Thomas Grady was the Fitzgibbon spokesman—a gentleman of independent property, a tolerable lawyer, an amatory poet, a severe satirist, and an indefatigable quality-hunter. He had written the '*Flesh Brush*,' for Lady Clare; the 'West Briton,' for the Union; the 'Barrister,' for the bar; and the 'Nosegay,' for a banker at Limerick—who sued him successfully for a libel.

"'The Irish,' said Mr. Grady, 'are only the *rump of an aristocracy*. Shall I visit posterity with a system of *war*, *pestilence*, and *famine*?* No! no! give me a Union. Unite me to that country where all is peace, and order, and prosperity. Without a Union we shall see embryo chief judges, attorney-generals in perspective, and *animalcula sergeants*. *All* the *cities* of the south and west are on the *Atlantic Ocean*, between the rest of the world and Great Britain; *they* are all for *it*—they must all become warehouses; the people are Catholics, and they are all for it,' &c., &c., &c. Such an oration as Mr. Grady's had never before been heard at a meeting of lawyers in Europe.

"Mr. John Beresford, Lord Clare's nephew and purse-bearer, followed, as if for the charitable purpose of taking the laugh from Mr. Grady, in which he perfectly succeeded, by turning it on himself. Mr. Beresford afterwards became a parson, and is now Lord Decies.

"Mr. Goold said: 'There are forty thousand British troops in Ireland, and with forty thousand bayonets at my breast the Minister shall not plant another Sicily in the bosom of the Atlantic. I want not the assistance of divine inspiration to foretell, for I am enabled by the visible and unerr-

* Nothing could be more unfortunate than this crude observation of Mr. Grady, as the very three evils—war, pestilence, and famine,—which he declared a union would avert, have since visited, and are still visiting, the unioned country; which has, since the connection with England, been depopulated by the *famine* which that Union caused; and, inoculated with the late plague from Great Britain, they are now declared in a state of *war* by the British Legislature.

ing demonstrations of nature to assert, that Ireland was destined to be a free and independent nation. Our patent to be a state, not a shire, comes direct from heaven. The Almighty has, in majestic characters, signed the great charter of our independence. The great Creator of the world has given our beloved country the gigantic outlines of a kingdom. The God of nature never intended that Ireland should be a province, and, *by G——, she never shall!'*

"The assembly burst into a tumult of applause. A repetition of the words came from many mouths, and many an able lawyer swore hard upon the subject. The division was—

Against the Union	166
In favor of it	32
Majority	134

"Thirty-two," continues Sir Jonah Barrington, "was the precise number of the county judges, and of this minority the following persons were afterwards rewarded for their adherence to Lord Clare :—

"List of Barristers who Supported the Union, and their Respective Rewards.

	Per Annum.
1. Charles Osborn, appointed a Judge of the King's Bench	£3,300
2. Saint John Daly, appointed a Judge of the King's Bench	3,300
3. William Smith, appointed Baron of the Exchequer	3,300
4. Mr. M'Cleland, appointed Baron of the Exchequer	3,300
5. Robert Johnson, appointed Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
6. William Johnson, appointed Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
7. Mr. Torrens, appointed Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
8. Mr. Vandeleur, appointed a Judge of the King's Bench	3,300
9. Thomas Maunsell, a County Judge	600
10. William Turner, a County Judge	600
11. John Scholes, a County Judge	600
12. Thomas Vickers, a County Judge	600
13. J. Homan, a County Judge	600
14. Thomas Grady, a County Judge	600
15. John Dwyer, a County Judge	600
16. George Leslie, a County Judge	600
17. Thomas Scott, a County Judge	600
18. Henry Brook, a County Judge	600
19. James Geraghty, a County Judge	600
20. Richard Sharkey, a County Judge	600
21. William Stokes, a County Judge	600
22. William Roper, a County Judge	600
23. C. Garnet, a County Judge	600
24. Mr. Jenison, a Commissioner for the distribution of one million and a half Union compensation	1,200
25. Mr. Fitzgibbon Henchy, Commissioner of Bankrupts	£400
26. J. Keller, Officer in the Court of Chancery	500
27. P. W. Fortescue, M. P., a *secret* pension	400
28. W. Longfield, an officer in the Custom House	500
29. Arthur Brown, Commission of Inspector	800
30. Edmund Stanley, Commission of Inspector	800
31. Charles Ormsby, Counsel to Commissioners Value	5,000
32. William Knott, M. P., Commission of Appeals	800
33. Henry Deane Grady, Counsel to Commissmissioners Value	5,000
34. John Beresford, his father a title."	

It was already so notorious, during this winter, that a Union was to be immediately proposed that the measure was already warmly discussed, in anticipation of the approaching meeting of Parliament. Mr. Cooke's pamphlet called forth scores of other pamphlets, for and against. Before the end of December no less than thirty appeared, of which Plowden records the titles.

The city of Dublin, which it was natural to suppose would be more prejudiced by the Union than any other part of the kingdom, inasmuch as it would lose much of the advantages of a metropolis by the abolition of the Parliament, was also prominently forward in its opposition to that measure. A post-assembly of the Lord-Mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin was convened on the 17th of December; who, referring to a variety of rumors that were then in circulation, of an intended union of Ireland with Great Britain, came to resolutions strongly denouncing any such project; which certainly, whatever it might be supposed to do for other parts of the kingdom, was sure to ruin Dublin at all events.

Next came a very numerous and respectable meeting of the merchants and bankers of the city, who resolved—"That they looked with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their Parliament, and thereby of their constitutional right, and immediate power to legislate for themselves. That, impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to their King, and affectionate attachment to British connection, they conceived that to agitate in Parliament a question of the Legislative Union between that kingdom

and Great Britain, would be highly dangerous and impolitic."

Even the fellows and scholars of Trinity College held their meeting, and passed a resolution calling on their representatives in Parliament to oppose the Union. Similar resolutions of county and borough meetings appeared nearly every day; so that when Lord Cornwallis, on the 22d of January, 1799, came down, along with his trusty counselors, Lords Clare and Castlereagh, to open the session of Parliament, it was very evident that there was a considerable mass of opposition to be broken down.

On that day there was a great concourse in Dublin streets; and College Green was filled with anxious multitudes; not gay and jubilant, as they had been when once before they had crowded those avenues to witness the parade of the volunteers, but with a gloomy feeling of the miseries then actually upon the country, and foreboding of something worse to come. The Viceroy came from the Castle to the House with a strong guard, and duly delivered his speech from the throne; of which these two portentous paragraphs were listened to with breathless attention:—

"The zeal of His Majesty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honorable cöoperation of the British fencibles and militia, and the activity, skill, and valor of His Majesty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering on the one hand the strength and stability of Great Britain, and on the other those divisions, which have shaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this island.

"The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavoring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and His Majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

Here, then, was the dreaded *Union* distinctly enough raised up before Parliament and the country, and avowed as the policy of the Administration. At once began the tumult of debate on the address. In the Lords, an address was proposed which was almost an echo of the speech, promising to "give the fullest attention to measures of such importance."

Upon which it was proposed by Lord Powerscourt to amend the said motion, by inserting after the word importance, the following words:—"That it is our most earnest desire to strengthen the connection between the two countries by every possible means, but the measure of a Legislative Union we apprehend is not within the limit of our power; we beg leave also to represent to your Majesty, that although this House were competent to adopt such a measure, we conceive that it would be highly impolitic so to do, as it would tend, in our opinion, more than any other cause, ultimately to a separation of this kingdom from that of Great Britain."

A motion was then made for leave to withdraw the amendment. A debate arose thereupon, and the question being put, the House divided, and the Earl of Glandore reported, that the contents below the bar were nineteen, and the non-contents in the House were forty-six.

A motion was then made, that after the word "security," in the same paragraph, the following words be expunged, "and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire," which also passed in the negative. Another motion was then made by the Earl of Bellamont, that after the said word "importance," the following words be inserted: "so far as may be consistent with the permanent enjoyment, exercise, and tutelary vigilance of our resident and independent Parliament, as established, acknowledged, and recog-

nized." This motion was also negatived by a division of forty-nine against sixteen. Fourteen of the lords in the minority protested.*

In the House of Commons were many anxious faces and gloomy brows. It had already been sufficiently indicated that Government, to carry this measure, would stop at nothing. Immediately after the bar meeting the Right Honorable James Fitzgerald, Prime Sergeant. was dismissed from office, and deprived of his precedency at the bar. It was known, also, that unlimited funds would be used by Government, without scruple, both in buying up boroughs (which were then treated as the private property of their patrons,) and in direct bribery, to pay for votes. The innumerable methods which a powerful government has at its disposal both to reward and to punish—all these considerations rose up before the anxious minds of the members occupying those benches. It must be confessed, too, that the previous history of the Irish Parliament, as recorded in these pages, was not calculated to make the country expect any exhibition of stern patriotism. "I have now seen," said Theobald Wolfe Tone, "the Parliament of Ireland, the Parliament of England, the Congress of the United States of America, the Corps Legislatif of France, and the Convention of Batavia; I have likewise seen our shabby Volunteer Convention in 1783, and the General Committee of the Catholics in 1793; so that I have seen, in the way of deliberate bodies, as many I believe as most men, and of all those I have mentioned, beyond all comparison the most shamelessly profligate and abandoned by all sense of virtue, principle, or even common decency, was the Legislature of my own unfortunate country; the scoundrels!"

But when we read so harsh a judgment upon the Legislature of our country, it must not be forgotten that it did not represent the country; did not even represent the Protestant minority of the country; represented nothing (as to its vast majority,) save a few noble families, great proprietors, and the enormous "interest" of place and pension. Considering all this, it is rather surprising, and was, indeed, very surprising to Lord Castlereagh, that on the present vital occasion, the policy of the Castle met with so hearty an opposition.

The address in the Commons was moved by Lord Tyrone, eldest son of the Marquis of Waterford. The address, he said, did not pledge him in any manner to support the measure of an union; let that question of policy stand upon its own merits; let it be adopted or rejected as the interests of Ireland and the prosperity of the empire should dictate.

Colonel Fitzgerald, (member for the County of Cork,) seconded the address, expressing a zealous desire that any step likely to cement and strengthen the connection between the two countries should be adopted.

After several speeches, opposing the measure of a union, in a vague and hypothetical sort of way, as if there were really no such question before the House, Lord Castlereagh, whose fault was certainly not lack of boldness, rose to say, that although there were not in the address any specific pledge to a measure of union, yet it was clearly implied in the wish to strengthen the resources of the empire; for he had no difficulty in saying, that he thought the only means of settling that unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connection with Britain, were to be found in a Legislative Union; and on that subject he did intend at an early day to submit a specific motion to the House.*

Mr. G. Ponsonby entered on an able attack and exposure of the general principle of an union, by boldly avowing the principle, that neither the Legislature, nor any power on earth, had a right or authority to

* Viz., Leinster, Granard, Belvidere, Arran, Charlemont, Bellamont, Mountcashel, Kilkenny, Belmore, Powerscourt, De Vesci, Dunsany, Lismore. Wm. Down and Connor,

* On occasion of this first and most remarkable of the debates on the Union, it has been judged expedient to go somewhat further into detail than usual. It was now that Members of Parliament took their positions on that great question; from which positions many of them afterwards retreated and changed sides; from motives, unhappily, too well known, as will soon appear.

annihilate the Irish Parliament, and deprive people forever of their rights to the benefits of the Constitution, and civil liberty.

The Minister had told them they ought to discuss this measure with coolness; but when the Minister himself would not leave men to the free exercise of their understanding, but turned out of office the best and oldest servants of the Crown, because they would not prostitute their conscience, when the terror of dismissal was thus holden out to deter men in office from a fair exercise of their private judgment, how could he talk of cool discussion? He concluded by moving an amendment, which would give every gentleman, who did not wish to pledge himself to a surrender of the rights of the country, an opportunity of speaking his mind. The amendment was — that after the passage which declared the willingness of the House to enter on a consideration of what measures might best tend to confirm the common strength of the empire, should be inserted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as was recognized by the British Legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries."

Sir L. Parsons seconded the amendment.

Many gentlemen warmly supported Ponsonby's amendment; amongst others, Mr. Fitzgerald, ex-Prime-Sergeant, who raised the vital Constitutional question—"It was not, in his opinion, within the moral competence of Parliament, to destroy and extinguish itself, and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it. The constituent parts of a state are obliged to hold their public faith with each other, and with all those who derive any serious interest under their engagements; such a compact may, with respect to Great Britain, be an union; but with respect to Ireland, it will be a revolution, and a revolution of a most alarming nature."

Mr. Fitzgerald also quoted Dr. Johnson's remark to an Irishman, on the subject of an union: "Don't unite with us," said he, "we shall unite with you only to rob you; we should have robbed the Scots, if they had anything to be robbed of."

The debate proceeded, warming as it went. Sir Boyle Roche, in his blundering way, stumbled upon a most accurate description of the real Castle policy. He said "he was for an union to put an end to uniting between Presbyterians, Protestants, and Catholics, to overturn the Constitution."

One of the most patriotic speeches made in the course of this historic argument was by Sir Jonah Barrington, then a Judge of the Admiralty Court. He strongly deprecated this plan to subject irrevocably one independent country to the will of another, and both to the will of a Minister already stronger than the Crown, and more powerful than the people; and this great and important usurpation stolen into Parliament through the fulsome paragraphs of an echoing congratulation, pledging the House to the discussion of a principle subversive of their liberties, and in the hour of convalescence calling on it to commit suicide. Ireland (he said) had not fair play; her Parliament had not fair play; the foulest and most unconstitutional means, he believed, had been used to intimidate and corrupt it, and either to force or to seduce a suffrage, when nothing but general, independent, uninfluenced opinion could warrant for a moment the most distant view of so ruinous a subject. He had good reason to believe, that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord to individuals of the Irish Parliament. Some of those means were open and avowed; two of the oldest, most respectable, and most beloved officers of the Crown had been displaced, because they presumed to hint an opinion adverse to the stripling's dictates, on a subject where their country was at stake; their removals crowned them with glory, and the Minister with contempt. He asserted, that other gentlemen in office, whose opinions were decidedly adverse to the measure, but whose circumstances could not bear similar sacrifices, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced, against their will, to vote against their country; he had good reason to believe, that unconstitutional interference had been used with the executive power with the legislative body; one gentleman refused the instructions of his constitu-

ents, and had been promoted. Peerages (as was rumored) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy the free agency of Parliament; if this were true, it encroached on the Constitution, and if the executive power overstepped its bounds, the people were warranted to do the same on their part, and between both it might be annihilated, and leave a wondering world in amazement how the same people could have been wise enough to frame the best constitution on earth, and foolish enough to destroy it. One king and two kingdoms was the cry of the people of Ireland.

Sir John Blaquiere, on the side of the Government, remonstrated against "the charges of undue influence and corruption;" and then proceeded to use an argument in behalf of the Union, which may serve as a sample of the means by which so many of the Catholics were induced to favor that measure. Sir John said, "the honorable member who proposed amendment, with a flow of such transcendant eloquence as had seldom been heard in that House, had expressly stated, that the Roman Catholics must oppose the Union. He knew not the mind of Catholics upon the subject; but he should speak his own—that the Roman Catholics, under the present order of things, *could never be accommodated, as he feared, with what they asked*, without imminent danger to the Protestant establishment, both in church and state; but *if once an union should be adopted, all those difficulties would vanish, and he should see none in granting them everything they desired.*"

Mr. Knox and Mr. Hans Hamilton made violent attacks upon the Union and upon the Government.

Mr. Knox (member for Philipstown) lamented that that accursed measure had long been the favorite object of that Minister of England, whose wild ambition had already led to the destruction of empires; and which then sought to annihilate that nation. In order to forward that wicked scheme, great pains had been taken by those who managed the affairs of Government under his guidance, to promote and keep alive among the people every distinction of party and religion, all differences of opinion, whether in politics or religion, had been industriously fomented and encouraged, and every means taken to distract and divide the inhabitants of that land. If that fatal measure should ever be carried, henceforth that insulted, degraded, debased country would be made a barrack, a depôt from whence to draw the means of enslaving Great Britain, and no resource left to save either country but a revolution.

Mr. Hans Hamilton declared that an union was a measure he should very firmly oppose within those walls with his vote, without them with his life; but he foresaw that the hour was at hand which would prove this to be the most glorious day that Ireland had ever beheld, and enable the members to go forth to their constituents, and assure them they were represented by an Irish Parliament, and never would betray their independence.

Lord Castlereagh felt that the day was going against him. He rose to state his reasons for favoring the measure of a Legislative Union; and spoke, as he well knew how, with a noble air of candor. It is almost incredible, however, that in the abstract of his speech which has come down to us, actually appear the following words:—

"His lordship trusted, that no man would decide on a measure of such importance as that in part before the House, *on private or personal motives;* for if a decision were thus to be influenced, it would be the most unfortunate that could ever affect the country."

His reasons for supporting the measure were, of course, of the purest description; if the means he used to support it had been as free from taint as his personal conduct, his lordship's name and fame would now be much higher than they are. "Dissensions" and "divisions" unhappily existing in Ireland (which Mr. Knox said the Government had "industriously fomented,") formed the chief motive, in his mind, for our country to fling itself into the arms of the English, who had carefully created and kept alive those dissensions and divisions in Ireland for centuries! One passage in his lordship's argument reads strangely in the light of subsequent history:—

"Absentees (he said) formed another objection. They would be somewhat increased,

no doubt, by an union ; but the evil would be compensated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of *an intermediate class of men between the landlord and the peasant* ; *a class of men whose loss was felt in Ireland, to train the mind of the lower class.* These an union would bring over *from England.* They would also have *capital from thence.* At all events, these inconveniences would be but a grain of sand compared with the advantages which would be derived from internal security, and their growing together in habits of amity and affection."

The next powerful speech on the debate was that of William Conyngham Plunket, then in the prime of life ; he had been the warm friend of Tone and of Emmet, and was now fast rising into high eminence, both as a barrister and a member of Parliament. It is his famous *Hamilcar* speech, in which he assails the Government, as he had promised to do, more daringly than Sir Jonah Barrington. He spoke of the apparently bluff, downright old soldier (Cornwallis) "who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his secretary a simple and modest youth (*Puer ingenui vultûs ingenuique pudoris*) whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence ; yet, was he bold to say, that during the Vice-royalty of that unspotted veteran, and during the administration of that unassuming stripling, within the last six weeks, a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the Castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. Did they choose to take down his words ? He needed to call no witnesses to their bar to prove them. He saw two right honorable gentlemen sitting within those walls, who had long and faithfully served the Crown, and who had been dismissed, because they dared to express a sentiment in favor of the freedom of their country. He saw another honorable gentleman, who had been forced to resign his place, as Commissioner of the Revenue, because he refused to cöoperate in that dirty job of a dirty Administration ; did they dare to deny this? I say, (he continued,) that at this moment, the threat of dismissal from office is suspended over the heads of the members who now sit around me, in order to influence their votes on the question of this night, involving everything that can be sacred or dear to man ; do you desire to take down my words ? Utter the desire, and I will prove the truth of them at your bar. Sir, I would warn you against the consequences of carrying this measure by such means as this, but that I see the necessary defeat of it in the honest and universal indignation which the adoption of such means excites ; I see the protection against the wickedness of the plan in the imbecility of its execution, and I congratulate my country that when a design was formed against their liberties, the prosecution of it was entrusted to such hands as it is now placed in."

Mr. Plunket then dealt with the Constitutional grounds of opposition to a union, and especially to the *time* of its being proposed. It is impossible, within our limits, to give more than a mere abstract of such a speech :—

"At a moment," he said, "when Ireland was filled with British troops, when the loyal men were fatigued and exhausted by their efforts to subdue rebellion—efforts in which they had succeeded before those troops arrived ; whilst their *habeas corpus* act was suspended, whilst trials by court-martial were carrying on in many parts of the kingdom, whilst the people were taught to think that they had no right to meet or to deliberate, and whilst the great body of them were so palsied by their fears and worn down by their exertions that even the vital question was scarcely able to rouse them from their lethargy; at a moment when they were distracted by domestic dissensions —dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext for their present subjugation, and the instrument of their future thraldom. He thanked Administration for the measure. They were, without intending it, putting an end to Irish dissensions. Through that black cloud, which they had collected over them, he saw the light breaking in upon their unfortunate country. They had composed dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion ; not by hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic and the Catholic against the Pro-

testant; not by committing the North against the South; not by inconsistent appeals to local or party prejudices. No! but by the avowal of that atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland they had subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction. They had united every rank and description of men by the pressure of that grand and momentous subject; and he told them that they would see every honest and independent man in Ireland rally round her Constitution, and merge every other consideration in his opposition to that ungenerous and odious measure. For his own part, he would resist it to the last gasp of his existence, and with the last drop of his blood; and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching, he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar, *and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom.*"

This gallant speech was often cited afterwards against Plunket; and it was remarked that Hamilcar, after that swearing scene, never helped the Romans to govern Carthage as a province.

Strange to say, of all the Beresfords, John Claudius Beresford (of the Riding-House and the pitch-caps) opposed the Government measure, and supported Mr. Ponsonby's amendment. Some of the strongest Irish nationalists of that day were Orangemen, and bitter persecutors of Catholics.

At length, after twenty-two hours' debate, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 24th, the House divided, and the vote stood —for Mr. Ponsonby's amendment, 105; against it, 106. Majority for the Government, 1.

It was held by both sides of the House to be substantially a defeat for the Government, and the multitudes who had been thronging the corridors, the porticos, and the streets all around, burst into acclamations of joy. The mob waited for members as they came out, and hooted or cheered, as they heard each member had voted for the Castle or the nation.

As to the method by which Castlereagh had gained even that apparent and most unsatisfactory victory, Sir Jonah Barrington, an eye-witness, gives us this detail, which illustrates the whole mode and machinery whereby the Union was finally carried:—

"A very remarkable incident," says Sir Jonah, "during the first night's debate occurred in the conduct of Mr. Luke Fox and Mr. Trench, of Woodlawn, afterwards created Lord Ashtown. These were the most palpable, undisguised acts of public tergiversation and seduction ever exhibited in a popular assembly. They afterwards became the subject of many speeches and of many publications; and their consequences turned the majority of one in favor of the Minister.

"It was suspected that Mr. Trench had been long in negotiation with Lord Castlereagh; but it did not, in the early part of that night, appear to have been brought to any conclusion—his conditions were *supposed* to be too extravagant. Mr. Trench, after some preliminary observations, declared, in a speech, that he would vote against the Minister, and support Mr. Ponsonby's amendment. This appeared a stunning blow to Mr. Cooke, who had been previously in conversation with Mr. Trench. He was immediately observed sideling from his seat nearer to Lord Castlereagh. They whispered earnestly, and, as if restless and undecided, both looked wistfully towards Mr. Trench. At length, the matter seemed to be determined on. Mr. Cooke retired to a back seat, and was obviously endeavoring to count the House, probably to guess if they could that night dispense with Mr. Trench's services. He returned to Lord Castlereagh—they whispered, again looked most affectionately at Mr. Trench, who seemed unconscious that he was the subject of their consideration. But there was no time to lose—the question was approaching—all shame was banished—they decided on the terms; and a significant and certain glance, obvious to everybody, convinced Mr. Trench that his conditions were agreed to. Mr. Cooke then went and sat down by his side; an earnest but very short conversation took place; a parting smile completely told the House that Mr. Trench was that moment satisfied. These surmises were soon verified. Mr. Cooke went back to Lord Castlereagh; a congratulatory nod announced his satisfaction. But could any man for one moment suppose that a member of Parliament, a man

of very large fortune, of respectable family, and good character, could be publicly, and without shame or compunction, actually seduced by Lord Castlereagh, in the very body of the House, and under the eye of two hundred and twenty gentlemen? Yet this was the fact. In a few minutes Mr. Trench rose, to apologize for having indiscreetly declared he would support the amendment. He added, that he had thought better of the subject since he had *unguardedly* expressed himself; that he had been *convinced* he was wrong, and would support the Minister.

"Scarcely was there a member of any party who was not disgusted. It had, however, the effect intended by the desperate purchaser, of proving that ministers would stop at *nothing* to effect their objects, however shameless or corrupt. This purchase of Mr. Trench had a much more fatal effect upon the destinies of Ireland. His change of sides, and the majority of *one* to which it contributed, were probably the remote causes of persevering in a Union. Mr. Trench's venality excited indignation in every friend of Ireland.*

"Another circumstance that night proved by what means Lord Castlereagh's majority of even *one* was acquired.

"The Place Bill, so long and so pertinaciously sought for, and so indiscreetly framed by Mr. Grattan and the Whigs of Ireland, now, for the first time, proved the very engine by which the Minister upset the opposition, and annihilated the Constitution.

"That bill enacted, that members accepting offices, places, or pensions, during the pleasure of the Crown, should not sit in Parliament unless reelected; but, unfortunately, the bill made no distinction between valuable offices which might influence, and nominal offices, which might job; and the Chiltern Hundreds of England were, under the title of the Escheatorships of Munster, Leinster, Connaught, &c., transferred to Ireland, with salaries of forty shillings, to be used at pleasure by the Secretary. Occasional and temporary seats were thus bartered for by Government, and by the ensuing session made the complete and fatal instrument of packing the Parliament, and effecting a union.

"Mr. Luke Fox, a barrister of very humble origin, of vulgar manners, and of a coarse, harsh appearance, was indued with a clear, strong, and acute mind, and was possessed of much cunning. He had acquired very considerable legal information, and was an obstinate and persevering advocate. He had been the usher of a school, and a sizer in Dublin University; but neither politics nor the *belles-lettres* were his pursuit. On acquiring eminence at the bar, he married an obscure niece of the Earl of Ely's. He had originally professed what was called whiggism, merely, as people supposed, because his name was Fox. His progress was impeded by no political principles; but he kept his own secrets well, and, being a man of no importance, it was perfectly indifferent to everybody what side he took. Lord Ely, perceiving he was manageable, returned him to Parliament as one of his automata; and Mr. Fox played his part very much to the satisfaction of his manager.

"When the Union was announced, Lord Ely had not made his terms, and remained long in abeyance;* and, as his lordship had not issued his orders to Mr. Fox, he was very unwilling to commit himself until he could dive deeper into probabilities; but rather believing the Opposition would have the majority, he remained in the body of the House, with the Anti-Unionists, when the division took place. The doors were scarcely locked, when he became alarmed, and slunk, unperceived, into one of the dark corridors, where he concealed himself. He was, however, discovered, and the Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to bring him forth, to be counted amongst the Anti-Unionists. His confusion was very great, and he seemed at his wit's end. At length, he declared he had taken advantage of the Place Bill; had *actually accepted the Escheatorship of Munster*, and had thereby vacated his seat, and could not vote.

* No fewer than three Trenches are found in the "Black List," as voting for the Union. They were all appointed to valuable offices for it, and one was made a peer and an ambassador.

* He "made his terms," however, in due time. We afterwards find him in receipt of a sum of £45,000, the price of his three boroughs, which he sold to Government that it might put its own creatures into the representation.

"The fact was doubted; but, after much discussion, his excuse, *upon his honor*, was admitted, and he was allowed to return into the corridor. On the numbers being counted, there was a majority of ONE for Lord Castlereagh, and exclusive of Mr. Trench's conduct; but for that of Mr. Fox the numbers would have been equal. The measure would have been negatived by the Speaker's vote, and the renewal of it the next day would have been prevented. This would have been a most important victory.

"The mischief of the Place Bill now stared its framers in the face, and gave the Secretary a code of instruction how to arrange a Parliament against the ensuing session.

"To render the circumstance still more extraordinary and unfortunate for Mr. Fox's reputation, it was subsequently discovered, by the public records, that Mr. Fox's assertion was false. But the following day, Lord Castlereagh purchased him outright; and then, *and not before*, appointed him to the nominal office of Escheator of Munster, and left the seat of Lord Ely for another of his creatures.* This is mentioned, not only as one of the most reprehensible public acts committed during the discussion, but because it was the primary cause of the measure being persisted in."

Thus the preliminary contest on the very threshold of the Union question may be said to have ended in a drawn battle. It was known, however, that it was to be renewed on that very evening. It was an exciting day for the people of Dublin; and to those who know into what a dismal condition the Union has since dragged down the once proud metropolis of our island, there is something pathetic in the passionate anxiety with which its thronging people then crowded round their Parliament House, hanging on the momentous vote; watching with beating hearts, the progress of a struggle which was to decide the destinies of their city and their nation.

* This did not conclude the remarkable acts of Mr. Fox. After his seat had been so vacated, he got himself reëlected for a borough under the influence of the Earl of Granard, a zealous Anti-Unionist; here he once more betrayed the country, and was appointed a Judge when the subject was decided.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1799

Second Debate on Union—Sir Lawrence Parsons—Mr. Smith—Ponsonby and Plunket—Division—Majority against Government—Posonby's Resolution for Perpetual Independence—Defection of Fortescue and Others—Resolution Lost—"Possible Circumstances"—Tumult—Danger of Lord Clare—Second Debate in the Lords—Lord Clare Triumphant—"Loyalists' Claim-Bill"—"Rebels Disqualification Bill"—"Flogging Fitzgerald"—Asks Indemnity—Regency Act—Opposed by Castlereagh.

IT was naturally supposed that if the Minister was left in a minority on the second debate upon the reception of the address, he would, according to all precedents, resign his situation; whilst an increased majority, however small, in favor of his measure might give plausible grounds for pressing it forward at all hazards. No wonder, then, that the excitement and anxiety were intense on that day. Sir Jonah Barrington describes the scene:—

"The people collected in vast multitudes around the House; a strong sensation was everywhere perceptible; immense numbers of ladies of distinction crowded at an early hour, into the galleries, and by their presence and their gestures animated that patriotic spirit, upon the prompt energy of which alone depended the fate of Ireland.

"Secret messengers were dispatched in every direction, to bring in loitering or reluctant members—every emissary that Government could rely upon was busily employed the entire morning; and five and thirty minutes after four o'clock, in the afternoon of the 24th of January, 1799, the House met to decide, by the adoption or rejection of the address—the question of national independence or annihilation. Within the corridors of the House, a shameless and unprecedented alacrity appeared among the friends of the Government.

"Mr. Cooke, the under-Secretary, who, throughout all the subsequent stages of the question, was the private and efficient actuary of the Parliamentary seduction, on this night exceeded even himself, both in his public and private exertions to gain over the wavering members. Admiral Pakenham, a naturally friendly and good-natured gentleman, that night acted like the captain of a press-gang, and actually *hauled* in some

members who were desirous of retiring. He had declared that he would act in *any* capacity, according to the exigencies of his party; and he did not shrink from his task.

"This debate, in point of warmth, much exceeded the former. Lord Castlereagh sat long silent; his eye ran round the assembly, as if to ascertain his situation, and was often withdrawn, with a look of uncertainty and disappointment. The members had a little increased since the last division, principally by members who had not declared themselves, and of whose opinions the Secretary was ignorant."

When the address was reported, on the reading of that part of it which related to the Union, Sir Lawrence Parsons offered an amendment, objecting to the paragraph which "pledged the House, under a metaphorical expression ('maintaining and imploring a connection,' &c.,) to admit the principle of the Legislative Union." Two short passages of his long speech are enough to show its spirit:—

"Were the Union ever so good a measure, why bring it forward at that time? Was it not evidently to take advantage of England's strength there, and their own internal weakness? It was always in times of division and disaster that a nation availed itself of the infirmities of its neighbor, to obtain an unjust dominion. That Great Britain should desire to do so, he did not much wonder; for what nation did not desire to rule another? Nor was he surprised that there should be some among them base enough to conspire with her in doing so; for no country could expect to be so fortunate as not to have betrayers and parricides among its citizens." . . . . . .

"Annihilate the Parliament of Ireland; that is the cry that came across the water. Now is the time—Ireland is weak—Ireland is divided—Ireland is appalled by civil war—Ireland is covered with troops, martial law brandishes its sword throughout the land—now is the time to put down Ireland forever—now strike the blow. *Who*?—is it you? Will you obey that voice? Will you betray your country?"

On the second debate, the most important speech in favor of union (though Castlereagh spoke strongly,) was that of Mr. William Smith, a barrister — afterwards rewarded with the place of a Baron of the Exchequer. He addressed himself principally to the refutation of the main Constitutional objection to an union, decreed by Parliament—namely, the objection that Parliament had been "elected to make laws, and not legislatures,"—that it had no powers to divest itself of its legislative capacity to give itself away to another people, still less to sell itself, and sell its constituents along with itself. Mr. Smith said:—

"Of the competency of Parliament to the enactment of such reform he had never heard any doubts expressed; and the arguments which, he thought, might be offered against the alleged right were inconclusive, yet, perhaps, as plausible as any that could be urged against the competency of the Legislature to a decree of union. That the authority of the Parliament had this extent, he had not the slightest doubt. His opinion, he said, was founded on precedent, on the mischiefs which would result from a contrary doctrine, on the express authority of Constitutional writers, and on the genuine principles of the Constitution itself. By enacting an union, Parliament would do no more than change (it would not surrender or subvert) the Constitution. Ireland, after a Legislative incorporation, would still be governed by three estates; and her inhabitants would enjoy all their privileges unimpaired. If the Legislature could new-model the succession of the Crown, or change the established religion, it might certainly ordain those alterations which an union would involve. To controvert its right, would be to deny the validity of the act for the incorporation of Scotland with England and Wales. But (he added) that, if he conceived that the measure would be a surrender of national independence, he would by no means agree to it; but it would merely be an incorporation of national distinctions; nor would he promote the scheme, if he thought that it would not insure an identity or community of iterests."

Between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Ponsonby, the debate took a very bitter personal turn. The Secretary was provoked out of his usual cool indifference. To the

bar he applied the term "pettifoggers;" to the Opposition, "cabal—combinators—desperate faction;" and to the nation itself, "barbarism—ignorance," and "insensibility to *protection and paternal regards* she had ever experienced from the British nation." His speech was severe beyond anything he had ever uttered within the walls of Parliament, and far exceeded the powers he was supposed to possess.

After many speeches on each side, Mr. Plunket arose; and, in what Sir Jonah Barrington calls "the ablest speech ever heard from any member in that Parliament," went at once to the grand and decisive point, the incompetence of Parliament; he could go no further on principle than Mr. Ponsonby, but his language was irresistible, and he left nothing to be urged. It was perfect in eloquence, and unanswerable in reasoning. Its effect was indescribable; and, for the first time, Lord Castlereagh, whom he personally assailed, seemed to shrink from the encounter. That speech was of great weight, and it proved the eloquence, and the fortitude of the speaker.

But a short speech, on that night, which gave a new sensation, and excited novel observations, was a maiden speech by Colonel O'Donnell, of Mayo County, the eldest son of Sir Neil O'Donnell, a man of very large fortune in that county; he was Colonel of a Mayo regiment. He was a brave officer, and a well-bred gentleman; and in all the situations of life he showed excellent qualities. On this night, roused by Lord Castlereagh's invectives, he could not contain his indignation; and by anticipation, "disclaimed all future allegiance; if a union were effected, he held it as a vicious revolution, and avowed that he would take the field at the head of his regiment to oppose its execution, and would resist rebels in rich clothes as he had done the rebels in rags." And for this speech in Parliament, he was dismissed his regiment without further notice.

On a division being called for, there appeared a majority of *six* against the Union. The gratification of the Anti-Unionists was unbounded; and as they walked in one by one to be counted, "the eager spectators," says Sir Jonah, "ladies as well as gentlemen, leaning over the galleries, ignorant of the result, were panting with expectation. Lady Castlereagh, then one of the finest women of the Court, appeared in the Sergeant's box, palpitating for her husband's fate. The desponding appearance and fallen crests of the Ministerial benches, and the exulting air of the Opposition members, as they entered, were intelligible. Mr. Egan, Chairman of Dublin County, a large, bluff, red-faced gentleman, was the last who entered. As No. 110 was announced, he stopped a moment at the bar, flourished a stick which he held in his hand over his head, and, with the voice of a stentor, cried out: '*And I'm a hundred and eleven!*'"

The same writer has thus analyzed for us this celebrated division:—

For Mr. Ponsonby's amendment	111
For Lord Tyrone's address	105
Majority against Government	6

On this debate, the members who voted were circumstanced as follows:—

Members holding offices during pleasure	69
Members rewarded by offices for their votes	19
Member openly seduced in the body of the House	1
Commoners created peers, or their wives peeresses, for their votes	18
Total	102
Supposed to be uninfluenced	3
The House composed of	300
Voted that night	216
Absent members	84

Of these eighty-four absent members, twenty-four were kept away by absolute necessity, and of the residue there can be no doubt they were not friends to the Union, from this plain reason, that the Government had the power of enforcing the attendance of all dependent members. Thus the moral effect of this victory—to those who knew the composition of the House—was much greater than was indicated by the mere numerical majority. It was hoped that "Union" was defeated forever.

But now, in the very moment of triumph, and even by the means taken to make that triumph definitive and irreversible, the tide was turned.

The members assembled in the lobby were preparing to separate, when Mr. Ponsonby

requested they would return into the House and continue a very few minutes, as he had business of the utmost importance for their consideration. This produced a profound silence. Mr. Ponsonby then, in a few words, "congratulated the House and the country on the honest and patriotic assertion of their liberties; but declared that he considered there would be no security against future attempts to overthrow their independence but by a direct and absolute declaration of the rights of Irishmen, recorded upon their journals, as the decided sense of the people, through their Parliament; and he, therefore, without further preface, moved—'*That this House will ever maintain the undoubted birthright of Irishmen, by preserving an independent Parliament of Lords and Commons residing in this kingdom*, as stated and approved by His Majesty and the British Parliament in 1782.'"

Lord Castlereagh, conceiving that further resistance was unavailing, only said, "that he considered such a motion of the most dangerous tendency; however, if the House were determined on it, he begged to declare his entire dissent, and on their own heads be the consequences of so wrong and inconsiderate a measure." No further opposition was made by Government; and the Speaker putting the question, a loud cry of approbation followed, with but two negatives—those of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Toler (Lord Norbury); the motion was carried, and the members were rising to withdraw, when the Speaker, wishing to be strictly correct, called to Mr. Ponsonby to *write* down his motion accurately. He, accordingly, walked to the table to write it down.

During this short delay, the Ministerialists and Opposition regarded one another in silence. Some members who had voted with Mr. Ponsonby did not wish the Government to be finally defeated. They had heard of the determination of the Castle to buy a majority, and that at very high prices; and these patriots, though they would not give themselves away, desired to sell themselves. Accordingly, when Mr. Ponsonby's absolute resolution was put in writing, and the Speaker had read it, and put the question, and a loud cry of "*Aye*" burst forth, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, of Louth County, desired to be heard before the resolution should finally pass. He said he was "adverse to the Union—had voted against it,—but did not wish to bind himself *forever; possible* circumstances might occur which should render that measure expedient for the empire," &c. This was caught at by some moderate and hesitating members of Parliament—by some from honest and by others from dishonest motives—amongst others by John Claudius Beresford (of the Riding-House); and the motion was not pressed by Mr. Ponsonby, for fear of a defeat.*

This created great despondency and alarm amongst the honest Anti-Unionists. But for this incident Cornwallis and Castlereagh must probably have resigned; but now chagrin and disappointment had changed sides, and the friends of the Union, who a moment before had considered their measure as nearly extinguished, rose upon their success, retorted in their turn, and opposed its being withdrawn. It was, however, too tender a ground for either party to insist upon a division; a debate was equally to be avoided, and the motion was suffered to be withdrawn. Sir Henry Cavendish keenly and sarcastically remarked, that "it was a retreat after a victory." After a day's and a night's debate, without intermission, the House adjourned at eleven o'clock the ensuing morning.

Upon the rising of the House, the populace became tumultuous, and a violent disposition against those who had supported the Union was manifest, not only amongst the common people, but amongst those of a much higher class, who had been mingling with them.

On the Speaker's coming out of the House, the horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn in triumph through the streets by the people, who conceived the whimsical idea of tackling the Lord-Chancellor to the coach, and (as a captive general in a Roman triumph) forcing him to tug at the chariot of his conqueror.

The populace closely pursued his lordship

* Those "possible circumstances" did occur—and very soon. Both Mr. Fortescue and others who had voted with Ponsonby voted for the Union on its passage in the next session.

for that extraordinary purpose; he escaped with great difficulty, and fled, with a pistol in his hand, to a receding doorway in Clarendon street. But the people, who pursued him in sport, set up a loud laugh at him, as he stood terrified against the door. They offered him no personal violence, and returned in high glee to their more innocent amusement of drawing the Speaker.

Formally, however, and for the moment, the division of that day was a triumph. A scene of joy and triumph appeared universal —every countenance had a smile, throughout all ranks and classes of the people— men shook their neighbors heartily by the hand, as if the Minister's defeat was an event of individual good fortune, the mob seemed as well disposed to joy as mischief, and that was saying much for a Dublin assemblage. But a view of their enemies, as they came skulking from behind the corridors, occasionally roused them to no very tranquil temperature. Some members had to try their speed, and others their intrepidity.

Sir Jonah Barrington, who looked on at all these proceedings with the eye rather of a humorist than of a statesman, tells us that Mr. Richard Martin, unable to get clear, turned on his hunters, and boldly faced a mob of many thousands, with a small pocket pistol in his hand. He swore most vehemently that, if they advanced six inches on him, he would immediately "shoot *every mother's babe* of them as dead as that paving stone" (kicking one). The united spirit and fun of his declaration, and his little pocket pistol, aimed at ten thousand men, women, and children, were so entirely to the taste of our Irish populace, that all symptoms of hostility ceased. They gave him three cheers, and he regained his home without further molestation.

In the House of Lords, on the same question, upon the reception of this address, Lord Clare carried everything with a high hand. The same handful of spirited peers who had voted against Union on the former division again opposed it; and it is remarked that Dr. Dickson, Bishop of Down, and Marlay, Bishop of Limerick, were the only two spiritual peers who ventured to stand up against the stern and haughty Chancellor. The Bishop of Limerick was Grattan's uncle, and the Bishop of Down was an intimate friend of Mr. Fox. That degraded assemblage, the Irish House of Peers, many of whom had bought their titles within the past few years for money, or for the Castle-votes of their borough members, and others of whom were promised a noble price for those boroughs to promote the Union, lay helplessly prostrate at the feet of Government, and the low-born but audacious Chancellor cracked his whip over the coronetted slaves.

Not much business of great national importance was transacted in the remainder of that session; the Government had resolved to employ all its resources in favor of union during the recess. The Loyalist Claim bill, however, was passed; under which bill the country was afterwards charged more than a million sterling, to compensate "loyalists" who had suffered loss by the insurrection. An attempt was made to pass also a "Rebel Disqualification bill;" the title was "A Bill for preventing persons who have ever taken the Oath of the United Irishmen from voting for members to serve in Parliament." On the second reading this bill of disfranchisement was opposed by Sir Hercules Langrishe, supported vehemently, of course, by Dr. Duigenan, John Claudius Beresford, and Mr. Ogle; but was defeated.

A very singular discussion took place in the House of Commons this session, on the presentation of a petition from Mr. Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, known as the "flogging sheriff" of Tipperary. It seems that he had been so wanton and indiscriminate in his flagellations, that he thought even the "Indemnity act" not sufficient to screen him from the legal consequences of such a raging loyalty; and this petition was to ask a special indemnity for himself. "Many actions," the petition said, "had been brought, and many more threatened." Several members of Parliament from Munster, bore the warmest testimony to the zeal and activity of this monster in dealing with rebels. The Attorney-General "bore testimony from official information, as well as from local knowledge, to the very spirited and meritorious conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald, and he

trusted the House would cheerfully accede to the prayer of the petition." Mr. Yelverton then read to the House the sworn testimony of witnesses in one case—that of Mr. Wright, (which has been already mentioned.)

"The action (he said) brought by Mr. Wright was for assault and battery. It appeared that Mr. Wright was a teacher of the French language, of which he was employed as professor by two eminent boarding-schools at Clonmel, and in the families of several respectable gentlemen in the town and neighborhood.

"Mr. Wright had heard that Mr. Fitzgerald had received some charges of a seditious nature against him, and with a promptitude not very characteristic of conscious guilt, he immediately went to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he did not find at home, and afterwards to that of another magistrate, who was also out, for the purpose of surrendering himself for trial; he went again the same day, accompanied by a gentleman, to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, and being shown into his presence, explained the purpose of his coming, when Mr. Fitzgerald drawing his sword, said, 'down on your knees, you rebellious scoundrel, and receive your sentence.' In vain did the poor man protest his innocence; in vain did he implore trial, on his knees. Mr. Fitzgerald sentenced him first to be flogged, and then shot. The unfortunate man surrendered his keys to have his papers searched, and expressed his readiness to suffer any punishment the proof of guilt could justify; but no—this was not agreeable to Mr. Fitzgerald's principles of jurisdiction; his mode was first to sentence, then punish, and afterwards investigate. His answer to the unfortunate man was, 'What, you Carmelite rascal, do you dare to speak after sentence?' and then struck him, and ordered him to prison.

"Next day this unhappy man was dragged to a ladder in Clonmel street, to undergo his sentence. He knelt down in prayer with his hat before his face. Mr. Fitzgerald came up, dragged his hat from him and trampled on it, seized the man by the hair, dragged him to the earth, kicked him, and cut him across the forehead with his sword, and then had him stripped naked, tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty lashes.

"Major Rial, an officer in the town, came up as the fifty lashes were completed, and asked Mr. F. the cause. Mr. F. handed the major a note, written in French, saying, he did not himself understand French, though he understood Irish, but he (Major Rial) would find in that letter, what would justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death.

"Major Rial read the letter. He found it to be a note addressed for the victim, translated in these words:—

"'SIR,—*I am* extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Lawrence Parsons. Yours,

"'BARON DE CLUES.'

"Notwithstanding this translation, which Major Rial read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate, the bowels of the bleeding victim could be perceived to be convulsed and working through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the application of his cat-o'nine-tails on that part without cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open and fifty more lashes to be inflicted there. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barrack to demand a file of men to come and shoot him; but being refused by the commanding officer, he came back and sought for a rope to hang him, but could not get one. He then ordered him to be cut down and sent back to prison, where he was confined in a dark, small room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and there he remained six or seven days, without medical assistance!*

* Mr. Plowden records another case, almost precisely alike, in which Fitzgerald's victim was a young man, named Doyle, a respectable tradesman of Carrick. The action was tried at Clonmel Spring Assizes, in 1801. Mr, Plowden says: "The plaintiff, who was a young man of excellent character and untainted loyalty, was seized in the street by the defendant in order to be flagellated. In vain did he protest his innocence, which was also supported by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the place. He begged to have Captain Jephson sent for, the commander

The Attorney-General, in reply, said: "The petitioner, whose exertions had been productive of the happiest consequences, only complained of the persecutions to which he was exposed. His property, and what was of infinitely more important to an honorable man, his character, was at stake." He also censured Mr. Yelverton, and said that gentleman would have acted more becomingly by awaiting in discreet patience the testimony offered by the petitioner, &c. The petition was at length referred to a committee, then to a *secret* committee. Nothing seems to have been done upon it; but Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald afterwards received a considerable pension, "for his active services in quelling the rebellion." *

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the Anti-Unionists conceived they might preclude the possibility of any conflict between the two Parliaments—and thus take one main argument away from the Unionists—by the simple measure of a *Regency act*, enacting that the Regency in Ireland should forever be exercised by the same person who should be Regent of England. Lord Castlereagh opposed the measure, being unwilling to lose any of his arguments, and maintained that such an act would not meet the difficulty.

His lordship's opinion was, that it would not prove a remedy for the inconvenience complained of. It went, in his mind, only to a part of the evil, namely, the effect—but left the cause of the evil untouched. Thus the great malady still remained, and the connection between both countries would in no instance be better secured. Two Parliaments, perfectly equal in point of rights, might, at any future period, differ respecting their choice of a regent; and, therefore, the bill could not effect that unity of the executive which the measure proposed to establish.

Circumstanced as the countries were, the questions of peace and war, of treaties with foreign powers, of different religions, might, at some future period, lead to a difference of decision between their Parliaments; and such an occurrence would shake the connection, and, in consequence, the empire, to its foundations.

If questions of comparative advantage between countries might arise, how could a Regency bill operate as a remedy for the evil?

His lordship wished to be informed how a bill, which went to establish the unity of the regal powers, could identify the necessary powers of a regent for other countries. Might not the particular circumstances of one country differ so materially from the other that the Regency for both kingdoms could not conveniently be exercised by the same person? Or, did not the bill go to oblige the monarch to appoint one and the same Regent, which, in fact, went to restrict the regal authority? Thus, either the regal powers were curtailed, or the Regency bill was inefficient to remove the inconvenience it went to remedy. The Regent was, to all intents and purposes, a deputy; and could a Regent in that case appoint a Lord-Lieutenant? Could a deputy appoint a deputy? He presumed he could not; and should a Regent send over a Lord-Lieutenant to that country, he was satisfied that the Council could object to his authority.

His lordship read part of a speech of Mr. Fox, to show that the adjustment of 1782 was not considered as a final one; that it went merely to quiet the political struggle which then existed; and that it was indispensably necessary to give up something for that imperial purpose.

His lordship concluded by saying that the measure was inefficient to the purpose it held forth; calculated to blind the country, and disgrace the Legislature.

It must be acknowledged that these arguments of Lord Castlereagh have considerable weight, and that the only possibility of Ireland's real and effective independence lies in complete separation from England. It was on the discussion of the Regency bill

of the yeomanry, of which he was a member; that was refused. He offered to go to instant execution if the least trace of guilt appeared against him on inquiry; that was also refused. Bail was offered to any amount for his appearance. 'No,' says the sheriff, 'I know by his face that he is a traitor—a Carmelite scoundrel.' The plaintiff was tied to the whipping-post; he received one hundred lashes, till his ribs appeared. The young man's innocence was afterwards fully established. He applied to a court of law for redress; the action was tried at Clonmel Assizes; these facts fully proved; an Orange jury acquitted the defendant."

* Plowden's *Hist. Review*, 5th vol.

that Mr. Foster, the Speaker, took occasion to express his sentiments with great weight and earnestness against the project of Union; contending that the settlement of 1782 was a final settlement, and that the pending Regency bill would remove the last remaining difficulty in the way of harmonious action between the two independent countries. The Regency bill, however, was not acted upon. That, with all other legislation having reference to the Union, was thrown over till the next session; by which time, Lord Castlereagh hoped to have his votes ready to carry his grand measure. He violently opposed the Regency bill, and got rid of it by moving an adjournment of the House, which was carried.

In the meantime, the English Lords and Commons were also busy upon the Union; and we must now turn from College Green to Westminster for a time.

CHAPTER XL.

1799.

Union Proposed in British Parliament—Opposed by Sheridan—Supported by Canning—Great Speech of Mr. Pitt—Ireland to be Assured of English Protection—Of English Capital—Promises to the Catholics—Mr. Pitt's Resolutions for Union—Sheridan—Dundas—Resolutions Passed—In the House of Lords—Labors of Cornwallis and Castlereagh—Corruption—Intimidation—Onslaught of Troops in Dublin—Lord Cornwallis Makes a Tour—Lord Downshire Disgraced—Handcock of Athlone—His Song and Palinode—Opposition Inorganic—The Orangemen—The Catholics—Arts to Delude Them—Dublin Catholics Against Union—O'Connell—System of Terror—County Meeting Dispersed by Troops—Castlereagh's Announcement of "Compensation."

On the same day, (January 22, 1799,) on which the Union was proposed to the Irish Parliament in the speech of Lord Cornwallis, the same business was brought before both Houses in England. Mr. Pitt was so confident of his power to carry that measure that he did not think it advisable to await the result of the deliberations of the Irish Senate upon it; but, presuming on his strength in the Irish as much as in the British Houses of Parliament, he opened his plan of operations in both on the same day. Accordingly, on the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the Sovereign was delivered to the British Peers by Lord Grenville, recommending a Union in the following terms:

"His Majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom cannot fail to engage the particular attention of Parliament; and His Majesty recommends it to this House to consider of the most effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this design; and he trusts that a review of all the circumstances which have recently occurred (joined to the sentiments of mutual affection and common interests) will dispose the Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection."

The same day a similar message was presented to the Commons by Mr. Dundas, who moved that it should be taken into consideration on the morrow. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, though a member for an English borough, did not forget that he was an Irishman. He immediately rose, and while he declared his concurrence in the general sentiments which the message conveyed, he thought it but fair thus to give early notice that he viewed the bringing forward of that question at that time as a measure replete with so much mischief, that he held it his duty to take the first opportunity to do everything in his power to arrest the further progress of it.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, said he was at a loss to guess on what grounds the honorable gentleman would attempt to satisfy the House they ought not to proceed to the consideration of the important measure, which His Majesty, from his paternal regard to the interests of the empire, had thought proper to recommend to their consideration; at the same time, he informed the House that his intention was only to propose an address to His Majesty on the next day; and then, after a sufficient interval, (about ten days,) to proceed to the further discussion of the subject.

When the address, accordingly, was proposed the next day, Mr. Sheridan made a long and able speech against the whole project. "He thought it incumbent," he said,

"upon Ministers to offer some explanations with regard to the failure of the last solemn adjustment between the countries, which had been generally deemed final. There was the stronger reason to expect this mode of proceeding, when the declaration of the Irish Parliament in 1782 * was recollected. The British Legislature having acquiesced in this declaration, no other basis of connection ought to be adopted."

He then spoke of the injustice of attempting to consummate this union by intimidation and corruption. He contended that the adjustment proposed would only unite two wretched bodies; that the minds would still be distinct; and that eventually it might lead to separation.

"Let no suspicion," he continued, "be entertained that we gained our object by intimidation or corruption. Let our Union be an union of affection and attachment, of plain-dealing and free-will. Let it be an union of mind and spirit, as well as of interest and power. Let it not resemble those Irish marriages which commenced in fraud and were consummated by force. Let us not commit a brutal rape on the independence of Ireland, when, by tenderness of behavior, we may have her the willing partner of our fate. The state of Ireland did not admit such a marriage. Her bans ought not to be published to the sound of the trumpet, with an army of forty thousand men. She was not qualified for hymeneal rites, when the grave and the prison held so large a share of her population."

Sheridan was answered by George Canning; who spoke earnestly in favor of an Union. Canning is sometimes claimed as an Irishman, but he was born in London, and never in all his life allowed the claim, no more than Swift, who said it was too hard if he was to be considered an Irishman, although he had the misfortune to be "dropped" in that island. At any rate, Mr. Canning, never, in his whole career, showed the slightest Irish feeling; and on this occasion he viewed the question wholly as an Englishman, as he was. Here is an extract from his speech:—

"It had been said, that for the space of three hundred years we had oppressed Ireland; but for the last twenty years, the conduct of England had been a *series of concessions*. The Irish wanted an octennial parliament—it was granted. They wished for an independent legislature—they had their wish. They desired a free trade—it was given to them. A very large body of the people of Ireland desired a repeal of a part of the Penal Code which they deemed oppressive—the repeal was granted. The honorable gentleman had spoken as if nothing had been done for Ireland but what she extorted, and what she had a right to demand—he seemed to think that past favors were no proofs of kindness. It was, undoubtedly, expedient that these advantages should be given to Ireland, because her prosperity was the prosperity of England; but *they were not privileges which she could claim as matters of right*."

It was on the 31st, after the message had been again read, that Mr. Pitt made his great speech, fully developing the view which the British Ministry desired to be received on the question of Union. In justice to the Unionists it is necessary to give an abstract of what this able statesman urged on his own part:—

"The nature of the existing connection," he said, "evidently did not afford that degree of security, which, even in times less dangerous and less critical, was necessary to enable the empire to avail itself of its strength and resources.

"The settlement of 1782, far from deserving the name of a final adjustment, was one that left the connection between Great Britain and Ireland exposed to all the attacks of party and all the effects of accident. That settlement consisted in the demolition of the system which before held the two countries together. A system unworthy of

* "We beg leave to represent to His Majesty that the subjects of Ireland are entitled to a free Constitution; that the Imperial Crown of Ireland is inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connection the happiness of both nations essentially depends; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct dominion, having a Parliament of her own, the sole Legislature thereof; that there is no power whatsoever competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. Upon which exclusive right of legislation we consider the very essence of our liberties to depend—a right which we claim as the birthright of the people of Ireland, and which we are determined, in every situation of life, to assert and maintain."

the liberality of Great Britain, and injurious to the interests of Ireland. But to call that a system in itself—to call that a glorious fabric of human wisdom, which was no more than the mere demolition of another system—was a perversion of terms."

Mr, Pitt then quoted the Parliamentary journals, to prove that the repeal of the Declaratory act was not considered by the Minister of the day as precluding endeavours for the formation of an ulterior settlement between the kingdoms.

Mr Pitt was good enough to add, that Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the *safety* of Ireland ; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the common enemy made her attack npon Britain through the medium of Ireland, and when the attack upon Ireland tended to deprive her of her connection with Britain, and to substitute in lieu of it the new government of the French Republic. When that danger threatened Ireland, the purse of Great Britain was opened for the wants of Ireland, as for the necessities of England.

To those who know how Ireland has been drained of her wealth and crushed in her industry since the Union, and by the Union, the following paragraph of Mr. Pitt's speech will seem strange :—

" Among the great and known defects of Ireland, one of the most prominent features was its want of industry and of capital. How were those wants to be supplied, but by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and capital of Great Britain ? "

The Minister enlarged very much upon the benefit which Ireland would derive from the certainty of being defended by England against foreign enemies, and upon her inability to protect herself. Of course, he did not advert to the fact (which he well knew) that the great majority of the Irish people, Protestants as well as Catholics, knew of no other foreign enemy than England ; that in resisting French invasions of Ireland, England was defending not Ireland but herself ; and that in capturing Frenchmen at Ballinamuck, or in Lough Swilly, the English forces were not capturing Ireland's enemies, but Ireland's friends. He drew a glowing picture of the great advantages which the lesser country would draw from her union with the greater, the protection which she would secure to herself in the hour of danger ; the most effectual means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners and English industry, necessarily tending to meliorate her condition, to accelerate the progress of internal civilization, and to terminate those feuds and dissensions, which distracted the country, and which she did not possess within herself the power either to control or to extinguish. She would see the avenue to honors, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, opened to all those, whose abilities and talents enabled them to indulge an honorable and laudable ambition.

He did not forget to make his bid for the Catholics ; and without giving, in this speech, any distinct pledge of emancipation by the Imperial Parliament, he intimated very clearly that the principal difficulty in the way of that measure would be removed by the Union. "No man could say," he remarked, "that, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the State, and shaking the Constitution of Ireland to its centre. On the other hand, when the conduct of the Catholics should be such as to make it safe for the Government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times should be favorable to such a measure, it was obvious that this question might be agitated in an United Imperial Parliament, with much greater safety than it could be in a separate Legislature."

The Minister dwelt much upon the weakness of Ireland, which was not, he said, able to protect herself—he had not said so in the days of the volunteers ; upon the confusions and atrocities which prevailed at that moment throughout the country—but he did not say that it was *he* who had ordered and organized those horrors ; upon "the hostile division of sects in Ireland, and the animosities between ancient settlers and original inhabitants"—but without saying that Eng-

lish policy had created and perpetuated those evils; upon the "ignorance and want of civilization which," he was pleased to say, "marked that country more than any in Europe"—but he forgot to say that for a century it had been a penal offence for any Catholic to go to school, or to teach a school. For all this, he insisted there was no cure but in the formation of a General Imperial Legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the passions of that distracted country.

Ireland, Mr. Pitt admitted, might suffer somewhat "by the absence of the chief nobility and gentry who would flock to the imperial metropolis;" but this disadvantage would be far more than counterbalanced by the beneficial results of the system in other respects. And as to the idea that the project of union with England meant subjecting Ireland to a foreign yoke, Mr. Pitt met that with a quotation from Virgil—

"——— Nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova regna peto: paribus se legibus ambœ
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant."

All this looks to-day like cruel and deadly irony. It was with the most severe gravity, however, that Mr. Pitt enumerated all the great blessings which would flow from the Union to Ireland;—if England was to benefit by it, he did not seem to be aware of that circumstance, did not think of it apparently at all; so much absorbed was he by the generons thought of binding up the bleeding wounds of Ireland, and whispering peace to her distracted spirit. He ended by moving his eight resolutions, to serve as a basis for the proposed Union. As these preliminary resolutions were greatly enlarged in the subsequent "Articles" and "Act of Union," they need not be here given at length. They were to the effect that it was fit to propose an union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. That the succession to the Crown should remain settled as it was. That the United Kingdom should be represented in one Parliament, in proportions afterwards to be agreed upon. That the two Churches of England and Ireland should be preserved. That the people of the two kingdoms should stand on the same footing, as to trade and navigation, and no duties should be imposed on export or import between the two islands. That the charge for the debts of the two kingdoms should be separately defrayed; the proportions of future expenses to be settled by the two Parliaments previous to the Union. That all laws and courts should remain as they were then established, subject to future modifications by the United Parliament. Mr. Sheridan opposed these resolutions from first to last.

"If the condition of Ireland," he said, "were really as deplorable as it was stated to be, the House ought to be informed from what misconceptions such evils had arisen, amidst the advantages which God and nature had bestowed upon her. It might be concluded, indeed, that her poverty was chiefly occasioned by the narrow, unwise policy of Britain, a policy which, he was glad to find, the Minister now disapproved. Her weakness, perhaps, was not so great as it was supposed to be; and, if it were, it was ungenerous to insult her. Such an insult would not have been offered to her while her volunteers were in arms."

In the course of the several debates which took place, Sheridan was supported by several eminent members of the House; by Mr. Grey, (afterwards Lord Grey,) by General Fitzpatrick, (who had been Irish Secretary under Lord Portland,) Mr. Tierney, the Honorable Mr. St. John, Mr. Hobhouse, and others; most of whom opposed the measure on account of the time being improper for its discussion. Of those who supported it may be named Sir John Mitford, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Dudley Ryder, Mr. Secretary Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, (a Scotchman,) spoke warmly for the Union; and in his speech took occasion to throw out again the bait which was to catch the Catholics; and as he was a member of the administration, his words were supposed to have weight. He said "that, after union, the Protestants would lay aside their jealousies and distrust, being certain that against any attempt to endanger their establishment the whole strength of the United Legislature would be exerted; and, on the other hand, the Catholics would expect that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered

by a general Parliament, the great body of which would be relieved from the apprehensions and animosities interwoven with the Constitution of the existing Legislature."

Mr. Dundas further vaunted the excellent effects which, he said, had followed the union of Scotland with England, and referred to a letter of Queen Anne to the Northern Parliament, predicting the various blessings, with respect to religion, liberty, and property, which would result from the scheme of incorporation; and, he said, that not one syllable of her predictions had failed.

It is observable that, throughout the whole of these debates in the English Parliament, not one of the advocates of Union ever seems to have thought of the interest or honor of his own country. It was for Ireland they were all conerned. At length, on the 12th of February, came the division on bringing up the report. The *ayes* were 120; *nays*, 16. This was followed by a conference between the Lords and Commons; and the House of Peers ordered a month's interval before entering upon the discussion in their House.

On the 19th of March, the matter was brought before the British House of Peers by Lord Grenville. He went through all the common arguments for the Union, and repeated the usual carefully-calculated phrases intended to win the Irish Catholics without any distinct ministerial pledge for emancipation. He said:—

"The good consequences of union would quickly appear, in the progress of civilization, the prevalence of order, the increase of industry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Hibernian Protestants would feel themselves secure under the protection of a Protestant Imperial Parliament; and the anxiety of the Catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claims from a Parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legislature."

The Union was opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, advocated by the Marquis of Townshend, Lord Clifton, Lord Minto, the Bishop of Llandaff, and many others. Lord Moira opposed it. Lord Camden (the rebellion Viceroy) supported it. This nobleman took occasion to enter on a defence of his own administration in Ireland, which seemed indeed to need defence. He denied that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was productive of disorder or disaffection, and affirmed that the rigorous proceedings of the Government were rendered necessary by that seditious spirit which existed independently of the Catholic question. He declared that all the severities imputed to his administration were *preceded* by acts of outrage, of insurrection, or of rebellion. He allowed that his conduct, in adopting active and vigorous measures, and apprehending some of the leaders, did accelerate the rebellion; but, as the same steps facilitated its suppression, he did not think that he could justly be blamed.

Lord Minto advised the insertion of a distinct clause in the articles or act of Union, providing for the "just claims of the Catholic Irish;" but he did not insist on this, and Ministers took care that no such clause should be inserted. Their policy at that moment, with regard to Catholics, was only to whisper hopes and private promises into the ear of bishops and peers of that persuasion, as will be seen more fully hereafter. At the end of a long debate the address was finally adopted, embracing Mr. Pitt's proposals; and so the matter rested until the next session.

The remainder of the year 1799 was a busy time for Lord Cornwallis, Lord Clare, Lord Castlereagh, and under-Secretary Cooke. They were all excessively mortified at the temporary failure of this measure; but if certain too credulous and generous Irishmen fondly imagined that the danger was over, they were signally mistaken. Neither Clare nor Castlereagh was the man to be so easily discouraged at a crisis on which their own future political honors and existence depended. They had it in command from London to carry the Union through. Mr Pitt, by a *private* dispatch to Lord Cornwallis, desired that the measure should not be pressed unless he could be *certain* of a majority of fifty;* and his lordship knew what that meant, coming from Mr. Pitt. Lord Cornwallis seems to have been quite a willing agent in the system of corruption and

* "This original dispatch I saw and read."—*Sir J. Barrington.*

intimidation now to be inaugurated on a grander scale than ever before; and, indeed, to an extent never witnessed, either before or since, in any country of the globe. And never had a government two more efficient officers for such a purpose than Clare, the Lord-Chancellor, and Castlereagh, the Secretary. The Chancellor, in fact, was too violent and arrogant to be politic. He called that a pusillanimous idea; and could have been well content for his part to carry the Union with a majority of one, and then dragoon the island into submission. In his rage at the first check in Parliament, and at the somewhat tumultuous rejoicings of the Dublin mob, (who, however, hurt nobody,) he hastily had the Privy Council called together, and urged the necessity of making what in Ireland is called a salutary example. Accordingly, about nine at night, a party of the military stationed in the old Custom House, near Essex Bridge, silently sallied out, with trailed arms, without any civil magistrate, and only a sergeant to command them; arriving at Capel street, the populace were in the act of violently huzzaing for their friends, and, of course, with equal vehemence execrating their enemies; but no riot act was read, no magistrate appeared, and no disturbance or tumult existed to warrant military interference.

The soldiers, however, having taken a position a short way down the street, without being in any way assailed, fired a volley of balls amongst the people. Of course, a few were killed and some wounded; amongst the former, were a woman and a boy. A man fell dead at the feet of Mr. P. Hamilton, the King's Proctor of the Admiralty, who, as a mere spectator, was viewing the illumination. This is only mentioned to evince the violent spirit which guided the Government of that day, and the tyrannic means which were employed to terrify the people from testifying their joy at their deliverance, as they fancied, from the proposed annexation.*

Lord Castlereagh, however, knew a better way of going to work: The session had scarcely closed, when his lordship recommenced his warfare against his country. The treasury was in his hands, patronage in his note-book, and all the influence which the scourge or the pardon, reward or punishment, could possibly produce on the trembling rebels, was openly resorted to. Lord Cornwallis determined to put Irish honesty to the test, and set out upon an experimental tour through those parts of the country where the nobility and gentry were most likely to entertain him. He artfully selected those places where he could best make his way with corporations at public dinners, and with the aristocracy, country-gentlemen, and farmers, by visiting their mansions and cottages. Ireland was thus canvassed, and every jail was converted to a hustings, at which prisoners of various grades of crime were asked to sign petitions for the Union, by the promise of pardon.† Lord Castlereagh's ulterior efforts were extensive and indefatigable, his spirit revived and every hour gained ground on his opponents. He clearly perceived that the ranks of the Opposition were too open to be strong, and too mixed to be unanimous. The extraordinary fate of Mr. Ponsonby's declaration of rights, and the debate on a similar motion by Lord Corry, which so shortly afterwards met a more serious negative, proved the truth of these observations, and identified the persons through whom that truth was to be afterwards exemplified.

It was soon perceived by the Anti-Unionists, that Government was recruiting and marshalling its forces to carry its measure with a high hand in the next session; and that they also must do somewhat on their side, to maintain the high national spirit in resistance to the hated measure. The Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Charlemont, and William Brabazon Ponsonby, member for the county of Kilkenny, sent circular letters to the Irish gentry and yeomanry, to the following effect. They were authorized, they said, by a number of gentlemen of both houses of Parliament—thirty eight of whom were representatives of counties—to intimate their opinion, that petitions to Parliament, declaring the real sense of the freeholders on the subject of a Legislative Union, would at that time be highly expedient.

* Sir J. Barrington.

† This fact, that felons in the jails were thus induced to sign Union petitions, was mentioned in Parliamentary debate, and not contradicted. *Sir J. Barrington.*

The Marquis of Downshire was at once dismissed from the government of his county—the colonelcy of the Royal Downshire regiment of twelve hundred men, and his name was erased from the list of Privy Councillors.* All the resources of Government, either for reward or punishment, were to be used, and that without reserve. The management of Mr. Handcock, member for Athlone, is an example of the system of treatment opposite to that pursued towards Lord Downshire. Immediately after the close of the session of 1799, a public dinner of the patriotic members was had in Dublin, to commemorate the rescue of their country from so imminent a danger. One hundred and ten members of Parliament sat down to that splendid and triumphant entertainment.

Never was a more cordial, happy assemblage of men of rank, consideration, and *proven* integrity, collected in one chamber, than upon that remarkable occasion. Every man's tried and avowed principles were supposed to be untaintable, and pledged to his own honor and his country's safety ; and amongst others, Mr. Handcock, member for Athlone, appeared to be conspicuous. He spoke strongly, gave numerous Anti-Union toasts, vowed his eternal hostility to so infamous a measure, pledged himself to God and man to resist it to the utmost, and, to finish and record his sentiments, he had composed an Anti-Union song of many stanzas, which he sung himself with a general chorus. In short, he was the life of the party. Lord Castlereagh marked him as a man to be won upon any terms. Before Parliament assembled in the next session, Mr. Handcock was composing and singing *Union* songs. He received a large bribe in money ; " but," says Sir Jonah Barrington, " still he held out until title was added to the bribe, his own conscience was not strong enough to resist the charge, the vanity of his family lusted for nobility. He wavered, but he yielded ; his vows, his declaration, his song, all vanished before vanity, and the year 1800, saw Mr. Handcock of Athlone, Lord Castlemaine." It is unnecessary to say that he voted for the Union.

The very heterogeneous nature of the Opposition which had rejected the Union in the last session, gave Lord Castlereagh great facilities in breaking it down. In that fortuitous concourse of members, were to be found old reformers, and those who had always opposed reform, Catholic Emancipators, as well as the most violent and bitter of the Orangemen. Indeed, the most fatal cause of division amongst them, was their radical difference of opinion on the Catholic question. Those who had determined to support the Catholic cause, as the surest mode of preventing any future attempts to attain a Union, were obliged to dissemble their intentions of proposing emancipation, lest they should disgust the Ascendancy party who acted with them solely against the Union. Those who were enemies to Catholic relaxation, were also obliged to conceal their wishes, lest their determination to resist that measure should disgust the advocates of emancipation, who had united with them on the present occasion.

The *talent* of Parliament principally existed amongst the members who had formed the general opposition to the Union. Some habitual friends of administration, therefore, who had on this single question seceded from the Court, and who wished to resume their old habits on the Union being disposed of, obviously felt a portion of narrow jealousy at being *led* by those they had been accustomed to *oppose*, and reluctantly joined in any *liberal* opposition to a Court which they had been in the habit of supporting. They desired to vote against the Union in the abstract, but to commit themselves no further against the Minister. Many, upon this temporizing and ineffective principle, cautiously avoided any discussion, save upon the *direct* proposition ; and this was remarkable, and felt to be ruinous in the succeeding session.

In the meetings and discussions which took place during that anxious interval between the two sessions, and in the first days of the new one, the Orange body held aloof from the question *as* Orangemen ; and in the first days of the new session, a circular was issued signed by the " Grand Master," and " Grand Secretary," and dated " Grand Orange Lodge," exhorting Orangemen " to avoid, as injurious to the institution, all controversy upon subjects not connected with

* Plowden.

their principles." There is no doubt, however, that most of the Orangemen were for the Union ; and both the Grand Master and Grand Secretary, being members of Parliament, voted for it in 1800.

To the countless petitions which were poured in, almost all *against* the Union, were signed the names of Catholics and Protestants indiscriminately ; but the Catholic Bishops certainly used their influence in many cases to dissuade the people of their flocks from coming forward against the measure. "It may, indeed, be said with truth," says Mr. Plowden, "that a very great preponderancy in favor of the Union existed in the Catholic body, particularly in their nobility, gentry, and clergy." The same authority accounts for this by "the severities and indignities practiced upon them after the rebellion by many of the Orange party, and the offensive, affected confusion, in the use of the terms, papist and rebel, producing fresh soreness in the minds of many." But this is not a satisfactory account of the indifferent or hostile position assumed at that time of peril, by many leading Catholics towards the Legislature of their country. If they did see some Orangemen sitting upon the Opposition benches, they also saw there *all* their own old and tried friends and advocates ; and their attitude is rather to be ascribed to the impression produced by the underhand half-promises made by people connected with the Government. Sir Jonah Barrington says :—

"The Viceroy knew mankind too well to dismiss the Catholics without a comfortable conviction of their certain emancipation ; he turned to them the honest side of his countenance ; the priests bowed before the soldierly condescensions of a starred veteran. The titular archbishop was led to believe he would instantly become a real prelate ; and before the negotiation concluded, Dr. Troy was consecrated a decided Unionist, and was directed to send pastoral letters to his colleagues to promote it."

Sir Jonah tells us, further, that "some of the persons, assuming to themselves the title of *Catholic leaders*, sought an audience, in order to inquire from Marquis Cornwallis, 'What would be the advantage to the Catholics, if a union should happen to be effected in Ireland ?'

"Mr. Bellew, (brother to Sir Patrick Bellew,) Mr. Lynch, and some others, had several audiences with the Viceroy ; the Catholic Bishops were generally deceived into the most disgusting subservience, rewards were not withheld, Mr. Bellew was to be appointed a County Judge, but that being found impracticable, he got a secret pension, which he has now enjoyed for thirty-two years."

But, undoubtedly, the main motive of the anti-national conduct of leading Catholics is to be sought in those uniform declarations of Ministers, both in England and in Ireland, that the Union, and the Union alone, would remove all impediments to a fair settlement of the demands of the Catholics.

There were, however, some Catholics not to be so easily deluded. The trading and commercial class of Catholics in Dublin was vehemently opposed to union ; and, immediately before the opening of the session, a meeting of these people was held at the Royal Exchange, to deliver their opinions upon it. It was proposed to prevent this meeting from assembling, by military force — such was always Lord Clare's first thought ; but better counsels prevailed, and the meeting was held, Mr. Ambrose Moore in the chair.

No less a person than *Daniel O'Connell*, then a rising young barrister, took the leading part at this meeting ; and it is interesting to see with what patriotic earnestness he then protested against the perpetration of that Union which, near half a century later, he laid down his life in the effort to repeal. He said :—

"That under the circumstances of the present day, and the systematic calumnies flung at the Catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman Catholics of Dublin to stand entirely aloof, as a mere sect, from all political discussion, at the same time that they were ready, as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and express their opinions in conjunction with their Protestant fellow-subjects. This resolution, which they had entered into, gave rise to an extensive and injurious misrepresentation, and it was asserted by the advocates of

Union, daringly and insolently asserted, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were friends to the measure of Union, and silent allies to that conspiracy formed against the name, the interests, and the liberties of Ireland. This libel on the Catholic character was strengthened by the partial declarations of some mean and degenerate members of the communion, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and, unfortunately, it was received with a too general credulity. Every Union pamphlet, every Union speech imprudently put forth the Catholic name as sanctioning a measure which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of Anti-Unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and, at length, the Catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed, in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations. To refute a calumny directed against them, as a sect, they were obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the assertion of their being favorably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain, was a slander the most vile; a libel the most false, scandalous, and wicked, that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people.

"Sir," continued Mr. O'Connell, "it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure of Union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet a proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our Protestant brethren, than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages *may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic*, to seduce him from the sacred duty which he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages, as a *sect*, which would debase and destroy them as a *people*."

After which Mr. O'Connell moved certain resolutions which were unanimously agreed to.

The first of these resolutions was—

"*Resolved*, That we are of opinion that the proposed incorporate Union of the Legislature of Great Britain and Ireland, is, in fact, an extinction of the liberty of this country, which would be reduced to the abject condition of a province, surrendered to the mercy of the Minister and Legislature of another country, to be bound by their absolute will, and taxed at their pleasure by laws, in the making of which this country could have no efficient participation whatever."

As the decisive moment approached for the trial of this great issue, men's minds became more and more excited on both sides of the question. The patriotic leaders did what was possible to evoke a respectable body of public opinion by way of meetings, petitions, and resolutions; but this was a service of danger, as Lord Downshire had found. A far more extraordinary example of the determination of Government to crush down all legitimate expression of public feeling occurred at a proposed county meeting in Kings County. The circumstances were thus related by Sir Lawrence Parsons, in his place in Parliament, and were never denied:—

"Some time ago, Major Rogers, who commands at Birr, having been told that there was an intention of assembling the freeholders and inhabitants to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning against a Legislative Union, the Major replied that he would disperse them by force if they attempted any such thing; that the Major, however, applied to Government for direction. What answer or directions he received could only be judged of by his immediate conduct. On Sunday last, several magistrates and respectable inhabitants assembled in the session house, when the High-Sheriff (Mr. Derby) went to them and ordered them to disperse, or he would compel them. They were about to depart, when a gentleman came and told them the army was approaching. The As-

sembly had but just time to vote the resolutions, but not to sign them. They broke up, and as they went out of the session house they saw moving towards it a column of troops with four pieces of cannon in front, matches lighted, and every disposition for an attack upon the session house—a building so constructed that if a cannon had been fired it must have fallen on the magistrates and the people, and buried them in its ruins. A gentleman spoke to Major Rogers on the subject of his approaching in that hostile manner. His answer was that he waited but for one word from the Sheriff that he might blow them to atoms! These were the dreadful measures, Sir Lawrence said, by which Government endeavored to force the Union upon the people of Ireland, by stifling their sentiments and dragooning them into submission."

Sir Jonah Barrington states positively that many other meetings throughout the counties were thus prevented by simple "dread of grape-shot." English generals then quartered in various parts of the island, at a moment when either martial law still existed or the horrible memory of it was fresh, could not fail to have their own influence over proclaimed districts and a bleeding peasantry. To them nothing could be easier than to prevent any political meetings, under pretence that they might endanger the public peace.

The Anti-Union addresses, innumerable and ardent, in their very nature voluntary, and with signatures of high consideration, were stigmatized by Government journals as seditious and disloyal; "while those of the compelled, the bribed, and the culprit, were printed and circulated by every means that the Treasury or the influence of the Government could effect." *

There were a good many new elections held this summer; because members were persuaded to resign their seats "upon terms," says Mr. Plowden; but he does not tell us what those terms were. In fact, they simply accepted one of the "Escheatorships," a species of "Chiltern Hundreds," to vacate their seats, that those seats might be filled by creatures of the Castle. In this way a small majority had already been secured before the opening of the session.

Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh, having made so good progress during the recess, now discarded all secrecy and reserve. Many of the peers and several of the commoners had the patronage of boroughs, the control of which was essential to the success of the Minister's project. These patrons Lord Castlereagh assailed by every means which his power and situation afforded. Lord Cornwallis was the remote, Lord Castlereagh the intermediate, and Mr. Secretary Cooke, the immediate agents on many of these bargains. Lord Shannon, the Marquis of Ely, and several other peers commanding votes, after much coquetry had been secured during the first session; but the defeat of Government rendered their future support uncertain. The Parliamentary patrons had breathing time after the preceding session, and began to tremble for their patronage and importance; and some desperate step became necessary to Government, to insure a continuance of the support of these personages.

Accordingly, Lord Castlereagh boldly announced his intention to turn the scale, by bribes to all who would accept them, under the name of *compensation* for the loss of patronage and interest. He publicly declared, *first*, that every nobleman who returned members to Parliament should be paid, in cash, £15,000 for every member so returned; *secondly*, that every member who had *purchased* a seat in Parliament should have his purchase-money repaid to him out of the Treasury of Ireland; *thirdly*, that all members of Parliament, or others, who were *losers* by the Union should be fully recompensed for their losses, and that £1,500,000 should be devoted to this service. In other words, all who should affectionately support his measure were, under some pretext or other, to share in this "bank of corruption."

A declaration so desperately and recklessly flagitious was never made in any country on earth by the Minister of any Sovereign. It was treating the elective franchise of the country as the private property of those pro-

* Sir Jonah Barrington. He states, and O'Connell has affirmed the same, that, notwithstanding all obstacles and intimidations, seven hundred thousand persons petitioned against union; and, notwithstanding all inducements, only three thousand petitioned for it—the most of these being Government officials and prisoners in the jails.

prietors who returned the members by means of their unconstitutional influence. It was acknowledging and consecrating the practice of those members themselves in treating their seats also as a property, from which, during their tenure, they drew profit in bribes, or place, or some substantial Court favor. And it was charging the whole expense of this nefarious transaction to the Irish tax-payers themselves, the very people who were thus to be sold by their representatives, and purchased with their own money by their enemies.

But the declaration had a powerful effect in favor of the Castle ; and before the meeting of Parliament in January he found, through the infallible information of the under-Secretary, Mr. Cooke, that he could count upon a small majority of about eight. This he hoped to increase.

CHAPTER XLI.

1799—1800.

Progress of Union Conspiracy—Grand Scale of Bribery—Castlereagh Organizes "Fighting Men"—Dinner at his House—Last Session of the Irish Parliament—Warm Debate the First Day—Daly Attacks Bushe and Plunket—Reappearance of Grattan—His Speech—Corry Attacks Him—Division—Majority for Government—Castlereagh Proposes "Articles" of Union—His Speech—Promises Great Gain to Ireland from Union—Ireland to "Save a Million a Year"—Proposed Constitution of United Parliament—Irish Peerage—Ponsonby—Grattan—Again a Majority for the Castle—Lord Clare's Famous Speech—Duel of Grattan and Corry—Torpor and Gloom in Dublin—The Catholics—"Articles" finally Adopted—By Commons—By Lords.

In the cool, calculating head of the Irish Secretary, the whole project was now matured, and its accomplishment provided for Things were, he thought, in a good train. County meetings of freeholders were prevented by "dread of grape-shot ;" the Catholic Bishops and gentry were lulled asleep by what Mr. O'Connell had well described as "hopes of advantage ambiguously held forth ;" the people were crushed, disarmed, bleeding ; there were one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in the country, one-third regular troops, the other two-thirds officered and controlled by Government ; and above all, and beyond all, Mr. Cooke was successfully driving his bargains with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of the Parliament of Ireland. Yet his lordship evidently dreaded the meeting of Parliament. He loved not that inevitable encounter with so many honest, ardent, and able men, who all knew and would proclaim the villanies he was practising. In fact, he felt, with uneasiness, that the genius and eloquence of the land, as well as its integrity, were full against him ; and no legislative body ever yet sitting in one house has possessed so large a proportion of grand orators, learned lawyers, and accomplished gentlemen. It may be fearlessly added, that no Parliament has ever had so large a proportion of honorable men. Had it not been so, the splendid bribes then ready to be thrust into every man's hand would have insured to the Castle a much greater majority, and we should not have seen the noble ranks of unpurchasable patriots thronging so thick on the Opposition benches to the last. What Parliament or Congress has ever been tempted so ?* There is no need to make invidious or disparaging reflections ; but Englishmen, and Frenchmen, and Americans, should pray that their respective Legislatures may never be subjected to such an ordeal.

But still, Castlereagh disliked this meeting with the Irish Parliament ; and, as his party fell so far short of their opponents in point of talent and oratory, he bethought him of a singular expedient to make sure of an effective corps of fighting men amongst his supporters in the House. He was himself a man of most reckless courage ; but he saw the necessity of infusing a little of that spirit into his party. Sir Jonah Barrington describes his system of procedure in this

* It must be remembered that the *compensation* fund of £1,500,000 represents a small part of the bribery. Vast sums were also paid for votes out of the Secret Service money. O'Connell, in his Corporation Speech, estimates these latter bribes at "more than a million." Then there were about forty new peerages created, and conferred as bribes. The tariff of prices for Union votes was familiarly known—£8,000, or an office worth £2,000 a year if the member did not like to touch the ready-money. Ten bishoprics, one chief-justiceship, six puisne-judgeships, besides regiments and ships given to officers of the army and navy. On the whole, the amount of all this in money must have been, at least, *five millions* sterling—$25,000,000. If bribery upon the same scale, say, $100,000,000, were now judiciously administered in the English Parliament, a majority could be obtained which would annex the Three Kingdoms to the United States.

matter, which is too characteristic of the time and of the country to be here omitted :

"He invited to dinner, at his house in Merrion Square, about twenty of his most staunch supporters, consisting of 'tried men,' and men of 'fighting families,' who might feel an individual pride in resenting every personality of the Opposition, and in identifying their own honor with the cause of Government. This dinner was sumptuous ; the champagne and Madeira had their full effect ; no man could be more condescending than the noble host. After due preparation, the point was skillfully introduced by Sir John Blaquiere, (since created Lord de Blaquiere,) who, of all men, was best calculated to promote a gentlemanly, convivial, fighting conspiracy ; he was of the old school, an able diplomatist, and with the most polished manners and imposing address, he combined a friendly heart, and decided spirit ; in polite conviviality he was unrivaled.

"Having sent round many loyal, mingled with joyous and exhilarating, toasts, he stated that he understood the Opposition were disposed to personal unkindness, or even incivilities, towards His Majesty's best friends—the Unionists of Ireland. He was determined that no man should advance upon him by degrading the party he had adopted, and the measures he was pledged to support. A full bumper proved his sincerity, the subject was discussed with great glee, and some of the company began to feel a zeal for '*actual service.*'

"Lord Castlereagh affected some coquetry, lest this idea should appear to have originated with him ; but, when he perceived that many had made up their minds to act even on the offensive, he calmly observed, that some mode should, at all events, be taken to secure the constant presence of a sufficient number of the Government friends during the discussion, as subjects of the utmost importance were often totally lost for want of due attendance. Never did a sleight-of-hand man juggle more expertly.

"One of his lordship's prepared accessories (as if it were a new thought) proposed, humorously, to have a dinner for twenty or thirty every day, in one of the committee-chambers, where they could be always at hand to make up a House, or for any *emergency* which should call for an unexpected reinforcement, during any part of the discussion.

"The novel idea of such a detachment of legislators, was considered whimsical and humorous, and, of course, was not rejected. Wit and puns began to accompany the bottle. Mr. Cooke, the Secretary, then, with significant nods and smirking inuendos, began to circulate his official rewards to the company. The hints and the claret, united to raise visions of the most gratifying nature, every man became in a prosperous state of official pregnancy—embryo judges, counsel to boards, envoys to foreign courts, compensation pensioners, placemen and commissioners in assortments, all revelled in the anticipation of something *substantial* to be given to every member who would do the Secretary the honor of accepting it.

"The scheme was unanimously adopted, Sir John Blaquiere pleasantly observed that, at all events, they would be sure of a good *cook* at their dinners. After much wit, and many flashes of convivial bravery, the meeting separated after midnight, fully resolved to eat, drink, speak, and *fight* for Lord Castlereagh."

It was not long before one of these gentlemen found an opportunity of proving his mettle.

On the 15th of January, the last session of the Parliament of Ireland assembled. Every member expected that the speech from the Throne would have again introduced the subject of an Union, the basis for which, was now firmly laid by the action of the British Parliament in adopting the *Articles of Union.* There was deep and expectant attention, as the Viceroy congratulated Parliament upon "victories of the combined imperial armies" over France ; upon good understanding with Naples ; upon the failure of the plans of "the enemy" in India ; upon the check given to Buonaparte's Egyptian successes ; and he went on to demand supplies as usual, and to promise economy ;—and earnestly recommended to their care and patronage agriculture, manufactures, and the "Protestant Charter Schools ;"—but he ended without saying one word of *Union.*

Lord Viscount Loftus (afterwards Marquis of Ely) moved the address, which was as vague as the speech was empty. It was this gentleman's father, Marquis of Ely, who had been promised £45,000 for his three boroughs. Sir Jonah Barrington says this young nobleman "had been christened *Lee-boo*, by the humorous party of the House, and was only selected to show the Commons that his father had been purchased"—in other words, *pour encouràger les autres*.

There was not a point in the Viceroy's speech intended to be debated. Lord Castlereagh, having judiciously collected his flock, was better enabled to decide on numbers, and to count with sufficient certainty on the result of his labors since the preceding session, without any hasty or premature disclosure of his definitive measure.

This negative and insidious mode of proceeding, however, could not be permitted by the Opposition, and Sir Lawrence Parsons, after one of the most able and luminous speeches he had ever uttered, moved an amendment, declaratory of the resolution of Parliament, to preserve the Constitution as established in 1782, and to support the freedom and independence of the nation. This motion occasioned a warm debate on the very first day of the session. Lord Castlereagh, in pursuance of the bullying policy which had been agreed upon, spoke contemptuously of the arguments of Sir Lawrence. The silence of the Lord-Lieutenant on the subject, did not arise from any conviction of the impolicy of prosecuting the scheme. The question had been withdrawn, when the House of Commons seemed unwilling to entertain it, but, *as a great majority of the people now approved the measure*, and as there was reason to believe, that many of its late Parliamentary opponents had renounced their ideas of its demerits, His Majesty's counselors had resolved to give it a new chance of regular investigation. The reason of its not having been mentioned in the Viceroy's speech, was merely that it was to be made a subject of distinct communication to Parliament.

There ensued a vehement debate on the whole question of Union. Many members now ventured to show their hands. After Mr. Ponsonby had spoken strongly and earnestly in favor of Sir L. Parsons' amendment, up rose Dr. Brown, member for the University, who had voted against the Union in the preceding session. He said "he had become more inclined to the Union than he had been in the preceding session, because he thought it more necessary from *intermediate circumstances*." Unhappily, we know what those circumstances were. He had been promised the place of Prime-Sergeant, and got it for his vote, and for that alone, as he had no other merit.*

Charles Kendal Bushe made a vigorous speech in this debate. He said :—

"You are called upon to give up your independence, and to whom are you to give it up? To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The Treasury Bench startles at the assertion—*Non meus hic sermo est*. If the Treasury Bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold them, it is his assertion in so many words in his speech. *Ireland*, says he, *has always been treated with injustice and illiberality*. Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This is not the slander of Junius, or the candor of Mr. Pitt, it is history. For centuries has the British nation and Parliament kept you down, shackled your commerce, paralyzed your exertions, despised your character, and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favor which was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood, and you are not in possession of a single blessing, except those which you derive from God, that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own Parliament from the illiberality of England."

Mr. Plunket also had spoken with his usual force against the project of Union, when Mr. St. George Daly, a very third-rate barrister, who had been appointed Prime-Sergeant on the dismissal of Mr. Fitzgerald, rose and began to put in practice the bullying policy which had been settled upon at

* This gentleman was by birth an American.

Lord Castlereagh's. "He was a gentleman," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "of excellent family, and, what was formerly highly esteemed in Ireland, of a 'fighting family.' He was proud enough for his pretensions, and sufficiently conceited for his capacity, and a private gentleman he would have remained, had not Lord Castlereagh and the Union placed him in public situations where he had himself too much sense not to feel that he certainly was over-elevated." This Mr. Daly ventured upon the system of personal insolence. Barrington describes the scene: "Mr. Daly's attack on Mr. Bushe, was of a clever description, and had Mr. Bushe had one vulnerable point, his assailant might have prevailed. He next attacked Mr. Plunket, who sat immediately before him, but the materials of his vocabulary had been nearly exhausted; however, he was making some progress, when the keen visage of Mr. Plunket was seen to assume a curled sneer, which, like a legion offensive and defensive, was prepared for an enemy. No speech could equal his glance of contempt and ridicule. Mr. Daly received it like an arrow, it pierced him, he faltered like a wounded man, his vocal infirmity became more manifest, and after an embarrassed pause, he yielded, changed his ground, and attacked by wholesale every member of his own profession who had opposed an Union, and termed them a disaffected and dangerous faction"

But the House had nearly wearied itself out, and exhausted the subject, when, about seven o'clock in the morning, a sudden apparition broke upon the House, which caused men to hold their breath for a time. It was the entrance of Henry Grattan. Since his "secession" from Parliament, more than two years before, along with Curran, Fitzgerald and others, Grattan had been an invalid, trying to recruit his shattered constitution, by change of scene and climate. He had spent some time in the mild air of the Isle of Wight, then among the mountains of Wales, and had but lately returned to his house of Tinnehinch, near Bray, when this momentous session of Parliament opened.

At that time, Mr. Tighe returned the members for the close borough of Wicklow, and a vacancy having occurred, it was tendered to Mr. Grattan, who would willingly have declined it but for the importunities of his friends.

The Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh, justly appreciating the effect his presence might have on the first debate, had withheld the writ of election till the last moment the law allowed, and till they conceived it might be too late to return Mr. Grattan in time for the discussion. It was not until the day of the meeting of Parliament that the writ was delivered to the returning officer. By extraordinary exertions, and, perhaps, by following the example of Government in overstraining the law, the election was held immediately on the arrival of the writ, a sufficient number of voters were collected to return Mr. Grattan before midnight. By one o'clock, the return was on its road to Dublin; it arrived by five; a party of Mr. Grattan's friends repaired to the private house of the proper officer, and making him get out of bed, compelled him to present the writ to Parliament before seven in the morning, when the House was in warm debate on the Union. A whisper ran through every party that Mr. Grattan was elected, and would immediately take his seat. The Ministerialists smiled with incredulous derision, and the Opposition thought the news too good to be true.

Mr. Egan was speaking strongly against the measure, when Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore, (afterwards Judge of the Common Pleas,) walked out, and immediately returned, leading, or rather helping, Mr. Grattan, in a state of total feebleness and debility. The effect was electric. Mr. Grattan's illness and deep chagrin had reduced a form, never symmetrical, and a visage at all times thin, nearly to the appearance of a spectre. As he feebly tottered into the House, every member simultaneously rose from his seat. He moved slowly to the table; his languid countenance seemed to revive as he took those oaths that restored him to his prëeminent station; the smile of inward satisfaction obviously illuminated his features, and rëanimation and energy seemed to kindle by the labor of his mind. The House was silent, Mr. Egan did not resume his speech, Mr. Grattan, almost breathless,

attempted to rise, but found himself unable at first to stand, and asked permission to address the House from his seat. Never was a finer illustration of the sovereignty of mind over matter. Grattan spoke two hours, with all his usual vehemence and fire, against the Union, and in favor of the amendment of Sir Lawrence Parsons. The Treasury Bench was at first disquieted; then became savage; and it was resolved to bully, or to kill Mr. Grattan. Sir Jonah Barrington describes the scene:—

"He had concluded, and the question was loudly called for, when Lord Castlereagh was perceived earnestly to whisper to Mr. Corry, they for an instant looked round the House, whispered again, Mr. Corry nodded assent, and, amidst the cries of 'question,' began a speech, which, as far as it regarded Mr. Grattan, few persons in the House could have prevailed upon themselves to utter. Lord Castlereagh was not clear what impression Mr. Grattan's speech might have made upon a few hesitating members; he had, in the course of the debate, moved the question of adjournment; he did not like to meet Sir Lawrence Parsons on his motion, and Mr. Corry commenced certainly an able, but, towards Mr. Grattan, an ungenerous and an unfeeling personal assault."

For that time the Castle bravo carried the matter with a high hand; the exhausted invalid was too feeble to attend to him; perhaps, did not even hear him. At ten o'clock in the morning, a division was called for. Ninety-six voted for the amendment of Sir Lawrence Parsons; one hundred and thirty-eight against it; a majority of forty-two for the Castle. This majority of forty-two exceeded the warmest expectations of Government; and the Viceroy hoped to increase it by allowing an interval of some weeks to pass, before he sent to either House a copy of the resolutions of the Parliament of Great Britain.

The defeat of the Anti-Unionists by a majority of forty-two, flushed the Minister with confidence. The members were now so far marshaled into their ranks, that considerable changes or conversions were not to be expected on either side. Some solitary instances of conversions did appear. A hot and open canvass was carried on in the House itself, by the friends of Government, wherever an uncertain or reluctant member was observed, or his convictions, interests, and aspirations could be discovered. What effect attended this canvass is seen in the subsequent divisions, and in the Black List.

It was on the 15th of February that Lord Castlereagh, for the first time, formally brought the project of Union before the House, by reading a message from Lord Cornwallis, recommending that measure to the earnest attention of Parliament. His lordship then delivered a long speech, setting forth the several articles of Union, as agreed upon by the British Houses. He affirmed, without scruple, that public opinion was now favorable to Union. With regard to the multitudinously-signed petitions which had poured in against it, he remarked:

"That had also been the case in the Scottish Union. The table of the Parliament was day after day, for the space of three months, covered with such petitions; but the Scottish legislators acted as, he trusted, the Irish Parliament would act; they considered only the public advantage; and, steadily pursuing that object, neither misled by artifices nor intimidated by tumult, they received, in the gratitude of their country, that reward which amply compensated their arduous labors in the great work so happily accomplished." *

As to the principle of the measure—the competency of the Parliament of Ireland to extinguish itself—his lordship affirmed that this had been so firmly established by a speech, (that of Mr. Smith,) which had been published, "that he considered it as placed beyond question or doubt." He then described the articles in succession. He attempted to show that the contemplated financial arrangement, making the two countries bear separately the charge of their respective debts, and requiring Ireland to pay in the proportion of one to seven and a half, towards the general expenses of the United Kingdom, for twenty years—the proportions to be afterwards modified, according to the respective abilities of the two countries—

* The reader will recollect that the Scottish Union also was accomplished by purchasing a majority with money and office.

was an arrangement by which Ireland would *save a million per annum.* The proposed commercial regulations also he discussed, most elaborately, and showed to the satisfaction of his friends, that in this article, also, Ireland would be the gainer. His lordship then spoke of the article to consolidate the Church of England and Church of Ireland. In this place he took care to introduce the regular ministerial phrase, intended to comfort the Catholics :—

"The cause of distrust must vanish with the removal of weakness ; strength and confidence would produce liberality ; and the claims of the Catholics *might be temperately discussed and impartially decided* before an Imperial Parliament, divested of those local circumstances, which would ever produce irritation and jealousy."

With respect to the composition of the United Parliament, his lordship observed that, while the population of Great Britain exceeded ten millions, that of Ireland was only three million five hundred thousand or four millions ;* and while Ireland's share in the general expenses of the empire was to be only one, against Great Britain's seven and a half, she was to have a hundred members in the Imperial Parliament.

Lord Castlereagh next approached the delicate question—what was to be done with the Irish Peerages? According to the articles of Union, Irish Peers were not to sit in any House of Lords by their own right ; yet, they were not to be altogether degraded to Commoners, (which would have been republican, and savoring of "French principles.") So the awkward compromise which was adopted caused his lordship some trouble to explain, in a plausible manner. They were to be *represented* in the Imperial House of Lords by four spiritual Peers, elected by their order, and twenty-eight temporal Peers, elected by theirs, and holding their seats for life. Peers of Ireland were to be capable of holding seats in the House of Commons, but not for an Irish constituency ; only for a county or borough in England.

In describing the apportionment of the representation between counties and boroughs, giving sixty-four to the former and thirty-six to the latter, his lordship said this would necessarily disfranchise many boroughs ; and here he took occasion formally to promise "compensation"—not to the disfranchised electors, but to the landed proprietors who were the "patrons" of those boroughs, and were supposed to own the franchise of those electors. This intended purchase of the "pocket boroughs," and the immense prices to be paid for them, had been known before ; but this was the first time the stupendous bribe had been mentioned in Parliament. Lord Castlereagh coolly said :—

"As the disfranchisement of many boroughs would diminish the influence and privileges of those gentlemen whose property was connected with such places of election, he endeavored to obviate their complaints by promising that, if the plan submitted to the House should be finally approved, he would offer some measure of compensation to those individuals whose peculiar interests should suffer in the arrangement.

"Much and deep objection might be stated to such a measure ; but it surely was consonant with the privileges of private justice ; it was calculated to meet the feelings of the moderate ; and it was better to resort to such a measure, however objectionable, than adhere to the present system, and keep afloat, forever, the dangerous question of Parliamentary reform. If this were a measure of purchase, it should be recollected that it would be the purchase of peace, and the expense of it would be redeemed *by one year's saving of the Union.*"

Lord Castlereagh did not feel it necessary to mention any of the other classes of bribes which were to reward those patriots who would consent to enrich Ireland by all these gains and savings. He knew that the faithful Mr. Cooke was arranging those matters of business in the lobbies, in the corriders, on the very floor of the House.

Mr. George Ponsonby made a violent at-

* It was at least five millions. Mr. Plowden, though he does not like to contradict Lord Castlereagh, says, "there are many strong reasons for believing that it amounted to near five millions. Six years later, it was five million three hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred and-fifty-six, according to the estimate for that year, (1805,) given in the official Irish Directory. But as there was then no census, Lord Castlereagh felt himself at liberty to give his own estimate.

tack upon the Minister and his whole scheme. He treated as visionary all the proffered advantages of Union. In the ecclesiastical establishment, Union would produce but one solid effect, which would be to translate the Irish into English bishops.

He then summed up the effects of the Union in these terms: "Your peerage is to be disgraced; your Commons purchased; no additional advantage in commerce; for twenty years a little saving in contributions, but if the Cabinet of England think that we contribute more than we should, why not correct that extravagance now? If anything should be conceded in the way of trade, why is it not conceded now? Are any of those benefits incompatible with our present state? No! but the Minister wants to carry his union, and no favor, however trifling, can be yielded to us, unless we are willing to purchase it with the existence of Parliament and the liberties of the country."

Sir John Parnell, Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Saurin, Mr. Peter Burrowes, all attacked the measure, and exposed the fallacies of Lord Castlereagh; and amongst the opponents of the Minister, we still find the name of John Claudius Beresford, of the "Riding-House," Grand Secretary of the Orangemen. His time for being converted had not yet come.

Mr. Grattan spoke at considerable length. He said: "In this proposition, the Minister had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannical acts of a century; to apologize for the lawless and oppressive proceedings of England, for a system which had counteracted the kindness of providence towards Ireland, and had kept her in a state of thraldom and misery; to prove that the British Parliament had undergone a great change of disposition; to disprove two consequences, which were portended by the odium of the Union, and the increased expenses of the empire, namely, a military government for a considerable time, and at no very distant period, an augmentation of taxes; to deny or dispute the growth of the prosperity of Ireland, under the maternal wing of her own Parliament; to controvert the sufficiency of that Legislature for imperial purposes or commercial objects, though facts were against him; and to explode or recall his repeated declarations in its favor. In short, he had to prove many points, which he could by no means demonstrate; and to disprove many, which might be forcibly maintained against him. It was, moreover, singular to behold the man, who denied the right of France to alter her government, maintaining the omnipotence of the Parliament of Ireland to annul her Constitution."

He then urged the very serious importance of the question. It was not such as had formerly occupied their attention; not old Poynings, not peculation, nor an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a Reform bill—it was their being—it was more, it was their life to come—whether they would go to the tomb of Charlemont and the volunteers, and erase his epitaph, or whether their children should go to their graves, saying, "A venal, a military court attacked the liberties of the Irish, and here lie the bones of the honorable men who saved their country." Such an epitaph, was a nobility which the King could not give to his slaves; it was a glory which the Crown could not give to the King.

On a division, there appeared for the printing of the articles, one hundred and fifty-eight; against it, one hundred and fifteen; giving the Minister a majority of forty-three.*

Even the staunch Unionist, Mr. Plowden, is honest enough to say on this occasion:—

"When the number of the placemen, pensioners, and other influenced members, who had voted on the late division is considered, the Minister had but slender grounds for triumphing in his majority of forty-three, if from them were to be collected the genuine sense of the independent part of that House, and of the people of Ireland, whom they represented."

And he adds in a note:—

"Many, it is to be feared, in both Houses, sacrificed their convictions. Twenty-seven new titles were added to the Peerage; promotions, grants, concessions, arrangements, promises were lavished with a profusion never before known in that country. Pity for both sides, that so great and important a political measure should owe any part

* For the Articles of Union at full length, see appendix, No. I.

of its success, to other than the means of temperate reason and persuasion."

Triumphantly Lord Castlereagh sent up his articles to the Lords; where Lord Clare was ready for his part of the work. It was on this occasion, that he made that long and able discourse, which has been so often reprinted; and from which many extracts have been already given in these pages. Great part of it consists of a historical disquisition upon the whole career of the English colony, its connection on one hand with the mass of the Irish nation, and on the other, with the English Crown and Parliament; and whilst it contains many truths, powerfully expressed, the general effect of the whole is to traduce all the classes, sects, and parties of Ireland for several centuries. Grattan afterwards wrote an answer to this speech, charging the Chancellor with many deliberate misrepresentations and falsehoods. "His idea," said Mr. Grattan, was to make the Irish history a calumny against their ancestors, in order to disfranchise their posterity."

The measure was opposed in the House of Peers by the Earl of Charlemont, the Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Bellamont, Lord Powerscourt, Lord Dillon, and others, supported by Lord Glentworth, Lord Glendore, and the Archbishop of Cashel. However, on the first division there was a large majority for the Government—75 for, and 26 against. The general principles of the Union were thus propounded and accepted in both Houses of the Irish Legislature.

In the next debate in the House of Commons, the Honorable Isaac Corry, who seemed to have taken special charge of replying to Mr. Grattan, again made a coarse personal attack on that gentleman. Grattan replied with such studied and contemptuous insult as to throw upon Mr. Corry the *onus* of resentment.

The House saw the inevitable consequences. The Speaker (the House was in committee) sent for Mr. Grattan into his chamber, and pressed his interposition for an amicable adjustment, which Mr. Grattan positively refused, saying, he saw, and had been for some time aware of, a set made at him, to *pistol him off* on that question; therefore, it was as well that the experiment were tried then as at any other time. Both parties instantly left the House upon Mr. Grattan's finishing his philippic. They met without delay in a field on the Ball's Bridge road; and, after an exchange of two shots, Mr. Corry received a wound in the hand. So the affair ended. The populace, amongst whom the certainty of a duel was noised abroad, followed the parties to the ground; and there was reason to fear that if Mr. Grattan had fallen his antagonist would have been sacrificed on the spot.

On the 21st of February, Lord Castlereagh took his next step. This was to move the adoption in the Commons of the articles, one by one. It is unnecessary to analyze the speeches made at the various debates which intervened before the final scene of the Irish Parliament. They generally dealt with the same facts and the same principles; but on one of these occasions there were two efforts to obtain at least some delay in the remorseless progress of the Minister. On the 4th of March, Mr. G. Ponsonby alleging that the Sovereign would not have persisted in recommending the present measure unless he had firmly believed that the sentiments of the public on the subject had undergone a great change, urged the House to remove so injurious a delusion by an intimation of the truth. A knowledge of the number of Anti-Union petitions would, he said, correct that error; and he, therefore, proposed an address, stating that, in conformity with the constitutional rights of the people, petitions against a Legislative Union had been presented to the Parliament from twenty-six counties, and from various cities and towns.

The reply of Lord Castlereagh to this moderate proposal was highly characteristic. He contented himself with *affirming* that the public opinion had really undergone a change friendly to the measure, and that seventy-four declarations, nineteen of which were of those counties, had been presented in its favor. *Even if this were not the case*, he would oppose a motion which derogated from the deliberative power of Parliament, and *tended to encourage a popular interference* pregnant, in these critical times, with danger and alarm.

In another debate, Mr. Speaker Foster took occasion to point out and denounce the manifest object of the Government in their

article relating to the Irish peerage. He said it created a sort of mongrel peer, half lord, half commoner, neither the one nor the other complete, and yet enough of each to remind you of the motley mixture. It would depress the spirit and enervate the exertions of all the rising nobility of the land. Further, by a strange sort of absurdity, the measure, in suffering a peer, as a commoner, to take a British seat, and refusing to allow him an Irish one, admitted this monstrous position, that in the country where his property, his connections, and residence were, he should not be chosen a legislator, but where he was wholly a stranger he might. The certain consequence of which was, that it would induce a residence of the Irish nobility in Britain, where they might be elected commoners, and must, of course, solicit interest; thereby increasing the number of Irish absentees, and gradually weaning the men of largest fortune from an acquaintance or a connection with their native country.

Mr. Saurin and Sir John Parnell then severally proposed an appeal to the people, by a dissolution of Parliament; but this project was scouted by the triumphant Castle party. If that present Parliament, they argued, had no power to do the deed—neither would any other; besides, that very Parliament was already bought up by the Castle; and the Castle would have value for its money, or rather the nation's money—for the peculiar and exquisite villany of this transaction was, that the people of Ireland were to pay the purchase-money of their own sale to their enemies.

While these last struggles of a perishing nation were taking place within the walls of Parliament, there was deep gloom hanging over Dublin and the country. The Houses were now always surrounded by military judiciously posted in College Green, Dame and Westmoreland streets, ostensibly to keep the peace, but really to strike terror, and prevent any manifestation of popular feeling by the fear of a sudden onslaught. Lord Castlereagh also threatened to remove the Parliament to Cork, if its proceedings were at all troubled by the populace. Unfortunately, the Anti-Unionists had no efficient organization, and no acknowledged leader. "Conversions" to Unionism were every day taking place, through the earnest persuasions of Mr. Cooke. Some of the cheated and deluded Catholic Bishops began to send addresses to the Castle favorable to the Union. Bishop Lanigan, of Kilkenny, and his clergy, addressed Lord Cornwallis in this sense; a proceeding which bitterly hurt and grieved the mass of the Catholic laity, although in the address itself occurred a ludicrous application of a phrase, which made the people laugh, as they are at all times willing to do. One of his excellency's eyes, by some natural defect, appeared considerably diminished, and, like the pendulum of a clock, was generally in a state of *motion*. The Right Reverend Bishop and clergy having never before seen the Marquis, unfortunately commenced their address with the most *mal à propos* exordium of—"Your excellency has always kept a *steady eye* on the interests of Ireland." The address was presented at levee. His excellency, however, was graciously pleased not to return any answer to that part of their compliment.

It must be admitted, in justice to the Catholic Bishops, that they were really deceived by the continual representations of Ministers; and, indeed, we may be sure that in private conference with Archbishop Troy, Lord Cornwallis did not confine himself to the stereotyped formula always repeated in Parliament, with regard to the claims of the Catholics, but plainly promised that Catholic Emancipation would be immediately made a Cabinet question.* However that may

* Mr. Plowden, who could not think of supposing that British Ministers did not mean what they said, gives what he considers a clear proof of their sincerity and devotion to the cause of the Catholics:—

"That the British Ministers were *sincere in their intentions* of bringing forward, and confident in their expectations of carrying, the question of Catholic Emancipation in an Imperial Parliamennt, is manifest from certain written communications made by them to some of the leading persons of the Catholic body, about the time of their retiring from office, which were to the following effect:—

"The leading part of His Majesty's Ministers finding insurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from His Majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their

be, it is certain that the friends of independence, while they were struggling against the Union in Parliament were discouraged on finding their efforts not only not appreciated, but actually thwarted by certain of the Catholic prelates who exercised necessarily so large an influence in the country.

Thus, all was gloom and despondency, while the several "articles" were separately argued and assented to. This was finished on the 22d of March.

A message was then sent to the House of Lords, importing that the Commons had agreed to the articles of the Union; and on the 27th, the Peers intimated to the other House, that they had adopted them with some alterations and additions. Two amendments had been proposed by the Earl of Clare, and adopted, importing that on the extinction of three Irish peerages one might be created, till the number should be reduced to one hundred, and afterwards one for every failure; and that the qualifications of the Irish for the Imperial Parliament should be the same in point of property with those of the British members. These amendments were readily approved by the Commons; and Lord Castlereagh immediately proposed an address to His Majesty, in which both Houses concurred. In this address they declared that they cordially embraced the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, by a complete and entire union of their Legislatures; that they considered the resolutions of the British Parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles which, if approved by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established forever by the mutual consent of both Parliaments.

At this stage of the business, the matter rested in Ireland; and the British Parliament had next to do its part, a matter which might be supposed somewhat doubtful, if all the advantages of the proposed Union were to be, as Lord Castlereagh said, on the side of Ireland; but we shall find that this consideration did not act upon the Lords and Commons of England.

cause by good conduct in the meantime. They will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter. They may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. they may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favor, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects; and the Catholics will feel that, as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, he must at all times repress, with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

"Under these circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles or to raise an argument for resisting their claims; but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanor they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained.

"*The Sentiments of a Sincere Friend (i. e., Marquis Cornwallis) to the Catholic Claims.*

"'If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must, of course, lose the support and aid of those who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause, but who would, at the same time, feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose everything tending to confusion.

"'On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped that, on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanor to any line of conduct of an opposite description.'

"The originals of these two declarations were handed to Dr. Troy, and afterwards to Lord Fingall on the same day, by Marquis Cornwallis, in the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales, in the beginning of May, 1801, shortly before his departure from the Government of Ireland, and before the arrival of Lord Hardwicke, his successor. His excellency desired they should be *discreetly communicated to the Bishops and principal Catholics, but not inserted in the newspapers.*"

CHAPTER XLII.

1800.

The Union in English Parliament—Opposed by Lord Holland—Mr. Grey—Sheridan—Irish Act for Electors—Distribution of Seats—Castlereagh brings in Bill for the Union—Warm Debates—Union denounced by Plunket, Bushe, Saurin, Grattan—Their Earnest Language—Last Days of the Parliament—Last Scene—Passes the Lords—The Protesting Peers—The Compensation Act—The King Congratulates the British Parliament—Lord Cornwallis—The Irish—Union to date from January 1, 1801—Irish Debt—History of it.

In the Parliament of England, there was no danger that any time would be lost. The articles of Union passed through the Irish Parliament as they had been originally framed by the British Ministry, having received no other alterations in their progress than such as were dictated by the Court. They were now brought forward as terms proposed by the Lords and Commons of Ireland, in the form of resolutions. And on April 2, 1800, the Duke of Portland communicated to the House of Lords a message from the King, and at the same time presented to them, as documents, a copy of the Irish address, with the resolutions.

Lord Holland in vain opposed the appointment of a committee; he objected to the whole project of Union. "It was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish; and, if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connection between the countries, and might produce irreparable mischief. He should oppose the motion for a committee."

All remonstrance was useless. Ministers felt that their arrangements were perfect, and the result sure; they would never, perhaps, hold Ireland so thoroughly in hand as they held her now—thanks to Lord Castlereagh.

On a division, only three Peers (the Earl of Derby, and the Lords Holland and King,) voted against, and eighty-two supported the motion for going into a committee. The three first articles were then proposed to the committee, and received the assent of the Peers.

The motion for a committee was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt. On the House resolving itself into a committee, Mr. Pitt entered at great length into the whole question, going in general over the same well-beaten ground. In closing his speech, this Minister, (knowing well the system of management of the Irish Parliament—and knowing, also, that everybody else knew it,) was not ashamed to say:—

"The ample discussion which every part of this subject has met with, (so ample that nothing like its deliberation was ever known before in any legislature) has silenced clamor, has rooted out prejudice, has *overruled objections*, has *answered all arguments*, has *refuted all cavils*, and *caused the plan to be entirely esteemed*. Both branches of the Legislature, after long discussion, mature deliberation, and laborious inquiry, have expressed themselves clearly and decidedly in its favor. The opinion of the people, who, from their means of information, were most likely, because best enabled to form a correct judgment, is decidedly in its favor."

Mr Grey, (afterwards Lord Grey,) still opposed the Union. Referring to Mr. Pitt's last assertions, he permitted himself to doubt their accuracy:—

"It was said that the public voice was in its favor, after a fair appeal to the unbiassed sense of the nation. Nineteen counties were said to have signified a wish for its adoption; and he believed that addresses had really been presented from that number of shires; but by whom they were signed he did not exactly know, though it had been understood they were procured at meetings not regularly convened, and promoted by the personal exertions of a governor, who, to the powerful influence of the Crown, added the terrors of martial law. To speak of the uncontrolled opinion of the community, in such a case, reminded him of the Duke of Buckingham's account to Richard III. of the manner in which the citizens of London had agreed to his claim of the Crown—

"Some followers of mine own
At lowest end o' the hall hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried, God save King Richard.
And thus I took the 'vantage of those few——
Thanks, gentle citizens and friends, quoth I;
This general applause and cheerful shout,
Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard."

Mr. Grey proceeded further. He indignantly exposed a portion of the infamies then perpetrated in Ireland; and in such a manner as to show that he had fully informed himself. He said :—

"He did not mean to speak disrespectfully of the Irish Parliament. But the facts were notorious. There are three hundred members in all, and one hundred and twenty of these strenuously opposed the measure; among whom were two-thirds of the county members, the representatives of the city of Dublin, and almost all the towns which it is proposed shall send members to the Imperial Parliament. One hundred and sixty-two voted in favor of the Union—of those, one hundred and sixteen were placemen, some of them were English Generals on the Staff, without one foot of ground in Ireland, and completely dependent upon Government. Is there any ground, then, to presume that even the Parliament of Ireland thinks as the right honorable gentleman supposes; or that, acting only from a regard to the good of their country, the members would not have reprobated the measure as strongly and unanimously as the rest of the people? But this is not all; let us reflect upon the arts which have been used since the last session of the Irish Parliament, to pack a majority in the House of Commons. All holding offices under Government, even the most intimate friends of the Minister, who had uniformly supported his administration till the present occasion, if they hesitated to vote as directed, were dismissed from office, and stripped of their employments. Even this step was found ineffectual, and other arts were had recourse to, *which I cannot name in this place;* all will easily conjecture. A bill for preserving the purity of Parliament was likewise abused, and no less than sixty-three seats were vacated by their holders having received nominal offices. I will not press this subject further upon the attention of the committee. I defy any man to lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he believes the Parliament of Ireland was sincerely in favor of the measure." Mr. Grey then moved an address to His Majesty, praying him to direct his Ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland respecting that measure should have been ascertained.

Mr. Sheridan, of course, was at his post and supported the motion of Mr. Grey. He deprecated the prosecution of a measure, which, if it should be carried into effect by corruption or violence, would become the fatal source of discontent and rebellion. That the Union had the general approbation and independent assent of the Irish nation, a number of addresses and declarations were mentioned as a proof; *but where were these addresses?* The addresses against it were easy to be found. Twenty-seven of the counties had openly declared against it; and with these would have united Antrim and Sligo, if martial law had not been proclaimed, and prevented the intended meetings. If the measure were thus to be carried, he had no hesitation in saying, that it would be an act of tyranny and oppression, and must become the fatal source of new discontents and future rebellions; and the only standard round which the pride, the passions, and the prejudices of Irishmen would rally, would be that which would lead them to the recovery of a constitution that would have been thus foully and oppressively wrested from them. *No attempt had been made to deny the notorious fact*, that sixty-five seats had been vacated to make places for men, whose obsequiousness would not permit them to oppose the measure; and it was equally notorious, that no art or influence which the policy of corruption and intimidation could put in play, had been left untried to gain over partizans to the Union.

It is, indeed, singular, that in the course of these debates, no Minister was hardy enough to deny the system of intimidation and bribery. Mr. Secretary Dundas contented himself on this occasion with saying, "he would not admit" that the Irish in general dissented from the scheme. Lord Carysfort boldly propounded a strange argument; he affirmed, that the Unionists in the Irish Parliament, had a much greater extent of property than their adversaries, in the Lords ten to one, and that the judging portion of the people approved the project. Mr. Pitt, however, indignantly scouted the idea of appealing to a community so influenced by factious leaders; he was satisfied with the constitutional assent of Parliament.

In short, Mr. Grey's motion to "suspend proceedings on the Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland should be ascertained," was negatived by a vote of two hundred and thirty-six, against thirty. And the three first articles were adopted by the committee.

Other debates upon various parts of the articles, had uniformly the same result, vast majorities for the Minister. Two incidents only of these discussions, merit notice.

On the 30th of April, a debate arose upon a motion of Lord Holland, tending to give the Catholics a pledge or prospect of the abolition of the disabilities, to which they were still subject both in Ireland and Great Britain. This was opposed on the part of Government as "unseasonable." Ministers, in fact, intended that the Catholic Bishops and influential leaders, should content themselves with the vague promises already so often mentioned. The Government was practically receiving support for their measure, from many of those prelates and gentlemen, on the faith of the treacherous promises of Lord Cornwallis and his underlings; and had no idea of pledging the British Parliament to emancipation. Lord Grenville "was of opinion that these questions would be best determined by an United Parliament." So the subject dropped.

The other incident arose from the alarm of the woollen-manufacturers. It will be remembered how this class of manufacturers, in the reign of William III, had been able to procure express acts of the English Parliament for the destruction of that kind of industry in Ireland, and to ensure to themselves the full monopoly of Irish wool in fleece. They were now very naturally of opinion that the Commercial "Article," in the articles of Union permitting the free mutual import and export between the two islands, was a gross infringement upon their vested rights. They, accordingly, petitioned the House of Commons against the "Article." Their demand was too monstrous, but it was sustained in the House by Mr. Peel and Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Pitt, however, who knew that the English monopoly of the woollen manufacture was now practically safe enough, maintained, that, if any transfer of manufacture should result from the permission of exporting wool, it would be gradual and inconsiderable; that any void, which it might occasion, would be much more than filled up by the great increase of our trade in this article; that we had no reason to apprehend a scarcity of the commodity, or dread the rivalry of the Irish in the manufacture; and that his friend's proposal would be an unnecessary deviation from that liberal principle of a free intercourse, which was the intended basis of the Union. The article, therefore, was adopted as it stood, to the deep indignation of the good people of Leeds and all Yorkshire.

All the articles had been adopted before the 9th of May. A joint address was on that day presented to the King, importing that they were now ready to conclude an Union with the Irish Parliament upon the basis of the articles. This address, in a tone which resembles a cold and solemn sneer, expresses the "unspeakable satisfaction" of Parliament at "the general conformity of the articles transmitted from Ireland with those which they had voted in the preceding year."

The next thing in order, was that each Parliament was to frame the articles into a bill, and so pass the *Act of Union*.

As an Irish act for regulating elections was to be incorporated in the general bill of Union, Lord Castlereagh at once, in the Irish House of Commons, brought in that parliamentary measure. It passed the House of Commons on the 20th of May. This measure arranged the representation as it remained from the Union until the "Reform act." It gave one member of Parliament to each of the following towns:—

Waterford, Limerick, Belfast, Drogheda, Carrickfergus, Newry, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Galway, Clonmell, Wexford, Armagh, Youghall, Bandon, Dundalk, Kinsale, Lisburne, Sligo, Catherlogh, Ennis, Dungarvan, Down-Patrick, Coleraine, Mallow, Athlone, New-Ross, Tralee, Cashel, Dungannon, Portarlington, and Enniskillen. One member for each of these towns, with four for Dublin and Cork, one for the University, and sixty-four representatives of the thirty-two counties.

The act then made its singular provision to allow present Irish members of Parliament, to sit in a Parliament they had never been elected to serve in. It provided, that if the King should authorize the present lords and commons of Great Britain to form a part of the first Imperial Legislature, the sitting members for Dublin and Cork, and for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, should represent the same cities and shires in that Parliament; that the written names of the members for the college of the Holy Trinity, for the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the other towns before-mentioned, should be put into a glass, and successively drawn out by the clerk of the Crown, and that, of the two representatives of each of those places, the individual whose name should be first drawn, should serve for the same place in the first United Legislature; and that, when a new Parliament should be convoked, writs should be sent to the Irish counties, to the University, and to the cities and boroughs above specified, for the election of members in the usual mode, according to the number then adjusted.

The act also arranged the rotation in which the four Irish bishops should sit in the House of Peers, and also the election of the twenty-eight Irish Peers by their own order.

On the very next day—for Ministers were in hot haste—Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in his bill for the Legislative Union. Leave was given by a vote of one hundred and sixty, against one hundred. It was at once presented, read, and ordered to be printed. On the 25th, it was read again. The uncorrupted members of the House looked on with impotent indignation. Mr. Grattan proposed a delay until the first of August, to allow the measure to be more fully canvassed. He proceeded also to argue very warmly against the whole principle of it. He said it was "a breach of a solemn covenant, an innovation promoted by martial law, an unauthorized assumption of a competency to destroy the independence of the realm; an unjustifiable attempt to injure the prosperity of the country. The bill would be, *quoad* the constitution, equivalent to a murder, and, *quoad* the government, to a separation. If it should be carried into effect, he foretold its want of permanence, and intimated his apprehensions, that popular discontent, perhaps dangerous commotions, might result from its enforcement."

Lord Castlereagh defended the bill, and censured the inflammatory language of Mr. Grattan. "But he defied," he said, "their incentives to treason, and had no doubt of the energy of the Government in defending the Constitution against every attack." Such was the insolent and half-menacing tone adopted upon system by the administration.

Several earnest debates followed. The faithful representatives of the people, whom money, and place, and title, could not buy, did their sad duty to the end. The ablest lawyers in the country, and some of the purest patriots of whom history makes mention, could at least protest against this parricide and suicide, and their solemn and well-weighed words of warning and expostulation, if they could not save the country, for that time remain on record as a protest, as a continual claim, and perpetual muniment of title, on behalf of the independence of the Irish nation. As several passages of these Anti-Union pleadings have been often cited by Mr. O'Connell, and others, who have never ceased to demand the repeal of that evil act, they have become classical, and must always be held an essential part of any history of Ireland.

William Conyngham Plunket, afterwards Lord-Chancellor, said:—

"Sir, I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of Parliament to do this act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands upon the Constitution. I tell you, that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately. I repeat it. I call on any man who hears me to take down my words. You have not been elected for this purpose. You are appointed to make laws, and not legislatures. You are appointed to exercise the function of legislators, and not to transfer them.

"You are appointed to act under the Constitution, and not to alter it; and if you do so, your act is a dissolution of the

government — you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you. Sir, I state doctrines that are not merely founded on the immutable laws of truth and reason ; I state not merely the opinions of the ablest and wisest men who have written on the science of government ; but I state the practice of our Constitution, as settled at the era of the revolution ; and I state the doctrine under which the House of Hanover derives its title to the Throne.

"For me, I do not hesitate to declare, that if the madness of the revolutionists were to tell me, 'You must sacrifice British connection,' I would adhere to that connection in preference to the independence of my country. *But I have as little hesitation in saying, that if the wanton ambition of a Minister should assail the freedom of Ireland, and compel me to the alternative, I would fling the connection to the winds, and clasp the independence of my country to my heart.*"

Mr. Bushe, (subsequently Chief Justice of Ireland,) spoke these words :—

"I strip this formidable measure of all its pretensions and all its aggravations ; I look on it nakedly and abstractedly, and I see nothing in it but one question—will you give up the country? I forget for a moment the unprincipled means by which it has been promoted ; I pass by for a moment the unseasonable time at which it has been introduced, and the contempt of Parliament upon which it is bottomed, and I look upon it simply as England reclaiming in a moment of your weakness that dominion which you extorted from her in a moment of your virtue—a dominion which she uniformly abused, which invariably oppressed and impoverished you, and from the cessation of which *you date all your prosperity.* . . . . . .

"Odious as this measure is in my eyes, and disgusting to my feelings, if I see it is carried by the free and uninfluenced sense of the Irish Parliament, I shall not only defer and submit, but I will cheerfully obey. It will be the first duty of every good subject. *But fraud, and oppression, and unconstitutional practice may, possibly, be another question.* If this be factious language, Lord Somers was factious, the founders of the revolution were factious, William III. was an usurper, and the revolution was a rebellion."

Mr. Saurin, (subsequently a Privy Councillor and an Attorney-General,) spoke these words :—

"You make the Union binding, as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed so long as England is strong—but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty ; and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence."

Mr. Grattan, who was afterwards deemed worthy of a resting-place in Westminster Abbey, spoke these words in the Irish House of Commons, in one of the debates on Union :—

"Many honorable gentlemen thought differently from me. I respect their opinions, but I keep my own ; and I think now as I thought then, *that the treason of the Minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the Minister.* . . . .

"The cry of the connection (the Union measure) will not in the end avail against the principles of liberty. . . .

"The cry of disaffection will not in the end avail against the principle of liberty.

"Yet I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon ; but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty.

"Thou art not conquered ; beauty's ensign yet is crimson on thy lips and in thy cheek, and death's pale flag is not advanced there." *

Eloquence and constitutional law-learning were alike vain. The bill was hurried to its third reading ; and when it was seen that the evil deed was inevitable, most of the they might not witness the division by which

* It is true that several of these Anti-Union orators subsequently acted as if they had not been altogether sincere in so strongly denouncing the Union, pronouncing it a nullity, and proclaiming, as Lord Plunket and Mr. Saurin did, that no man would be bound to obey it—that is, to obey laws enacted in the Imperial Parliament. Yet the speakers were sincere at the time ; and even if their own personal position afterwards seem inconsistent with the principles then laid down, yet the principles are not to suffer, nor is the law less sound on that account.

Anti-Unionists rose and left the House, that it was to be carried. This was on the 7th of June. There was, if we are to credit Sir Jonah Barrington, a certain theatrical solemnity in some of these last scenes of our national life. For example :—

"Before the third reading of the bill, when it was about to be reported, Mr. Charles Ball, member for Clogher, rose, and, without speaking one word, looked round impressively, every eye was directed to him, he only pointed his hand significantly to the bar, and immediately walked forth, casting a parting look behind him, and turning his eyes to heaven, as if to invoke vengeance on the enemies of his country. His example was contagious. Those Anti-Unionists who were in the House immediately followed his example, and never returned into that Senate, which had been the glory, the guardian, and the protection of their country. There was but one scene more, and the curtain was to drop forever."

On these last days of the Irish Parliament there was an ostentatious display of military force. Troops were drawn up under the Ionic colonnades of the superb Parliament House; and the citizens of Dublin knew that batteries of field artillery were ready at convenient spots to sweep their streets at a moment's notice—an arrangement to which they have been long accustomed. Sir Jonah, who was present and saw all, and who, though not in all respects an estimable man, at least stood by his country in this crisis to the last, describes the scene for us :—

"The day of extinguishing the liberties of Ireland had now arrived, and the sun took his last view of independent Ireland; he rose no more over a proud and prosperous nation. She was now condemned, by the British Minister, to renounce her rank amongst the states of Europe; she was sentenced to cancel her Constitution, to disband her Commons and disfranchise her nobility, to proclaim her incapacity, and register her corruption in the records of the empire.

"The Commons House of Parliament, on the last evening, afforded the most melancholy example of a fine, independent people, betrayed, divided, sold, and, as a state, annihilated. British clerks and officers were smuggled into her Parliament to vote away the Constitution of a country to which they were strangers, and in which they had neither interest nor connection. They were employed to cancel the royal charter of the Irish nation, guaranteed by the British Government, sanctioned by the British Legislature, and unequivocally confirmed by the words, the signature, and the great seal of their monarch.

"The situation of the Speaker on that night was of the most distressing nature; a sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted it with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence, and his eloquence.

"It was, however, through his voice that it was to be proclaimed and consummated. His only alternative (resignation) would have been unavailing, and could have added nothing to his character. His expressive countenance bespoke the inquietude of his feeling; solicitude was perceptible in every glance, and his embarrassment was obvious in every word he uttered.

"The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that devoted assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches; scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members; nobody seemed at ease; no cheerfulness was apparent, and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

"At length, the expected moment arrived. The order of the day—for the third reading of the bill for a 'Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland'—was moved by Lord Castlereagh. Unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.

"The Speaker, Mr. Foster, who was one of the most vehement opponents of the Union from first to last, would have risen and left the House with his friends, if he could. But this would have availed nothing. With grave dignity he presided over 'the last agony of the expiring Parliament.' He held up the bill for a moment in silence,

then asked the usual question, to which the response, '*aye*,' was languid, but unmistakable. Another momentary pause ensued. Again his lips seemed to decline their office. At length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, '*The ayes have it.*' For an instant he stood statue-like; then, indignantly and in disgust, flung the bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit." *

So far, the picturesque historian of the "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation;" and, doubtless, to many readers this closing performance will appear somewhat histrionic and melodramatic. Yet in sad and bitter earnest, that scene was deep tragedy; and its catastrophe is here with us at this day—in thousands upon thousands of ruined cabins, and pining prisoners, and outlawed rebels, and the poverty and hunger that move and scandalize the world. A few details will fitly close up this subject.

The bill was carried up to the House of Peers by Lord Castlereagh, but the consideration of it was postponed. On its second reading, the Earls of Farnham and Bellamont offered some clauses, which were negatived, and the bill was committed. It passed the committee without amendment, was reported in due form, and, after an uninteresting debate, was read a third time on the 13th of June. A protest was entered by the Duke of Leinster and the other dissenting Peers. This protest is given at full length in the Lords' journals; but it will be enough in this place to record its last paragraph and summing up, with the names of the dissentient Peers. It concludes in these words:

"Because the argument made use of in favor of the Union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favor, we know to be untrue; and as the Ministers have declared that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly, and under all difficulties, their judgment against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the Minister to enter our protest against the project of Union, against the yoke which it imposes, the dishonor which it inflicts, the disqualification passed upon the peerage, the stigma thereby branded on the realm, the disproportionate principle of expense it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite. Against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce, we have endeavored to interpose our votes, and failing, we transmit to after-times our names, in solemn protest on behalf of the Parliamentary Constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connection which it preserved, and the Constitution which it supplied and fortified. This we feel ourselves called upon to do in support of our characters, our honor, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

LEINSTER,
ARRAN,
MOUNT CASHEL,
FARNHAM,
BELMORE, by proxy,
MASSY, by proxy,
STRANGFORD,
GRANARD,
LUDLOW, by proxy,
MOIRA, by proxy,
Rev. WATERFORD and LISMORE.
POWERSCOURT,
DE VESCI,
CHARLEMONT,
KINGSTON, by proxy,
RIVERSDALE, by proxy,
MEATH,
LISMORE, by proxy,
SUNDERLIN."

* It is well to preserve the record of those Irishmen who voted against the extinction of their country. As for the names of those persons, placemen, pensioners, and bribe-takers, who voted on the other side, it were better to forget them. But their names and crime are also a portion of history; and many readers may be interested to know the manner in which some great families in Ireland obtained their titles and laid the foundation of their fortunes. Candor also requires it to be stated that some few members did vote for the Union without either bribe or pension, without being influenced either by interest or intimidation; and, therefore, it is presumable, from a sincere conviction that this measure would benefit the two countries. There was published soon after the Union a "Red List" and a "Black List," giving the names of those who were for and against the measure. The lists have often been reprinted. They may be found in Plowden's Appendix and in Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall*. But as the latter has added some observations to many of the names, either from his own personal knowledge, or from common notoriety at the time, we adopt his edition of the lists.—*See Appendix, No. II.*

No part of the plan now remained for the Secretary to bring forward, but the scheme of compensation. This he plausibly ushered in upon a principle of justice. He proposed a grant of £1,260,000 for those who should suffer a loss of patronage, and be deprived of a source of wealth, by the disfranchisement of eighty-four boroughs—at the rate of £15,000 to each. Mr. Saurin, Mr. J. Claudius Beresford, and Mr. Dawson, maintained that the grant of compensation to those who had no right to hold such a species of property, would be an insult to the public and an infringement of the Constitution. Mr. Prendergast defended the proposition, alleging that, though such possessions might have been vicious in their origin, yet, from prescriptive usage, and from having been the subject of contracts and family settlements, they could not be confiscated without a breach of honor and propriety. In the House of Peers, this bill was chiefly opposed by the Earl of Farnham; but it passed into law with little opposition in either House, the Anti-Unionists having now given up the question as lost.*

Soon after the Union bill had passed through both Houses of the Irish Parliament, Mr. Pitt brought a bill in the same form into the British House of Commons. It proceeded through the usual stages, without occasioning any important debate; and was sent, on the 24th of June, to the Peers. On the 30th, Lord Grenville moved for its third reading, declaring that he rose for that purpose with greater pleasure than he had ever felt before in making any proposition to their lordships. The Marquis of Downshire merely said that his opinion of the measure remained unaltered, and that he would, therefore, give the bill his decided negative. It passed without a division; and, on the 2d of July, it received the royal assent.

On the 29th of July, in proroguing the last separate Parliament of Great Britain, the King felicitated his Parliament, as he well might:—

"With peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps, which you have taken for effecting an entire Union between my kingdoms. This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign."

The royal assent was given in Ireland to the Union bill on the 1st of August, the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick to the thrones of these realms. The next day, the Lord-Lieutenant put an end to the session, with an appropriate speech from the Throne. Lord Cornwallis said, amongst other fine things—speaking to the legislators whom he had bribed:—

"The whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I communicate to you by His Majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which you have so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of Legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

"The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your Sovereign, and to the applause of your fellow-subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity.

"You will regret, with His Majesty, the reverse which His Majesty's allies have experienced on the Continent; but His Majesty is persuaded that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to per-

* When the compensation statute had received the royal assent, the Viceroy appointed four commissioners to carry its provisions into execution. Three were members of Parliament, whose salaries of £1,200 a year each (with probable advantages) were a tolerable consideration for their former services. The Honorable Mr. Annesley, Secretary Hamilton, and Dr. Duigenan, were the principal commissioners of that extraordinary distribution. Unfortunately, we have not full details and accounts of this scandalous pecuniary transaction. Sir Jonah Barrington says:—

"It is to be lamented that the records of the proceedings have been *unaccountably disposed of*. A voluminous copy of claims, accepted and rejected, was published, and partially circulated; but the great and important grants, the *private* pensions, and *occult* compensations, have never been made public, further than by those who received them. It is known that—

" Lord Shannon received for his patronage in the Commons	£45,000
" The Marquis of Ely	45,000
" Lord Clanmorris (besides a peerage)	23,000
" Lord Belvidere (besides his *douceur)*	15,000
" Sir Hercules Langrishe	15,000 "

severe in the line of conduct which will best provide for the honor, and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now, by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined."

Immediately after passing the English Act of Union, early in July, the British Parliament was prorogued; and the "Union," in so far as parchment can make an union, was complete. It was to take effect from the 1st of January, 1801. Pursuant to proclamation, a new Imperial Standard was on that day displayed on the Tower of London, and on the Castles of Edinburgh and Dublin. It was the same Royal Standard now in use; being "quartered, first and fourth, England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland." So, since that day, the Harp of Ireland has its place in the corner of the great Banner of England.

The "Union Jack" was also ordained and described by the same proclamation—"And it is our will and pleasure that the Union flag shall be azure, the crosses, saltires of St. Andrew and St. Patrick, quarterly per saltire, counterchanged, argent and gules; the latter imbriated of the second, surmounted by the Cross of St. George of the third, as the saltire."

As for the Public Debt of Ireland, which was to remain a separate charge on the revenues of that country, that debt had been less than four millions just before the insurrection. At the Union, that debt was declared to be £26,841,219, being increased nearly *seven-fold* in three years. That is to say, the whole of the expenses incurred in provoking that insurrection—then in maintaining a great army to crush it—the cost of keeping English and Scotch militia regiments in the country—the pay of the Hessians—the bribes and pensions to spies, informers, and members of Parliament—the Compensation-fund to owners of boroughs—all was charged to Irish account.

O'Connell said, "it was strange that Ireland was not afterwards made to pay for the knife with which Lord Castlereagh, twenty-two years later, cut his own throat."

This enormous debt was to remain separate from the English Debt, according to the Act of Union,* until these two conditions should occur: *First.* That the two debts should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts for Ireland, and, *Second.* That the respective circumstances of the two countries should admit of uniform taxation.

After that, they were to be consolidated. Since that day, an English Chancellor of the Exchequer has "kept the books" of the two islands; so that while the debt of England went on increasing rapidly, owing to the war, and subsidies to all enemies of France, the debt of Ireland was somehow found to increase more than twice as fast as that of England—as if Ireland had a *double* interest in crushing France.

"Woe to the land on whose judgment-seats a stranger sits—at whose gates a stranger watches!" We may add—"whose books a stranger keeps!" †

The two debts were consolidated in 1817. According to Lord Castlereagh's report to Parliament, the military force in Ireland at the time of the Union amounted to one hundred and twenty six thousand five hundred men—viz., forty-five thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine regulars, twenty-seven thousand one hundred and four militia, and fifty-three thousand five hundred and fifty-seven yeomanry.

* See the act in the Appendix, No. III.

† Mr. O'Neill Daunt, in his excellent paper entitled, "Financial Grievances of Ireland," extracts from *Parliamentary Paper No.* 35, *of* 1819, this table:—

YEAR.	BRITISH DEBT.	AN. CHARGE.	IRISH DEBT.	AN. CHARGE.
5th Jan. 1801.	£ 450,504,984	£ 17,718,851	£ 28,545,134	£ 1,244,463
5th Jan. 1817.	734,522,104	28,238,416	112,704,773	4,104,514

The difference between the statement of the Irish Debt given in this table, and that given in the text, (from another Parliamentary paper of the same year,) is made up by adding a small amount of *unfunded* debt.

Thus, while the Imperial Government less than doubled the British Debt, they quadrupled the Irish Debt. By this management the Irish Debt, which in 1801 had been to the British as one to sixteen and a half, was forced up to bear to the British Debt the ratio of one to seven and a half. This was the proportion required by the Act of Union, as a condition of subjecting Ireland to indiscriminate taxation with Great Britain. Ireland was to be loaded with inordinate debt; and then this debt was to be made the pretext for raising her taxation to the high British standard, and thereby rendering her liable to the pre-union debt of Great Britain!

CHAPTER XLIII.

1800—1803.

The Catholics Duped—Resignation of Pitt—Mystery of this Resignation—First Measure of United Parliament—Suspension of *Habeas Corpus*—Report of Secret Committee—Fate of Lord Clare—Lord Hardwicke Viceroy—Peace of Amiens—Treaty Violated by England—Malta—War again Declared by England—Mr. Pitt resumes Office—Coalition against France.

The Union had scarcely been accomplished, when those Irish Catholics who had supported the measure found they had been cheated, as usual, by the British Government. They had been told that Catholic Emancipation would at once be made a Ministerial measure; and in so far as the distinct pledges of Mr. Pitt and of Lord Cornwallis could avail them, they were assured of their liberties.

The first United Parliament met on the 22d of January. It immediately began to be rumored that Mr. Pitt and his Ministry were about to resign. The reason falsely alleged for the resignation was that King George III. would not tolerate the idea of Catholic Emancipation, which he imagined to be contrary to his Coronation oath; and as Mr. Pitt pretended to be pledged to that measure, he made this difference the pretext for a temporary resignation, which he found expedient at this time for other reasons.

Mr. Pitt had been the all-powerful Minister who had governed England for seventeen years. It was he who had recalled Lord Fitzwilliam from the Irish Vice-royalty, because that nobleman favored Catholic Emancipation. It was he who had sent over Lord Camden with express instructions to prevent such emancipation by the Irish Parliament; and in desiring Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh to promise Catholic relief after the Union, he intended to delude the Catholics into a support of his measure, and to deceive them afterwards. He knew the King's opinion upon that question—if anything that passed in the mind of George III can be called an opinion—and that the obstinate and stupid old man would *never* suffer any project of Catholic Emancipation to be made a Ministerial measure.

No human being acquainted with public affairs ever believed that Mr. Pitt resigned office at that time on account of the Catholic question, or any other Irish question whatever. The truth was, simply, that Mr. Pitt's continental policy had failed, and that the English people, devoured by taxes, and wearied out with the still unfulfilled predictions of the total ruin of their French enemy, were crying aloud for peace. Mr. Pitt saw that peace must be made, at least for a little while; but his sullen pride could not submit to negotiate that peace himself. Mr. Plowden* says:—

"The only transaction which furnished him with a plausible or popular ground for resignation, was the *Catholic question*, which that crafty Minister and his followers have so frequently used as a most powerful engine for the worst of political purposes. Within very few days after the meeting of Parliament, he made no secret of his resignation. Great were the surprise and consternation which attended the report. Few, indeed, gave credit to the alleged cause of resignation—namely, his inability *to carry* the Catholic question, which was imperiously necessary for the safety of the state. He was too fond of power, his influence in the country was too imposing, Ireland was too insignificant to have caused such an important change in all the departments of the state. Abstracting from the merits and justice of the question, and from the expediency or necessity of its being then propounded and carried, neither Mr. Pitt's friends nor opponents could bring their minds to believe that an administration, which had established itself in spite of the House of Commons; which had baffled, and at last subdued, a most formidable opposition; which had maintained itself upon new courtly principles for seventeen years, and still commanded a decided majority in the Cabinet and Senate, should have been thus broken up from the Premier's inability to carry so simple and just a measure as that

* Worthy Mr. Plowden, who had rather supported the Union, as many other leading Catholics had done, when he wrote, ten years later, the second series of his Historical Collections, says, in its first page: "They (the Catholics) now beheld the baleful measure of Union in its full deformity." But they beheld it too late

of an equal participation of Constitutional rights amongst all the King's subjects."

"Simple and just a measure" as this naturally appeared to the Catholic historian, it was steadily refused and resisted, both by Mr. Pitt and by his whole party for twenty-nine years longer, and then only carried on account of the imminent danger of civil war, as its Ministerial supporters alleged.

There was an air of mystery about the retirement of Ministers at this crisis. Nobody gave credit to the ostensible motives of it; and several distinct reasons were alleged and discussed. In fact, every conceivable reason, except the true one, was assigned by the friends of Mr. Pitt. One was a serious difference which had sprung up between the Minister and the Duke of York,* partly with respect to military arrangements and operations; partly, because certain "unconstitutional influence in a high quarter counteracted and embarrassed the important duties of His Majesty's official and responsible advisers;" and partly, it was also alleged, because the Duke of York, as the special patron of the Orange Society, was resolutely opposed to the project of Catholic Emancipation. His Royal Highness might have spared his uneasiness. No Grand Master of Orangemen was ever more violently opposed to all claims and rights of Catholics than Mr. Pitt himself.

Innocent Catholics had been expecting that the King's speech, on opening this session, would have recommended a measure for their emancipation. The subject was not once alluded to. The address was moved in the House of Commons by Sir Watkin William Wynne, (commander of the Ancient Britons). Mr. Grey moved an amendment, and made some pointed observations upon Ireland and the Union. "If any good effect," he said, "could result from a measure so brought forward, and so supported, he hoped it would be the extension of the British Constitution to the Catholics of Ireland, and their restoration to all the rights of British subjects. This they had been taught to expect, and this was the least they were entitled to in return for that measure having been forced upon them by England." Mr. Pitt, in replying to Mr. Grey, studiously avoided even remote reference to Ireland. Ireland had served his turn; she was now safe under British law and government; and he desired to hear of her no more. But he had much to say in denunciation of "Jacobinism," which was the name then given to any assertion of any kind of right or liberty, concluding his speech with a warm appeal to the majority of the House, whether all the public calamities of this, and all the nations of the Continent, were not occasioned by those principles, which the gentleman opposite to him had uniformly supported, and which he and the gentlemen on his side of the House had as uniformly combated.

Before quitting the subject of Mr. Pitt's deliberate deception upon the Irish Catholics, it must be mentioned that the paper which had been delivered by Lord Cornwallis to Doctor Troy, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Fingal, soon became public; although Lord Cornwallis had prudently stipulated that it should be "*discreetly* communicated to the Bishops, and should not find its way into the newspapers,"† When Mr. Grey, on the 25th of March, moved the House of Commons to resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House to take into consideration the state of the nation, he referred to these written pledges, and roundly charged them with having been given without sincerity and without authority. "If Catholic freedom were offered to

* From the year 1797 the Orange Societies were so tenderly cherished and zealously promoted by the Duke of York, that almost every regiment, even of militia in Ireland, received from the office of the Commander-in-Chief, encouragement, authority, or orders for establishing Orange Lodges in their respective regiments. The person delegated for this mission was generally the Sergeant Major, or some other non-commissioned officer, signalized for his zeal against the Catholics. In some instances, the institution of Orange Lodges, under this high and official sanction has produced ferment and dissension, which compelled the commanding officer to investigate and punish both those who gave rise to, and those who perpetrated, the consequent outrages. When often, to the astonishment of the corps, and in defiance of military discipline and subordination, the conduct of the Sergeant has been justified by the production of the official document or warrant, most irregularly superseding that immediate authority, upon which alone the subordination and union of a regiment depend.

† This is the document which is printed in a note to the last chapter.

the Irish as the price of their support of the Union, if the faith of the Government were pledged on that occasion, it forms the highest species of criminality in Ministers, because I am confident, said he, if such were the case, it was so pledged without the authority of the King ; for I know His Majesty is superior to the idea of swerving in the slightest degree from the observance of his word. This, then, was a crime of the highest denomination in Ministers, and calls for inquiry. I ask, if such promise were made, was Lord Clare and the Protestant Ascendancy Party made acquainted with it? If so, they were a party to the delusion that was intended to be practiced on the unhappy Catholic."

Mr. Pitt, though no longer in office, sat on the Ministerial side of the House—in fact, he was virtually Prime Minister all the while ;—he replied to Mr. Grey, and touched as lightly as possible upon that part of his speech which referred to Ireland. Concerning the famous written pledge, he said, " he had no part in the *wording* of that paper. It was drawn up *by Lord Castlereagh.* To the sentiments it contained, *when properly interpreted,* he, however, subscribed—further, he would neither avow nor explain." He added : " As to the particular expressions in the paper, he knew nothing of them, having never seen it before it was published. He denied that any pledge had been given to the Catholics, either by himself, Lord Cornwallis, or the Noble Lord near him (Castlereagh). The Catholics might very naturally have conceived a hope, and he himself had always thought, that in time that measure would be a consequence of the Union, because the difficulties would be fewer than before."

Mr. Plowden wrote to Lord Cornwallis upon the subject ; and his lordship, in his reply, stated that *the paper* (which has been called the pledge to the Catholics,) " was hastily given by him to Dr. Troy to be circulated amongst his friends with the view of preventing any immediate disturbances, or other bad effects."

In short, the Catholics very soon perceived that they had been deluded, and understood very well that their cause had been turned into a convenient pretext by Mr. Pitt for abandoning office in order to throw upon other men the business of making the peace of Amiens.*

Thus within six weeks after carrying the Union, Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, (Lord Melville,) Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Castlereagh, all went out of office. Mr. Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons, was the new Prime Minister ; and Lord Hardwicke was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues resigned, pledging themselves to support their successors, (who declined to accept office without that support,) in an administration avowedly placed on implacable hostility to that identical measure, which he scrupled not to declare essential to the safety of the empire.

The first measure which the Imperial Parliament bestowed upon Ireland, was not an act of emancipation, but an act for suspending the writ of *Habeas Corpus* and establishing martial law. Lord Castlereagh had for some time been preparing the materials for the fabrication of a report of a secret committee, to prove (contrary to the fact,) that rebellion still existed in Ireland, and, therefore, that there was a necessity for renewing the act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus*, which was about to expire on the 25th of March. Accordingly, he had fixed the 20th of February for moving for a bill to enable the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to put martial law in force in such parts of Ireland as he should think proper.

The first act for this purpose was passed in the beginning of April, and was to expire in three months. Shortly after its passage, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by command of His Majesty, laid before the House of Commons copies and extracts of papers, containing secret information received by His Majesty's government, relative to the state of Ireland, and proceedings of certain disaffected persons in both parts of the

* It has always been considered by English statesmen a small and easy matter to cheat the Irish. More than two hundred years before, Sir Francis Bacon, (afterwards Lord Bacon,) in his " Considerations Touching the Queen's Service in Ireland," said : " Nothing can be more fit than a treaty, or a shadow of a treaty, of a peace with Spain, which, methinks, should be in our power to fasten, at least *rumore tenus*, to the deluding of as wise a people as the Irish."

United Kingdom, which, upon his motion, were referred to a committee. This was a preconcerted plan for representing Ireland, and collaterally the whole United Kingdom, as overrun with the spirit of Jacobinism. On no occasion was Mr. Pitt more vehement in his declamation against Jacobinism, apparently with a view of drawing off the public attention from the real authors of the national disasters, by directing its indignation against the Jacobins, whose cause they essentially tended to strengthen. "It was," said he, "the inherent spirit of Jacobinism to ally itself with every disaster, to press into its service every evil of the state, to wed itself to every misfortune of the country it inhabits, and to make them forerunners of its ruin."

The report of this secret committee was well got up to effect Mr. Pitt's favorite policy—that of "exciting alarm." It represented the three kingdoms as infested with the spirit of rebellion, French principles, or "Jacobinism." It recited with great emphasis certain songs and toasts, which were alleged to be favorites with the seditious rabble.

It reported the formation of new societies of Millenarians, New Jerusalemites, Spensonians, and other fanatics, whom it traced from London into Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottingham, Scotland, and other neighboring places; but it extended them not to Ireland. Yet Ireland was not to be wholly omitted, where the report was incidentally, at least, calculated to justify the cöercive measures intended for that part of the United Kingdom; and the committee added to their own surmises of the workings of these fanatics, *that they borrowed their ideas from the Irish rebellion.* "They saw *in Ireland* the example of such a rebellion as they wished to promote here." They further produced a printed address, signed *Hybernicus*, directed to Britons and fellow-citizens. The committee said, "they had thus detailed the proceedings of the disaffected, carried on in the metropolis, and as directed principally to its disturbance, but these would afford a very inadequate representation of the extent of the confederacy, yet in proceeding to advert to the state of the other parts of the country, *and even of Ireland*, they omitted to notice the concert which in some measure pervaded the whole." In other parts of the report, they lay stress upon the exaggerated statements of some men, of the number of the confederates, all trained to military exercise, which, including Ireland, amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. They added that the principal of these emissaries were represented as delegated from London, York, Birmingham, Bristol, Sheffield, and other considerable towns, *as well as from Ireland.*

The Committee added, that a new revolutionary association had been formed in Ireland; that a "Committee of Rebellion," composed of certain Irishmen, existed in Paris, and was negotiating with the French Government on the best mode of abolishing the British Constitution.

This astounding report was received by Parliament as ample proof of all that it affirmed.

When Lord Hobart, as Secretary of State for Ireland, introduced to the Lords the bill for continuing martial law in Ireland, he observed, that he had not attempted to use any arguments to prove the necessity for passing the bill, because, "the report on the face of it proved the necessity, and he thought their lordships would be more impressed with the arguments contained in the report than by any he could add." All the restrictive and cöercive bills touching Ireland were passed under the still prevailing influence of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville; the opposition to them was numerically insignificant. During the first session of the Imperial Parliament, no question respecting Ireland caused any difference between the seceders and their successors. They both equally deprecated the very mention of Catholic Emancipation, and emulated each other in zeal for curbing and cöercing the Irish people.

The bill passed both Houses by immense majorities; and the British Constitution was suspended, so far as respected Ireland. The Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to proclaim any part, or the whole, of the island under martial law; the act professed to be only temporary, as these cöercion laws for Ireland are always said to be; but they are almost always renewed before they expire; and thus, under one name or another,

"Insurrection Act," "Crime and Outrage Act," and the like, this cöercive code has been substantially the law of Ireland from that day to the present.

Another Irish measure, passed about the same time, was an act to regulate the office of Master of the Rolls in Ireland. Before the Union, this office was a mere sinecure, holden at the pleasure of the Crown by two Peers, (Lords Glandore and Carysfort,) with considerable salaries. These had been promised a large compensation for the loss of their places, in case the Union should be carried. Henceforward it was to be an efficient legal office, to be holden for life, with a suitable salary, in order to give the Irish Chancellor an opportunity of attending his Legislative duties in the House of Peers. It was warmly contended that, as the Commissioners for the Rolls were removable at pleasure from the sinecures, they were entitled to no compensation, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime-Sergeant had been. Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh justified the compensation; because it had been promised by the Irish Parliament, and they were bounden in honor to make it good.

"In fact," as Mr. Plowden bitterly observes, "none but the *Catholic* supporters of the Union had to complain of Ministerial infidelity in the observance of previous stipulations and promises."

There was one other who thought he had reason to complain. This was Lord Clare. The Irish Chancellor had for many years made himself the instrument—and a most able and thorough-going instrument of Mr. Pitt's policy in Ireland. Scarcely had Lord Castlereagh himself been more efficient in accomplishing the Union; and his lordship, who was naturally arrogant and presumptuous, evidently imagined that he was only promoting himself from a narrow provincial stage to the wide imperial theatre, where his audacity and powerful will would soon enable him to predominate in London, as he had done in Dublin. In the discussion of this bill to complete the great job of the Rolls Court, Mr. Pitt said, "it was highly desirable that the House of Lords should enjoy the benefit of that great luminary of the law, who had rendered such eminent services to his country." Mr. Grey replied, that much had been said that night in praise of the Irish Chancellor. "He only knew his politics; and those he highly disapproved of. It had been already shown that night, that the noble lord vindicated the use of torture to extort confessions." Lord Clare, from his first arrival in England, put himself at the head of the opponents of the Catholic claims. Foreseeing that the new administration was to consist of men assuming the arrogant appellation of the *King's friends*, he attempted, by decrying his own country in the Imperial Parliament, to secure, as one of the *King's friends*, an influence in the councils of Great Britain.

He failed in this unworthy ambition. He was reminded, in the House of Lords, that he was not now predominating over an assembly of Irish Peers. He was not at all consulted in the arrangements for the new Addington Administration. He returned to Ireland, consumed by disappointment, and did not scruple to express his bitter regret at the part he had taken in carrying the Union. If he did regret that act, it was for his own sake alone, not for the sake of his country.

He remained some time in London, in order to negotiate for some more efficient influence in the British Cabinet than the Great Seal of Ireland was ever likely to give him. Mr. Pitt, who well knew that nobleman's insatiable ambition, cautioned Mr. Addington against admitting him to a situation, in which, in case of resumption, (of which Mr. Pitt never lost sight,) he might meet a rival in the colleague. Lord Clare, foiled in his projects of British ambition, his pride wounded by the speeches of the late Duke of Bedford, and some other of the Whig Lords in Parliament, who freely reminded him, that Union had not transferred his dictatorial powers to the Imperial Parliament, had, in disgust, formed the resolution of withdrawing from scenes which he neither directed nor controlled. He had determined to return to his official situation in Ireland; but, by the Union, the Irish Seal had been shorn of its lustre, and all political consequence.

Lord Clare soon fell into bad health; and he died within the year and day after

that Act of Union which was to have crowned him with triumph. He died in January, 1802. His remains were interred with great pomp, in St. Peter's Churchyard, in Dublin. Some of the populace attempted at the funeral to express their horror of the deceased by offering indignities to his corpse.

It is singular that the only two eminent men who were within the present century, borne to their graves amidst the hootings of the people, were the Earl of Clare and the Marquis of Londonderry, (Castlereagh,) the two able tools of British policy in ruining the independence of their country.

The Earl of Hardwicke arrived in Dublin, to assume his government, on the 25th of May. Lord Cornwallis proceeded to England in June ; and we next hear of him as the negotiator of the Peace of Amiens.

The English and French people both eagerly desired peace. The First Consul, Buonaparte, was also sincerely desirous of giving repose to his countrymen, after so many years of bloody warfare. As Mr. Pitt and his high Anti-Jacobin friends were notoriously the party of war, it was believed in France that the change of Ministry betokened a disposition towards peace in the Councils of England. The First Consul was not aware that Mr. Pitt still continued really to govern the country ; and that he had made this new arrangement because he desired that other men than himself should make that treaty, and afterwards violate it. It is manifest that Napoleon Buonaparte did not at that time fully know how incompatible, how mutually destructive were a French Government, the product of the revolution—and an English oligarchy. He not only truly desired peace, but could see no reason why it might not be attained ; while Mr. Pitt and the Court were fully resolved that, while England had a ship afloat, and a guinea to hire allies, the struggle must go on. The momentary Peace of Amiens was intended to delude the French ; and Mr. Pitt ceased for a while to be the ostensible Minister, adroitly availing himself of his pretended zeal for the Catholic question, by which he had deluded the Irish.

The preliminaries of peace were signed at London, the 1st of October, in this year, 1801. The treaty itself was signed at the city of Amiens, the 27th of March, 1802, between France, Great Britain, Spain, and the Batavian Republic. France and England were represented by Joseph Buonaparte and Lord Cornwallis. England was to preserve, of her maritime conquests, the two islands of Ceylon and Trinidad. France was to re-possess all her colonies. The Republic of the Seven Islands was to be recognized. Malta was to be restored to the Order of the Knights. Spain, and the Batavian Republic were to have back all their colonies, except Ceylon and Trinidad ; and the French were to evacuate Rome, Naples, and the Isle of Elba. A cessation of hostilities, by land and sea, had been already proclaimed ; and on the signature of the treaty, the people really began to taste the luxury of peace.

The popular outcry for peace was now satisfied ; but as it had been resolved upon from the first that this repose should be of very short duration, pretexts began to be immediately sought for breaking the treaty. The French Government was making active naval preparations in the port of Brest, intended, ostensibly, for St. Domingo ; but it was assumed that the armament was really for Ireland.

Similar naval preparations and military movements were on foot in England in the winter of 1802. In the spring of 1803, volunteering in England and the raising of yeomany corps in Ireland, were matters of public notoriety.

In fact, the English Government was resolved never to give up the island of St. Malta ; and as this was a vital article of the treaty in the eyes of Buonaparte, it was evident that war must again break out. Lord Whitworth was sent over as Minister to France ; and from his dispatches to London, and those of Lord Hawkesbury in reply, it is easy to discover what were the true obstacles to the real establishment of peace.

Buonaparte, in a conference with Lord Whitworth, communicated to the British Government, 21st February, 1803, reiterated his complaints against the British Government in reference to the retention of Malta, in direct violation of the terms of

the treaty. He said: "Of the two, he would rather see us (the English) in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta." . . . He complained of the protection given in England to the assassin Georges, handsomely pensioned, and of his plans being permitted to be carried into effect in France, and of two of his fellow-agents being sent into France by the *emigrés* to assassinate him (Buonaparte) and being then in custody. The two men, he referred to, were subsequently tried, and convicted of the crime they were charged with on their own confessions.

In regard to the abuse launched on Buonaparte in the English papers and French emigrant journals, published in London, he (the First Consul) said to Lord Whitworth: "The irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him." Lord Hawkesbury, in reply to Lord Whitworth's communication, 18th February, 1803, made the following admission, for the first time explicitly and plainly expressed: "With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta, the stipulations contained in it, owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of His Majesty to control, had not been found capable of execution."

In Lord Whitworth's communication (dated February 21, 1803,) to Lord Hawkesbury, an account is given of an interview with Buonaparte, when the latter, in reference to the proofs he had given of a desire to maintain peace, said he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and if determined to attempt one, it must be made by putting himself at the head of an expedition. But how could it be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were, that he and the *greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea.* He talked much on the subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged there were a hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and, such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise. He concluded by stating, that France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, to be immediately completed, was ready for the most desperate enterprise; that England, with her fleet, was mistress of the seas, which he did not think he should be able to equal in ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it.

On the 9th of March, 1803, a message from the King was delivered to the Parliament, wherein His Majesty "thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions."

Lord Whitworth, in March, by the instructions of his Government, demanded an explanation of the motives and objects of the warlike preparations in the French ports, and the reply (not official) of M. Talleyrand, was said to have been short and not satisfactory: "It was the will of the First Consul." Buonaparte, on the other hand, on the 11th of March, at a levee at the Tuilleries, attended by the different ambassadors and a great number of distinguished persons, on entering the grand saloon seemed violently agitated, and appeared to be conversing with his attendants, or rather thinking aloud, for the following words, pronounced in a very audible voice, were heard by all the persons in the audience chamber: "Vengeance will fall on that power which will be the cause of the war." He approached the British Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, and said: "You know, my lord, that a terrible storm has arisen between England and France." Lord Whitworth said it was to be hoped that this storm would be dissipated without any serious consequences. Buonaparte replied: "It will be dissipated when England shall have evacuated Malta; if not, the cloud would burst and the bolt must fall. The King of

England had promised by treaty to evacuate that place—and who was to violate the faith of treaties?"

All this while, Mr. Pitt was out of office; and it was given out that his health was so shattered as to render him quite incapable of the cares and labors of public business; yet, in reality, while the London *Chronicle* was officially announcing his great sufferings, Mr. Pitt had never been so intensely and indefatigably occupied with state affairs as he was at the very time of these negotiations.* There can be no reasonable doubt that he directed and governed them from point to point.

On the 10th of May, the Court of London presented certain new projects plainly inadmissible; making further demands on France, and saying nothing of the surrender of Malta. The new conditions being rejected, Lord Whitworth demanded his passports, in order to quit the country.

On the 15th of May, 1803, His Britannic Majesty sent a message to Parliament, announcing the recall of the British Ambassador from Paris, and the departure of the French Ambassador from London. The declaration of hostilities with France was published in *The Gazette*, of 18th May, 1803.

Mr. Pitt's health was immediately restored. On the 23d of May, there was an animated debate in the House on an address to the King, pledging the House to support him in the vigorous prosecution of the war. On that night, the night of the debate of the 23d of May, Mr. Pitt was found in his place in Parliament, and it is hardly necessary to add, that his "voice was still for war." Perhaps, greater vigor of mind or body was never exhibited by him than on that occasion. The ex-Minister was himself again—war was about to be let loose on the world, and all the principles of evil seemed concentrated in the unholy exultation with which the prospect of war was hailed on that occasion. In the heat of his passion, he reviled Buonaparte in the most vehement terms of invective; he spoke of the First Consul as "a sea of liquid fire, which destroyed everything which was unfortunate enough to come in contact with it." It then only remained for honorable members to express a hope that "the only man in the empire qualified to conduct the war to a successful issue" should be recalled to the Councils of his Sovereign.

Mr. Pitt resumed in May, 1804, the supreme direction of public affairs as Prime Minister. He made no stipulation with the King concerning the Catholic claims; nor did he ever again offend his Sovereign's ear upon this subject, nor urge him to "violate his coronation oath" by emancipating four millions of his subjects.

Mr. Pitt's first great task now was to form that gigantic cöalition of European Powers against France; and occupied by these mighty projects he thought no more of Ireland unless when she seemed to need more cöercion.

* Doctor Madden (*U. I. Third Series*, p. 310,) makes this statement on the authority of Lady Hester Stanhope, Mr. Pitt's niece and private secretary.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1802—1803.

First Year of the Union—Distress in Ireland—Riot in Dublin—Irish Exiles in France—Renewed Hopes of French Aid—The two Emmets, MacNeven and O'Connor in France—Apprehensions of Invasion in England—Robert Emmet comes from France to Ireland—His Associates—His Plans—Miles Byrne—Despard's Conspiracy in England—Emmet's Preparations—Explosion in Patrick Street—The 23d of July—Failure—Bloody Riot—Murder of Lord Kilwarden—Emmet sends Miles Byrne to France—Retires to Wicklow—Returns to Dublin—Arrested—Tried—Convicted—Hanged—Fate of Russell.

The first year of the Union was, for Ireland, a year of severe distress. The crops of 1801, had in great measure failed; and as the people then depended or subsistance chiefly upon agriculture, as they do still, the usual results ensued. Hunger and hardship produced discontent, and in some places disorder also. The fair promises of immediate prosperity which was to have followed the Union, were not realized. Even trade and commerce were languishing. Mr. Foster, late Speaker, stated, in his place in the Imperial Parliament, that in 1801, the decrease of exported linen was five million yards. The taxes were increasing, as the means of paying them diminished; for Ireland had now to provide for the charges of that immense debt which had been contracted for

slaughtering her people and purchasing her Parliament. Mr. Foster, in the same speech mentioned—that, although it had been acknowledged that the expenses of the current year would be considerably less than they had been in the preceding year, yet a million more was borrowed for the present than for the last year. The inference to be drawn from that measure, (for various Union purposes,) was too obvious to mention. The revenue was then collected at a much lighter rate of expense, than it had been in 1782, when it was at £11 12*s.* 4*d.* per cent. The revenues of the Post Office were, at the time he was speaking, collected at the enormous expenditure of £224 per cent. In 1800, the amount of grants, pensions, &c., on that score, was £34,000; in 1802, £51,000; and this is what he called "a falling year." Then the Catholics, whose eyes were at length opened to the gross deception of which they had been victims, felt sore and disappointed; especially as the persecuting Orange Societies were now greatly multiplied, and became each day, by direct encouragement of the Government and of a Royal Duke, more insolent and aggressive. A serious riot took place in Dublin. The anniversary commemoration of the battle of Aughrim, on the 12th of July, was in 1802 solemnized with more than ordinary pomp. The statue of King William, in College Green, was most superbly decorated with orange colors, and several corps of yeomanry paraded round it in the course of the day. In the evening, the conduct of the yeomanry, and the spirit of this ill-judged and mischievous commemoration, so worked on the popular feelings, that the most serious consequences were apprehended. Mr. Alderman Stamer, failed in his endeavors to prevent outrages; some yeomen were beaten to the ground. Major Swan was knocked down and severely wounded: nor was the mob dispersed, until Alderman Darley arrived with a large party of the Castle guard. Some of the populace were taken and severely punished. Attempts were made to raise this expression of popular soreness into a general spirit of disaffection, and a renovation of rebellion. Nothing, however, could be certainly traced beyond the temporary and local outrage upon the popular feeling, from this senseless annual ovation of the Ascendancy, lately rendered more poignantly provoking by the ferocity and growing power of the Orange societies.

On the whole, therefore, when the insidious negotiations of the English Government, preparatory to the violation of the treaty of Amiens, were going forward in London and Paris, the mass of the Irish people was still thoroughly disaffected; and persons connected with the Government were of opinion that, immediately on the fresh outbreak of war with France, a new French expedition, and on a larger scale than that of Hoche, would be dispatched to Ireland; in which case there was no doubt of a general rising in the island.

The two Emmets, O'Connor, and many other Irish exiles, were then on the Continent; and were in communication with the First Consul, provisionally, with a view to future operations in case of the renewal of the war, which then seemed highly probable. Robert Emmet was then about twenty-four years of age. He had seen the atrocities of '98, the frauds and villanies by which the Union was accomplished: he saw his unhappy country still groaning under martial law—the great majority of his compatriots shut out from the Constitution, and by means of packed juries and Orange magistrates effectually deprived of the protection of law. His ardent spirit burned to redress these wrongs, and to do at least what one man might, to rouse the people for one more manly effort. The purity and elevation of his motives have never been questioned, even by his enemies. What he desired and longed for with all the intensity of his passionate nature, was simply to see his people invested with the ordinary civil right of human beings, leading peaceful and honorable lives under the protecting shelter of a native Legislature, and having a law over them which they might reverence and obey, not curse and abhor.*

* Lord Castlereagh, a young man like Robert Emmet, but more "prudent," thus describes Emmet and his insurrection, after the danger was over, in a speech in Parliament: "In place of a formidable conspiracy fraught with danger to the existing Government, it was only the wild and contemptible project of Mr. Emmet, a young man, of a heated and enthu-

Robert Emmet passed several months of the years 1800 and 1801 on the Continent and Peninsula, the greater part of that time on the tour in which he visited the south of France, Switzerland, and some parts of Spain. On his return from this tour, he visited Amsterdam and Brussels, where his brother, T. A. Emmet, had been sojourning since his liberation from Fort George, and banishment, in June, 1802.

It was impossible for Irishmen to be in France or Belgium in that year without perceiving the evident symptoms of a new and formidable struggle approaching. The English Minister had already refused to give up Malta; and formidable military and naval preparations were rapidly advancing both in France and in England. Equally impossible was it for the exiled United Irishmen not to turn with anxious hope to this new conjuncture of affairs. Doctor MacNeven was then in France, as well as Tone's friend Thomas Russell. With whom the idea originated of entering upon a negotiation with the French Government does not seem clear; but certain it is that Robert Emmet, in the summer of 1802, had interviews both with Buonaparte and Talleyrand.

His design was, then, based on the expectation of a speedy rupture of the amicable relations between Great Britain and France, on a knowledge of extensive naval preparations in the northern seaports of France, and the impression left on his mind, by his interview with Buonaparte, and his frequent communications with Talleyrand, that those preparations were for an invasion of England, which was likely to be attempted in August, 1803; on the knowledge, communicated to him by Dowdall, of a movement being determined on by the Secret Society of England, with which Colonel Despard was connected; on the assurance of support and pecuniary assistance from very influential persons in Ireland; and, lastly, on the concurrence of several of the Irish leaders in Paris.

The late Lord Cloncurry informed Doctor Madden that he dined in company with Robert Emmet and Surgeon Lawless, the day before the departure of the former for Ireland. "Emmet spoke of his plans with extreme enthusiasm; his features glowed with excitement, the perspiration burst through the pores, and ran down his forehead." Lawless was thoroughly acquainted with his intentions, and thought favorably of them; but Lord Cloncurry considered the plans impracticable, and was opposed to them. Doctor MacNeven, Hugh Wilson, Russell, Byrne, William and Thomas Corbett, Hamilton, and Sweeney, were intimate and confidential friend of Robert Emmet, as well as of his brother—several of them, there is positive proof, concurred in the attempt. All of them, it may be supposed, were cognizant of it. All their surviving friends are agreed on one point, that the project did not .originate with Robert Emmet.

The letters of T. A. Emmet, at this period, establish the fact that, in the autumn and winter of 1802, the leading United Irishmen then on the Continent, in the event of a rupture between France and England, were bent on renewing their efforts, and that they looked upon the struggle in Ireland as suspended, but not relinquished.

That this also was the opinion of the English Government, is equally certain. After the declaration of war, a number of intercepted letters, found on board the East Indiaman, Admiral Aplin, captured by the French, and published in the *Moniteur*, by the Government, afford abundant proof of the panic which prevailed in England, and of the expectation of invasion that was general at that period. Very serious apprehensions were expressed in these letters of the results of an invasion in Ireland It was stated, in a letter of Lord Charles Bentinck to his brother, Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras: "If Ireland be not attended to, it will be lost; these rascals, (an endearing, familiar, gentlemanlike-way

siastic imagination, who inheriting a property of £3,000 from his father, which was entirely at his own disposal, though he could not dispose of it to more advantage, than in an attempt to overturn the Government of his country."

What a contrast between these two Irishmen! Castlereagh certainly was not of "a heated and enthusiastic imagination." He did not invest his patrimony in pikes. The one sold his country to her enemies, and was laden with riches and honors. The other, who spent all he possessed, in an effort to redeem that country, perished on a gibbet, and the dogs of Thomas street lapped his blood.

of describing the people of Ireland,) "are as ripe as ever for rebellion."

In an extract of a letter to General Clinton, of the 2d of June, we find the following passage: "I have learned from them, (Irish people in England,) with regret, that the lower classes of the men in Ireland were more disaffected than ever, even more than during the last rebellion, and that if the French could escape from our fleet, and land their troops in the north of Ireland, they would be received with satisfaction, and joined by a great number."

In a letter of Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated the 12th of July, 1803, we find the following passage: "I am not certain whether the event of the war, which our wise Ministers have at last declared, may not have induced them to beg you to continue your stay in India some time longer. I hope nothing, however, will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, *supposing at that period that you have still a country to revisit.*"

Letter from Mr. Finers to General Lake, July 14th: "The invasion, which has been so long the favorite project of the First Consul, will certainly take place."

Letter from one of the Directors of the East India Company, Thomas Faulder, to Mr. J. Ferguson Smith, Calcutta, August 3d: "I have heard from the first authority, that if the French can land in Ireland with some troops, they will be immediately joined by one hundred thousand Irish." *

Robert Emmet set out for Ireland in the beginning of October, 1802, and arrived in Dublin in the course of the same month. His brother, Thomas Addis, was then in Brussels. His father, the worthy Doctor Emmet, and his mother were then residing at Casino, near Milltown; and here Robert remained some weeks in seclusion. Gradually and cautiously he put himself in communication with those whom he knew to be favorable to his enterprise—especially the old United Irishmen of '98. The principal persons concerned with him were—Thomas Russell, formerly Lieutenant of the Sixty fourth Regiment of foot; John Allen, of the firm of Allen & Hickson, woolen-drapers, Dame street, Dublin; Philip Long, a general merchant, residing at No. 4 Crow street; Henry William Hamilton, (married to Russell's niece,) of Enniskillen, barrister-at-law; William Dowdall, of Mullingar, (natural son of Hussey Burgh, (formerly Secretary to the Dublin Whig Club;) Miles Byrne, of Wexford; Colonel Lumm, of the County Kildare; —— Carthy, a gentleman farmer, of Kildare; Malachy Delany, the son of a landed proprietor, County Wicklow; the Messrs. Perrot, farmers, County Kildare; Thomas Wylde, cotton manufacturer, Cork street; Thomas Lenahan, a farmer, of Crew Hill, County Kildare; John Hevey, a tobacconist, of Thomas street; Denis Lambert Redmond, a coal factor, of Dublin; —— Branagan, of Irishtown, timber merchant; Joseph Aliburn, of Kilmacud, Windy Harbor, a small landholder; Thomas Frayne, a farmer, of Boven, County of Kildare; Nicholas Gray, of Wexford.†

Some other persons of more humble rank, tradesmen, whose services would be required in the preparations, are enumerated by Doctor Madden: James Hope, of County Antrim; Michael Quigley, a master bricklayer, of Rathcoffy, in the County Kildare; Henry Howley, a master carpenter, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Felix Rourke, of Rathcoole, a clerk in a brewery in Dublin, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Nicholas Stafford, a baker, of James street; Bernard Duggan, a working cotton manufacturer, of the County Tyrone, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Michael Dwyer, the well-known Wicklow insurgent, who, along with Holt and Miles Byrne, had kept up their resistance amidst the glens and mountains of Wicklow.

The plan of Robert Emmet's insurrection was, while agents were quietly organizing both the city and county, to make secret preparations in the city of Dublin itself;—then, when all was ready, to make one spring at the Castle, to seize upon the authorities, and give the signal for a general insurrection from Dublin Castle. There is good military authority for approving this

* The above extracts are given by Dr. Madden.—*U. I. Third Series*, p. 315.

† Dr. Madden adds the names of Lord Wycombe and John Keogh, as favorable to the enterprise, not actually concerned in it.

plan of a rising in Ireland ; and it certainly might well have succeeded, but for one fatal accident. The gallant Miles Byrne, after many a campaign, as a French officer, in every quarter of Europe, deliberately, in his latter days, avowed his preference for Emmet's scheme to every other that could be devised in the circumstances of Ireland. He says, in closing his own narrative of that part of his career :—

"I shall ever feel proud of the part I took with the lamented Robert Emmet. I have often asked myself, how could I have acted otherwise, seeing all his views and plans for the independence of my country so much superior to anything ever imagined before on the subject? They were only frustrated by accident, and the explosion of a depôt, and, as I have always said, whenever Irishmen think of obtaining freedom, Robert Emmet's plans will be their best guide. First, to take the capital, and then the provinces will burst out and raise the same standard immediately." *

Miles Byrne himself, after being much sought after by the Government, on account of his part in the Wexford insurrection, and after many escapes, was, in 1802, under a feigned name, employing himself as a measurer of timber, in the timber-yard of his step-brother, Kennedy ; but still keeping up his connections with the remnant of Wexford rebels, and hoping for better times. Here, while he was one day measuring logs, news came of the Peace of Amiens. "I felt," he says, "unnerved and disappointed at the news of the peace. I had been living in hopes that ere the war terminated, something good would be done for poor Ireland."

Soon after the arrival of Robert Emmet, we find him in close communication with Mr. Byrne.

In reporting their first conversation, Mr. Byrne gives his unimpeachable testimony with regard to the real views of Emmet, and his motives for engaging in the enterprise, and his anxious care to avoid French domination as well as to abolish that of England, The *Memoir* says :—

"Mr, Emmet soon told me his plans ; he said he wished to be acquainted with all those who had escaped in the war of '98, and who continued still to enjoy the confidence of the people ; that he had been inquiring since his return, and even at Paris ; he was pleased to add that he had heard my name mentioned amongst them, &c. He entered into many details of what Ireland had to expect from France, in the way of assistance, now that that country was so energetically governed by the First Consul, Buonaparte, who feared (he, Buonaparte,) that the Irish people might be changed, and careless about their independence, in consequence of the union with England. It became obvious, therefore, that this impression should be removed as soon as possible. Robert Emmet told me the station his brother held in Paris, and that the different members of the Government there frequently consulted him ; all of them were of opinion that a demonstration should be made by the Irish patriots to prove that they were as ready as ever to shake off the English yoke. To which Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet replied, it would be cruel to commit the poor Irish people again, and to drive them into another rebellion before they received assistance from France, but at the same time, he could assure the French Government, that a secret organization was then going on throughout Ireland, but more particularly in the city of Dublin, where large depôts of arms, and of every kind of ammunition were preparing with the greatest secrecy, as none but the tried men of 1798 were intrusted with the management of those stores and depôts.

"After giving me this explanation, Mr. Robert Emmet added, 'if the brave and unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald and his associates felt themselves justified in seeking to redress Ireland's grievances by taking the field, what must not be our justification, now that not a vestige of self-government exists, in consequence of the accursed Union ; that until this most barbarous, fraudulent transaction took place, from time to time, in spite of corruption, useful local laws were enacted for Ireland. Now, seven-eighths of the population have no right to send a member of their body to represent them, even in a foreign parlia-

* Memoirs of Miles Byrne. Paris.

ment, and the other eighth part of the population are the tools and task-masters, acting for the cruel English Government and its Irish Ascendancy ;—a monster still worse, if possible, than foreign tyranny.'

"Mr. Emmet mentioned again the promises obtained from the chief of the French Government, given to himself, his brother, and other leaders, that, in the event of a French army landing in Ireland, it should be considered as an auxiliary one, and received on the same principle as General Rochambeau and his army were received by the American people, when fighting for their independence. He added : 'that though no one could abhor more than he did the means by which the First Consul came to be at the head of the French nation, still he was convinced, that this great military chief would find it his interest to deal fairly by the Irish nation, as the best and surest way to obtain his ends with England ; he, therefore, thought the country should be organized and prepared for those great events, which were now inevitable. That, as for himself, he was resolved to risk his life, and to stake the little fortune he possessed, for the accomplishment of those preparations so necessary for the redemption of our unfortunate country from the hands of a cruel enemy.'"

It was while Mr. Emmet was making his preparations in Dublin, that an English revolutionary conspiracy was detected and broken up in London. A certain Colonel Despard and thirty other persons were arrested, on a charge of high treason, at a public house in Lambeth, the 15th of November, 1802. By some of the witnesses, it appeared that Government was cognizant of the treasonable proceedings of Despard and his associates six months previous to their arrest ; that spies were set on them, and suggested acts in some cases to them which were adopted ; that they had printed pages to the following effect : "Constitution, the independence of Great Britain and Ireland ; an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights ; an ample provision for the families of the heroes who shall fall in the contest ; a liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend. We swear to be united in the awful presence of God."

February 7, 1803, Colonel Despard was tried at the Surrey Assizes, before Lord Ellenborough, on a charge of high treason, conspiring to *assassinate the King*, &c. Of this last charge there was no evidence, but it plainly appeared that Despard, as well as Robert Emmet, had been encouraged to make his attempt by the French Government ; which very naturally desired to create for the English Government as much embarrassment as possible at home. Despard was convicted and hung.

In the meantime, Emmet was quietly collecting arms and forming depôts of them at several points in Dublin. In January, 1803, his good father, Doctor Robert Emmet, died, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Aungier street. Robert could not even attend his father's funeral ; because his presence in Dublin was intended to be a secret ; and he knew there was a warrant for his apprehension in the hands of Major Sirr, since early in the year 1800.* He was proceeding actively with his preparations. Miles Byrne and others were busy in getting pikes, pistols, and blunderbusses, manufactured and ammunition laid in. Emmet invented a species of explosive machines, consisting of beams of wood bored by a pump augur, and filled with powder and small stones, intended to be exploded in the face of advancing troops at the moment of action. Large quantities of pikes were forged and mounted, and carried from their places of manufacture to the depôts in hollow logs prepared for their reception, and which were drawn through the streets like ordinary lumber.

It is not a little strange that the Irish Government, usually so vigilant and suspicious, seems to have had no knowledge of these formidable arrangement. This was not for want of warnings, and reports of spies ; but the Government did not believe them. And it is no wonder that the executive was so incredulous, because there had not, probably, been one week, for the past half century when the Government had not received some alarming intelligence of this nature. Plainly, also, the information was not so precise as to indicate persons and places ; so that no interruption

* Madden discovers this fact in "Sirr's Papers," deposited in Trinity College Library.

was given to the arrangements; and the 23d of July, 1803, was fixed for the outbreak.

Before that day arrived a circumstance occurred which threatened to ruin all:—

On the Saturday night week previous to the turnout, an explosion of some combustibles took place in the depôt of Patrick street, which gave some alarm in the neighborhood. Major Sirr came to examine the house—previous to his coming, some one removed the remaining powder, arms, &c., and all matters which were movable in the place, notwithstanding some obstruction given by the watchman. Other arms were secreted on the premises, and were not discovered until some time afterwards. It was concluded that the affair was only some chemical process, which had accidently caused the explosion.

The accident does not seem to have placed any serious obstacle in the way of the enterprise. Miles Byrne says:—

"Now the final plan to be executed, consisted principally in taking the Castle, whilst the Pigeon House, Island Bridge, the Royal Barracks, and the old Custom House Barracks were to be attacked, and if not surprised and taken, they were to be blockaded, and intrenchments thrown up before them. Obstacles of every kind to be created through the streets, to prevent the English cavalry from charging. The Castle once taken, undaunted men, materials, implements of every description, would be easily found in all the streets in the city, not only to impede the cavalry, but to prevent infantry from passing through them.

"As I was to be one of these persons designed to cöoperate with Robert Emmet in taking the Castle of Dublin, I shall here relate precisely, the part which was allotted to me in this daring enterprise: I was to have assembled early in the evening of Saturday, the 23d of July, 1803, at the house of Denis Lambert Redmond, on the Coal Quay, the Wexford and Wicklow men, to whom I was to distribute pikes, arms and ammunition, and then a little before dusk, I was to send one of the men, well known to Mr. Emmet, to tell him that we were at our post, armed and ready to follow him; men were placed in the house in Ship street, ready to seize on the entrance to the Castle on that side, at the same moment the principal gate would be taken.

"Mr. Emmet was to leave the depôt at Thomas street at dusk, with six hackney coaches, in each of which, six men were to be placed, armed with jointed pikes and blunderbusses, concealed under their coats. The moment the last of these coaches had passed Redmond's house where we were to be assembled, we were to sally forth and follow them quickly into the Castle courtyard, and there to seize and disarm all the sentries, and to replace them instantly with our own men, &c.

Emmet, after the explosion in Patrick street, took up his abode in the depôt in Marshalsea lane. There he lay at night on a mattrass, surrounded by all the implements of death, devising plans, turning over in his mind all the fearful chances of the intended struggle, well knowing that his life was at the mercy of upwards of forty individuals, who had been, or still were employed in the depôts; yet confident of success, exaggerating its prospects, extenuating the difficulties which beset him, judging of others by himself, thinking associates honest who seemed to be so, confiding in their promises, and animated, or rather inflamed by a burning sense of the wrongs of his country, and an enthusiasm in his devotion to what he considered its rightful cause

The morning of the 23d of July, found Emmet and the leaders in whom he confided not of one mind; there was division in their councils, confusion in the depôts, consternation among the citizens who were cognizant of what was going on, and treachery tracking Robert Emmet's footsteps, dogging him from place to place, unseen, unsuspected, but perfidy nevertheless, embodied in the form of patriotism, employed in deluding its victim, making the most of its foul means of betraying its unwary victims, and counting already on the ultimate rewards of its treachery. Portion after portion of each plan of Robert Emmet was defeated, as he imagined, by accident, or ignorance, or neglect, on the part of his agents. "But it never occurred to him," says Madden, "that he was betrayed, that every design of his was frustrated, every project neutralized, as

effectually as if an enemy had stolen into the camp.'"

There is, however, no satisfactory evidence of treason, on the part of any of those whom he trusted. The rest of this sad tale is soon told :—

Various consultations were held on the 23d, at the depöt, in Thomas street, at Mr. Long's, in Crow steeet, and Mr. Allen's, in College Green, and great diversity of opinion prevailed with respect to the propriety of an immediate rising, or a postponement of the attempt. Emmet and Allen were in favor of the former, and, indeed, in the posture of their affairs, no other course was left, except the total abandonment of their project, which it is only surprising had not been determined on. The Wicklow men, under Dwyer, on whom great dependence was placed, had not arrived ; the man who bore the order to him from Emmet neglected his duty, and remained at Rathfarnham. The Kildare men came in, and were informed, evidently by a traitor, that Emmet had postponed his attempt, and they went back at five o'clock in the afternoon. The Wexford men came in, and, to the number of two hundred or three hundred, remained in town the early part of the night to take the part assigned to them, but they received no orders. A large body of men were assembled at the Broadstone, ready to act when the rocket signal agreed upon should be given, but no such signal was made.

It was evident that Emmet, to the last, counted on large bodies of men at his disposal, and that he was deceived. At eight o'clock in the evening, he had eighty men nominally under his command, collected in the depöt in Marshalsea lane.

A man rushed in to announce that troops were at that moment marching upon them, which was not true ; yet it seems to have been believed by Emmet and the rest. It was then he resolved to sally out, with such poor following as he had, march upon the Castle, and, if necessary, meet death by the way. Even this happiness—of dying with arms in his hands—was not reserved for the unfortunate gentleman.

The motley assembly of armed men, some of them intoxicated, marched along Thomas street, with their unhappy leader at their head, who was endeavoring to maintain some order, with the assistance of Stafford, a man who remained close by him throughout this scene, and faithful to the last. It was now about half-past nine, and quite dark. The sequel is painful to tell ; yet it must be told. Doctor Madden says :—

"The stragglers in the rear soon commenced acts of pillage and assassination. The first murderous attack committed in Thomas street was not that made on Lord Kilwarden, as we find by the following account in a newspaper of the day :—

"'A Mr. Leech, of the Custom House, was passing through Thomas street in a hackney coach, when he was stopped by the rabble ; they dragged him out of the coach, without any inquiry, it seemed enough that he was a respectable man ; he fell on his knees, implored their mercy, but all in vain ; they began the work of blood, and gave him a frightful pike wound in the groin. Their attention was then diverted from their humbler victim by the approach of Lord Kilwarden's coach. Mr. Leech then succeeded in creeping to Vicar street watch-house, where he lay a considerable time apparently dead from loss of blood, but happily recovered from his wound.'"

Now, of all the judges, and other high official persons in Ireland, in those days, not one was so estimable, so good, and humane, as Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He had often stood between an innocent prisoner and the death to which his enemies had already doomed him. Most unfortunately, just as the mad mob of rioters had got beyond the control of their leader, and had already dipped their hands in blood, a private carriage was seen moving along that part of Thomas street which leads to Vicar street. It was stopped and attacked ; Lord Kilwarden, who was inside, with his daughter and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, cried out : "It is I, Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench." A man, whose name is said to have been Shannon, rushed forward, plunged his pike into his lordship, crying out : "You are the man I want." A portmanteau was then taken out of the carriage, broken open, and rifled of its contents ; then his lordship, mortally wounded, was dragged out of the

carriage, and several additional wounds inflicted on him. His nephew endeavored to make his escape, but was taken, and put to death. The unfortunate young lady remained in the carriage, till one of the leaders rushed forward, took her from the carriage, and led her through the rabble to an adjoining house; and it is worthy of observation, that in the midst of this scene of sanguinary tumult, no injury or insult was offered to her, or attempted to be offered to her, by the infuriated rabble. Mr. Fitzgerald states that the person who rescued her from her dreadful situation was Robert Emmet.

Miss Wolfe, after remaining some time in the place of refuge she was placed in, proceeded on foot to the Castle, and entered the Secretary's office, in a distracted state, and is said to have been the first bearer of the intelligence of her father's murder. Lord Kilwarden was found lying on the pavement, dreadfully and mortally wounded. When the street was cleared of the insurgents he was carried almost lifeless to the watch-house in Vicar street.

This foul murder was an atrocity really horrible. Reasons have been assigned or suggested for it; as that the man who first attacked him had had a relative sentenced to death by him; that he was mistaken for Lord Carleton, a very different kind of judge, &c.; but the odious deed stands out in all its bloody horror; no better—but also no worse—than many of the outrages done upon the people in '98, by Orange yeomanry and Ascendancy magistrates.

Doctor Madden thus narrates the close of this dreadful affair:—

"Emmet halted his party at the market house, with the view of restoring order, but tumult and insubordination prevailed. During his ineffectual efforts, word was brought that Lord Kilwarden was murdered; he retraced his steps, proceeded towards the scene of the barbarous outrage, and in the course of a few minutes returned to his party; from that moment he gave up all hope of effecting any national object. He saw that his attempt had merged into a work of pillage and murder. He and a few of the leaders who were about him abandoned their project and their followers. A detachment of the military made its appearance at the corner of Cutpurse row, and commenced firing on the insurgents, who immediately fled in all directions. The rout was general in less than an hour from the time they sallied forth from the depôt. The only place where anything like resistance was made was on the Coombe, where Colonel Brown was killed, and two members of the Liberty Rangers, Messrs. Edmonston and Parker. The guard-house of the Coombe had been unsuccessfully attacked, though with great determination; a great many dead bodies were found there."

The whole affair was now over, and all was lost; yet during this night, Miles Byrne, with his two hundred picked Wexford men, was in the house on Coal Quay, anxiously awaiting the orders that had been agreed upon. Dwyer was ready with another party; and the Kildare men were expecting to be summoned by a messenger. They were all left without orders.

The next day was, of course, a time of arrests, discoveries, and domiciliary visits in Dublin. The several depôts were examined, and quantities of uniforms, fire-arms, and several thousand pikes were found; together with eight thousand copies of two proclamations intended for distribution on the day of the rising. These documents declare that the object of the movement is an Irish Republic, separation from England, and freedom and justice for all. (See Appendix, No. IV.) Emmet went out to a private house at Rathfarnham. Within a week before his sad failure, he had sent Russell and James Hope to the North, upon whose people he placed great reliance, and he requested Miles Byrne to go to France with dispatches for his brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, which Byrne, after many adventures, accomplished. Emmet himself proceeded from Rathfarnham to the Wicklow mountains, where he found the Wicklow insurgents bent on prosecuting their plans, and making an immediate attack on some of the principal towns in that county. Emmet, to his credit, being then convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, had determined to withhold his sanction from any further effort; convinced, as he then was,

that it could only lead to the effusion of blood, but to no successful issue. His friends pressed him to take immediate measures for effecting his escape, but unfortunately he resisted their solicitations; he had resolved on seeing one person before he could make up his mind to leave the country, and that person was dearer to him than life—Sarah Curran, the youngest daughter of the celebrated advocate, John Philpot Curran. With the hope of obtaining an interview with her, if possible, before his intended departure—of corresponding with her—and of seeing her pass by Harold's Cross, which was the road from her father's country-house, near Rathfarnham, to Dublin, he returned to his old lodgings at Mrs. Palmer's, Harold's Cross. Here, on the 25th of August, he was arrested, at about seven o'clock in the evening, by Major Sirr, who, according to the newspaper accounts, "did not know his person till he was brought to the Castle, *where he was identified by a gentleman of the College.*"*

On Monday, September 19, 1803, at a special commission, before Lord Norbury, Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Baron Daly, Robert Emmet was put on his trial, on a charge of high treason, under 25th Edward III. The counsel assigned him were Messrs. Ball, Burrowes, and M'Nally.

The counsel for the prosecution were Mr. Standish O'Grady, Attorney-General, and William Conyngham Plunket, King's Counsel. There is nothing specially worthy of remark on the trial, except the very bitter and superfluous speech of Mr. Plunket. Mr. Plunket had been the friend of Emmet's father. It was the political doctrine so loudly announced by Mr. Plunket in his Anti-Union speeches—that the Union would leave Ireland without any constitution or law which men would be bound to obey—it was this, and other eloquent denunciations, which had so deeply sunk into Emmet's mind, that he at length resolved to put those doctrines in practice, at the risk of his life. This could only be done by expelling the British authorities from his country.

It is true that Mr. Plunket, if he practiced his profession at all, was bound to take the brief for the Crown; but he was not bound to display a furious and vindictive zeal in prosecuting his friend's son, especially as the prisoner made no defence. When the witnesses for the prosecution had all been examined, Mr. M'Nally said, as Mr. Emmet did not intend to call any witness, or to take up the time of the Court by his counsel stating any case or making any observations on the evidence, he presumed the trial was now closed on both sides.

Mr. Plunket declined following the example of the prisoner's counsel, and launched into a most violent and needless philippic, ending with this passionate imprecation:—

"They imbrue their hands in the most sacred blood of the country, and yet they call upon God to prosper their cause as it is just! But as it is atrocious, wicked, and abominable, I must devoutly invoke that God to confound and overwhelm it."

How nobly Emmet asserted himself and his cause, in his last speech, is known to all who read our language. There exist at least ten editions of that speech, some of them varying materially from others. The latest and probably most correct version of it, is that contained in Doctor Madden's "Memoir of Emmet," in the *Third Series* of his collections. Thomas Moore, in his diary, February 15, 1831, mentions Burrowes having remarked to him, on the subject of Plunket's conduct in Emmet's case, "Plunket could not have refused the brief of Government, *though he might have avoided, perhaps, speaking to evidence.* It was not true, I think he said, that Plunket had been acquainted with young Emmet. The passage in a printed speech of Emmet, where he is made to call Plunket '*that viper*,' &c., was never spoken by Emmet."

On the 20th of September, he was executed. The same morning the death of his mother was announced to him in his prison. Early in the afternoon he was removed, attended by a strong guard, both of cavalry and infantry, to Thomas street, where a scaffold and gibbet had been erected. He died with the utmost calmness and fortitude.

It is said that Robert Emmet had been made acquainted with a design that was in contemplation to effect his escape at the time

* Madden says this was Doctor Elrington, Provost of the College.

and place appointed for execution. Of that design, Government appears to have had information, and had taken precautionary measures, which had probably led to its being abandoned. The avowed object of Thomas Russell's going to Dublin, after his failure in the North, was to adopt plans for this purpose.

Russell, the close friend and associate both of Tone and Emmet, was himself soon after arrested, and executed at Downpatrick; and this was the end of the United Irishmen, at least for that generation. Russell's burial slab is to be seen in a churchyard of Downpatrick, with no word on it but the simple name "Thomas Russell." Robert Emmet's tomb is still uninscribed.

CHAPTER XLV.

1803—1804.

Reason to Believe that Government was all the time aware of the Conspiracy—"Striking Terror"—Martial Law—Catholic Address—Arrests—Informers—Vigorous Measures—In Cork—In Belfast—Hundreds of Men Imprisoned without Charge—Brutal Treatment of Prisoners—Special Commission—Eighteen Persons Hung—Debate in Parliament—Irish Exiles in France—First Consul Plans a New Expedition to Ireland—Formation of the "Irish Legion"—Irish Legion in Bretagne—Official Reply of the First Consul to T. A. Emmet—Designs of the French Government—Buonaparte's Mistake—French Fleet again ordered Elsewhere—The Legion goes to the Rhine, and to Walcheren—End of the Addington Ministry—Mr. Pitt Returns to Office—Condition of Ireland—Decay of Dublin—Decline of Trade—Increase of Debt—Ruinous Effects of the Union—Presbyterian Clergy Pensioned, and the Reason.

A LARGE number of the bravest and purest men whom Ireland ever produced, having now within three or four years been either hung or banished, it was hoped that the Protestant Ascendancy and British connection, the Tithes, the Oligarchical Government, the packed juries, in short our Constitution in church and state, were at last secure against "Jacobins," and all manner of French principles.

Although the government of Lord Hardwicke had *seemed* to shut its eyes and see nothing of the preparations for Emmet's insurrection, there is reason to believe that most of its details were well known at the Castle.

In the collection of papers of Major Sirr, in the volume for 1803, and a succeeding volume containing miscellaneous letters, of dates from 1798 to 1803, are found various letters of spies and informers, of the old battalion of testimony of 1798, giving information to the Major of treasonable proceedings, meetings, preparing pikes, &c., being in existence in the three months preceding the outbreak of the insurrection of the July 23, 1803. In the latter volume are many similar letters from a Roman Catholic gentleman in Monastereven, suggesting arrests to the Major, and, amongst others, the arrest of a gentleman of some standing in society, a Brigadier-Major Fitzgerald.

It is also plain that Government knew of Emmet's having come from France to Dublin, and knew his errand, and at least some of his movements; for in October, 1802, Robert Emmet dined at Mr. John Keogh's, of Mount Jerome, shortly after his arrival in Dublin, in the company of John Philpot Curran. The conversation turned on the political state of the country—on the disposition of the people with respect to a renewal of the struggle. Robert Emmet spoke with great vehemence and energy in favor of the probability of success, in the event of another effort being made. John Keogh asked, in case it were, how many counties did he think would rise? The question was one of facts and figures. Robert Emmet replied that nineteen counties could be relied on. This dinner party was immediately known to Government; and, next day, a well-known magistrate, with two attendants, waited on Mr. Keogh, demanded and carried off his papers.*

Mr. Plowden does not hesitate to speak of the Government on this occasion as having "made the full experiment of their favorite tactic of *not urging the rebels to postpone their attempts by any appearance of too much precaution and preparation of inviting rebellion*, in order to ascertain its extent, and of forcing premature explosion for the purpose of *radical cure*."

After the danger was past, however, and after it was known how very wretched and impotent the whole attempt had turned out,

* Madden. Memoir of Emmet. *Third Series.*

superabundant precautions were taken with the usual objects of "creating alarm," and striking terror. A Privy Council sat for several hours, and a proclamation was prepared and issued immediately, ordering the army to disperse all assemblies of armed rebels, and to do military execution upon all such found in arms. Barriers were erected in Dublin, and strong detachments stationed with cannon upon the bridges, and in the most frequented avenues and passes in the city.

On the 28th of July, the King sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, asking for additional powers in Ireland—that is, a renewed suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The act was passed at once. In Ireland, the judges went circuit that summer with strong escorts of troops.

We now again find the Catholics of rank and title coming forward to profess their loyalty; and, indeed, the brutal murder of the excellent Kilwarden, and others, on that ill-omened night, appeared but too well to justify good citizens in treating the whole movement as a mere riot for pillage and assassination. On the 4th of August, an address, signed by the most respectable Roman Catholics in and about Dublin, was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant, by a deputation consisting of the Earl of Fingal and Lord Viscount Gormanstown, and the Catholic Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin. It expressed their utmost horror and detestation of the late atrocious proceedings, their attachment to the King, and admiration of the Constitution. It contained a special declaration, that, however ardent their wish might be to participate in the full enjoyment of its benefits, they never should be brought to seek for such participation through any other medium than that of the free, unbiassed determination of the Legislature.

In Lord Hardwicke's reply he made not the slightest allusion to the wish those gentlemen had expressed, that they might be admitted within the pale of that Constitution they so much admired.

A system of suspicious repression was now once more enforced. Even before the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act. Many persons, who had been obnoxious to Government, or to the agents or favorites of the Castle, were apprehended, without any charge or ostensible cause of detention.* And, as it usually happens, when strong measures are resorted to by a weak government, the subalterns, who advised against reason, executed these measures without discretion. On this occasion, most of those who, upon the Secretary's warrants, were thrown into jail, under color of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, were treated with a rigorous inhumanity, which the law neither intended nor warranted. The system of espionage was extended, and the wages of information raised.

Not only rewards of £1,000 were offered for the information of any of the murderers of Lord Kilwarden, or his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, and for the apprehension of Mr. Russell, but a reward of £50 for each of the first one hundred rebels, who might be discovered, that were of the number who appeared under arms in Thomas street, on Saturday night, the 23d of July.

The whole of the yeomanry of Ireland was put upon permanent duty, at the enormous expense of £100,000 per month. In Cork, too, precautionary measures were adopted, viz., that no one should quit the county without a passport, and that every householder should affix a list of the family and inmates on their doors, by order of General Myers, who commanded in that district. The Sovereign of Belfast issued an order, for the inhabitants to remain within their houses after eight o'clock in the evening, and for several other regulations of strict observance. In Dublin, the magistrates convened a meeting, at the suggestion of Government, at which they determined that the city should be divided into forty-eight sections, each section to be divided by a *chevaux de frise*, to prevent a surprise from the pikemen, which would not at the same time prevent the fire of the musketry of the troops and yeomanry.

From the moment of the passage of martial law, the arrests became much more numerous; and any one pointed out as *suspicious*, generally by a personal enemy, was at

* Some of these were William Todd Jones, at Cork, who was arrested on the 29th of July, and after him Messrs. Drennan, Donovan, and others; Mr. Ross M'Cann, Bernard Coile, Mr James Tandy, and others, at Dublin.

once thrown into a dungeon. The horrors of these Irish dungeons came out, years afterwards, on an inquiry before Parliament. Mr. Plowden cautiously and timidly alludes to them in this manner * :—

"Sensible, that general charge and invective come not within the province of the historian, the author felt it his duty to inform the reader, that at this time commenced a new system of gradual inquisitorial torture in prison. Suffice it here to observe, that there are many surviving victims of these inhuman and unwarrantable confinements, who, without having been charged with any crime, or tried for any offence, have from this period, undergone years of confinement, and incredible afflictions and sufferings, under the full conviction that they were inflicted from motives of personal resentment, and for the purpose of depriving them of life."

In fact, although only eighty men had turned out with Robert Emmet, and very few of these were ever found, the jails were, in the autumn of this year, crowded with many humdreds of persons ; and all the horrors of the Prevot prison were repeated upon their unfortunate victims. This was the more unaccountable as Emmet never allowed any of his followers to be *sworn in;* there was no pretext—as in '98—for charging suspected persons with having taken "unlawful oaths," nor for torturing men in order to wring out information of such an offence having been committed. The system of Government, then, has no assignable motive, save one—to strike terror and wreak vengeance. Every house in the city and neighborhood of Dublin was searched for arms ; and the names of the inmates of each house were once more required to be posted on the outer door.

Thus the entire system of Irish cöercion, to which our country is so well accustomed, was in full operation within a few days after Emmet's attempt.

On the 11th of August, the day before Parliament was prorogued, Mr. Hutchinson made one effort to draw attention to these atrocities. He moved an address to the King, praying to have papers laid before the House preparatory to an inquiry into the state of Ireland. The motion was opposed by Ministers on the ground, that it was more than useless to demand information from Government upon the state of Ireland, without having proposed any specific measure to be based upon such information when received, and that on the very eve of a prorogation. They roundly asserted that the Irish Government had not been surprised on the 23d of July, and that the *prevention* of what did happen would have taught wisdom and given strength to the rebel cause. The motion was negatived without a division.

At the "special commission" which tried Emmet, twenty persons were tried for their lives. Of these, one was acquitted and one respited ; the rest were hung.

Parliament met again on the 22d of November. Charles James Fox originated a short debate on the state of Ireland. He charged the Government with want of candor, in endeavoring to convey an idea that it was the intention of the rebels in Ireland to put that country into the hands of France, when such a design had been so strongly disavowed by their leaders. "It was not," he added, "to be hoped or expected, that as long as grievances existed, Ireland could become loyal, and he sincerely hoped that the House would not, by confiding in words, leave her exposed to a repetition of those scenes that had lately occurred.

Mr. Addington insisted that some leaders of the United Irishmen "were really disposed to subserve the purposes of France. From the close intercourse now carried on between the two countries, he concluded that the people of Ireland would be led to compare the different principles of the two governments, by which they would learn to appreciate *the blessings of their own Constitution*, and to foresee the miseries which *any change* would bring upon them." Further, Mr. Addington and Mr. Yorke vehemently urged the House to give them credit in assuring them, that though the leaders of the late insurrection were not immediately connected with the French Government, they were yet connected with Irish traitors abroad, who held immediate intercourse with that Government.

* Plowden. *History of Ireland since the Union.*

This last statement was true at any rate —omitting the word "traitors." Thomas Addis Emmet, Doctor MacNeven, and Arthur O'Connor, were then in close communication with the French Government, and eagerly awaiting the determinations of Buonaparte with regard to a descent upon Ireland. Miles Byrne had safely arrived at Paris, and communicated with Thomas Addis Emmet; but almost immediately news came of Robert's capture, of the certainty of his execution, and of the total prostration of Ireland under the iron heel of military power. There was then in France a large number of Irish exiles; and Mr. Emmet informed the First Consul that they were ready to go as volunteers in any expedition which had for its object the emancipation of their country. It was in the month of November, 1803, that the decree was issued for the formation of the *Irish Legion.*

Miles Byrne, who was himself afterwards a distinguished officer of the Legion, gives this account of its origin: "The First Consul eagerly entered into all the details related in the report on the state of Ireland, given to him by Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, on the arrival at Paris of the confidential agent sent from Dublin in August, 1803; and, in consequence, it was stipulated that a French army should be sent to assist the Irish to get rid of the English yoke; the First Consul understanding from Mr. Emmet that Augereau was a favorite with the Irish nation, had him appointed General-in-Chief to command the expedition; and immediately ordered the formation of an Irish Legion in the service of France. He gave to all those, who volunteered to enter the Irish Legion, commission as French officers, so that in the event of their falling into the hands of the English they should be protected; or, should any violence be offered them, he should have the right to retaliate on the English prisoners in France.

"The decree of the First Consul for the formation of this Irish Legion was dated November, 1803; by it, the officers were all to be Irishmen, or Irishmen's sons born in France. The pay was to be the same as that given to officers and soldiers of the line of the French army. No rank was to be given higher than captain till they should land with the expedition in Ireland."

"It was, however, stipulated that on leav- Brest, a certain number of captains were to get the rank of colonel, and also a certain number of lieutenants that of lieutenant-colonel; which rank was to be confirmed to them even in the event of the expedition failing, and their getting back to France. In naming these captains and lieutenants, the preference was to be given to those who had been obliged to expatriate themselves for their exertions in Ireland to effect its independence."

Adjutant-General MacSheehy, an Irishman by birth, but in the French service, was charged with the organization of the legion, and for that purpose was commanded to repair to Morlaix where the Irish exiles were assembled.

Adjutant-General MacSheehy, received unlimited powers at Morlaix to propose officers for advancement up to the rank of captain; all he named were confirmed by the Minister of War, General Berthier.

The greatest exertions were made to have the officers splendidly equipped and ready for sailing. They received the same outfit given to French officers entering on campaign; no expense being spared by the French Government.

Three months later, General Augereau was at Brest; having attached to his staff Arthur O'Connor, then made a General of Division in the service of France.

Morlaix is a seaport town in Bretagne, not far from Brest, but more to the north, and looking straight over towards Cork and Waterford harbors. It was here that a large number of gallant and generous young Irishmen, many of them of good position in society and great accomplishments, were flocking together in those days, full of spirit and hardihood, and eagerly gazing over the blue water, as if they could already see the crests of the Cummeragh mountains. Amongst these men we find many names of officers who afterwards distinguished themselves in Germany, in Holland, and in Spain. O'Reilly, Allen, Corbet, Burgess, O'Morin, O'Mara, Ware, Barker, Fitzhenry, Masterson, St. Leger, Murray, and MacMahon. "We were happy and united," says Miles Byrne.

"The Legion assembled at Morlaix was marched to Quimper in March, 1804, where all those officers who had been proposed for advancement by Adjutant-General Macsheehy received their brevets. From Quimper the Legion was ordered to Carhaix, in Finistère, a small town (the native place of Latour d' Auvergue, premier grenadier de France), which from being more inland and less frequented, was better suited for manœuvring, and where the best results were obtained. Two officers, Captain Tennant and Captain William Corbet, were deputed from thence by the Legion to go to Paris, to be present at the coronation of the Emperor, (May, 1804,) who on that occasion presented it, as well as the French regiments, with colors and an eagle. On one side of the colors was written 'Napoléon I, Empereur des Français, à la legion Irlandaise;' on the reverse was, a harp (without a crown), with the inscription: 'L'indépendance d'Irlande.'

The Irish Legion was the only foreign corps in the French service to whom Napoleon ever intrusted an eagle.

Rejoicings took place at Carhaix, as in the other towns of France, in honor of the coronation, by order of the authorities.

It was while the Legion was yet at Morlaix, that Thomas Addis Emmet, who had remained in Paris, obtained from the First Consul, what seemed a definitive and positive assurance, both as to the certainty of the expedition parting for Ireland, and as to the fair terms to be observed with that country in leaving to it its cherished independence. In this document, Buonaparte, (not yet Emperor,) assures the Irish Envoy, that his intention is to assure the independence of Ireland, and to give sufficient protection to such as may join the French army; that in case of being joined by a considerable corps of Irish, he will never make a peace with England without stipulating for Ireland's independence; that Ireland shall be treated in all respects as America was in the last war; that every one embarking with the French army, shall be considered a French soldier; and if any of these be arrested and not treated as a prisoner of war, retaliation shall follow; that every corps of United Irishmen shall be considered a part of the French army; and that in case of the expedition being unsuccessful, France will keep on foot, a number of Irish Brigades, on the same footing as French troops. The First Consul sugesgts the formation of a committee, to frame proclamations and to prepare narratives of English oppressions in Ireland, to be published in the *Moniteur*.* This official paper, not only proves what excellent foundation then existed for the sanguine hope of the exiles that something effectual was at last to be done for Ireland, but proves also how carefully those exiles stipulated, always that the interposition of a

* Here is the original, which was instantly communicated by Emmet to MacNeven, then at Morlaix:—

"COPY OF THE FIRST CONSUL'S ANSWER TO MY MEMOIRE OF 13TH NIVOSE, DELIVERED TO ME 27TH NIVOSE:—

"Le Premier Consul a lu avec la plus grande attention, la memoire qui lui a été addressée par M. Emmet le 13 Nivose.

"Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soyent bien convaincus que son intention est d'assurer l'indépendence de l'Irlande, et de donner protection entière et efficace à tous ceux d'entre eux, qui prendront part à l'expedition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises.

"Le Gouvernement Français ne peut faire aucune proclamation avant d'avoir touché le territoire Irlandais. Mais le général qui commandera l'expedition sera muni de lettres scellées, par lesquelles le Premier Consul declarera qu'il ne fera point la paix avec l'Angleterre, sans stipuler pour l'indépendance de l'Irlande, dans le cas, cependant, où l'armée aurait été jointe par un corps considerable d'Irlandais Unis.

"L'Irlande sera en tout traitée, comme l'a été l'Amérique, dans la guerre passée.

"Tout individu qui s'embarquera avec l'armée Française destinée pour l'expedition, sera commissioné comme Français: s'il était arrêté, et qu'il ne fut pas traité comme prisonnier de guerre la represaille s'exercera sur les prisonniers Anglais.

"Tout corps formé au nom des Irlandais Unis sera consideré comme faisant partie de l'armée Française Enfin, si l'expedition ne réussissait pas et que les Irlandais fussent obligés de revenir en France, la France entretiendra un certain nombre de brigades Irlandaises, et fera des pensions, à tout individu qui aurait fait partie du gouvernement ou des autorités du pays.

"Les pensions pourraient été assimilées à celles qui sont accordées en France aux titulaires de grade ou d'emploi correspondant, qui ne sont pas en activité.

"Le Premier Consul desire qu'il se forme un comité d'Irlandais Unis. Il ne voit pas d'inconvenant, à ce que les membres de ce comité fassent des proclamations, et instruissent leurs compatriotes de l'état de choses.

"Ces proclamations seront inserées dans *L'Argus* et dans les differens journaux de l'Europe, à fin d'eclairer les Irlandais, sur la parti qu'ils ont à suivre, et sur les espérances qu'ils doivent conçevoir. Si la comité veut faire une relation des actes de tyrannie exercées contre l'Irlande par la Gouvernement Anglais, on l'inserera dans *Le Moniteur*."

French army should be only on the footing of auxiliaries, like that of Rochambeau in America. It is a sufficient answer to those constant accusations made in England, that Irish revolutionists sought to throw their country under the dominion of France. And it must be said, once for all, in the negotiations and projects for French aid, whether with Tone, Lewis, or Emmet, there was no reason to doubt that the single object of the successive French Governments was to aid Ireland, in good faith, to win a real independence—not, perhaps, so much from a love and sympathy for Ireland, as from a desire to weaken England, whose intrigues and subsidies were stirring up the whole continent to effect the ruin of France.

Yet, after all, those enthusiastic Irishmen of the Legion, were not destined to see Ireland. Other urgent necessities arose; and most of the fleet at Brest was withdrawn for different destinations. It was the greatest mistake that Buonaparte ever made, and the noblest opportunity lost. The Legion was ordered to the Rhine, and from thence to Holland where they had at least the satisfaction of meeting their enemies at Walcheren, and aiding in the destruction of that imposing armament of England. Thomas Addis Emmet, despairing of effecting anything through French agency, emigrated at last to America, where he took the first rank at the bar of New York, and lived long honored and beloved.

Meanwhile, the imbecile administration of Mr. Addington came to an end. Mr. Pitt had put him into office to serve a temporary purpose, and was now ready to resume the reins himself. It has already been stated, by anticipation, that on returning to power, this treacherous Minister made no condition in favor of Catholic relief, which is in itself a sufficient proof that his former resignation, ostensibly on that question, had been made on a false pretext. In the new administration (gazetted May 14, 1804,) he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. The Secretary of War was Lord Camden—a name associated in Ireland with torture and "free-quarters." The President of the Board of Control, was Lord Castlereagh. No Government more hostile to Ireland ever ruled in the Three Kingdoms. The King's mental malady had grown more alarming about the time of Mr. Pitt's return; and his advisers could by no means think of troubling the conscience of the invalid by any suggestion tending to emancipation of Catholics, and "breach of his Coronation oath."

Ireland had now had more than three years' experience of Legislative Union; and already began to experience the wasting and draining effects of that odious and fatal transaction. Trade was declining, debt and taxes increasing; but the debt much faster than the produce of the taxes. The absenteeism of proprietors, as had been expected, and indeed intended, occasioned year by year a greater and greater depletion of wealth. The fine country-seats of wealthy proprietors were generally deserted, and their estates were managed by agents. Dublin, which in the eighteen years of independence (even such partial independence as it was) had grown to the rank of a fine metropolitan city, had been adorned by many sumptuous palaces of a resident nobility, and enriched by the expenditure of a luxurious society, was now sunk into a provincial town. The centre of political interest, of intellectual activity and of fashionable life, had been transferred to London. The fine mansions of Irish Peers and wealthy Commoners, after laying long vacant, were gradually turned to other uses.* It is true that Ireland might well afford to do without those great Peers and feudal proprietors, as France has done; but the difference is, that in Ireland's case, they still draw away in rent, the produce of the land; they are sponges, which are filled in Ireland to be squeezed in England; they are clouds, formed by sucking up all the juices of our island, and which then float off, "to rain down in London or dissipate at Cheltenham." Thus it was found, very soon after Union, that the exports of Ireland greatly increased; but they were exports of corn, cattle, and raw material for manufactures, to pay the absentee rent; while our imports were chiefly of manufactured articles and colonial produce, from England—England

* The Duke of Leinster's palace, accomodates a museum of Natural History; Powerscourt House is a warehouse of linen drapers. The mansion of the Earls of Tyrone is a school house; Belvedere House is a convent; Aldborough House is a barrack, &c.

thus deriving the profit both from our exports and from our imports. Then there was the enormous cost of the war in Europe, to put down French principles, to which expense Ireland was made to contribute in a much greater ratio than England. Mr. Foster, in a speech in Parliament, on the Irish budget, immediately after Pitt's return to office, said he lamented to find the predictions, which he had ventured to urge on the probable state of Ireland, during the discussions upon the Union, but too forcibly verified by the then deplorable state of her finances, as compared with her public debt and expenditure. Within the last ten years, the public debt of Ireland had made an alarming progress. It stood in 1793, at £2,400,000, in 1800, at £25,400,000. On January 5, 1804, at £43,000,000, and in that year there had then added to it no less a sum than £9,500,000. This formed a quota far exceeding the *ratio* established by the Union compact to be paid by Ireland. This ruinous race, in which Ireland was so far exceeding her means by her expenditure, would shortly equalize her debt in proportion to that of England, and entitle England to call for a Parliamentary decision, and consolidation of accounts and equalization of taxes. He then stated to the House the corresponding produce of the Irish revenue. In the year 1800, which immediately preceded the Union, the net produce of the revenue was £2,800,000, when she owed £25,000,000, in the last year it was only £2,789,000, whilst the debt amounted to £53,000,000. There was every reason to believe, that for the running year, the produce of the Irish revenue would not yield one shilling towards Ireland's quota in the common expenditure of the empire. Such was the situation of Ireland in the summer of 1804, as depicted by Mr. Foster, with an enormous and growing increase of debt, a rapid falling off of revenue, and a decay in commerce and manufactures.

It may, of course, be alleged, that as the Act of Union places, or purports to place, the two countries on a footing of perfect equality and reciprocity, in respect to trade and commerce, there has been nothing to prevent Ireland, if its inhabitants had energy and enterprize, like Englishmen, to manufacture for themselves and so keep at home a great portion of the wealth which is annually drained from them. The fallacy of this suggestion is now well understood ; it is true, the laws regulating trade are the same in the two islands ; Ireland *may* export even woollen cloth to England ; she *may* import, in her own ships, tea from China, and sugar from Barbadoes ; the laws which made those acts penal offences no longer exist, they are no longer needed ; England is fully in possession ; and by the operation of those old laws Ireland was utterly ruined. England has the commercial marine—Ireland has it to create. England has the manufacturing machinery and skill, of which Ireland was deprived, by express laws for that purpose. England has the current of trade established, setting strongly in her own channel ; while Ireland is left dry. To create or recover at this day these great industrial and commercial resources, and that in the face of wealthy rivals already in full possession, is manifestly impossible, without one or other of these two conditions—either immense command of capital, or effectual protective duties. But by the Union our capital is drained away to England ; and by the Union we are deprived of the power of imposing protective duties. It was to this very end that the Union was forced upon Ireland, through "intolerance of Irish prosperity." "Do not unite with us, sir," said Samuel Johnson ; "*we shall rob you.*"

It was in the year 1803, that the British Government bethought itself of making the Presbyterians of Ulster more "loyal," and weaning them the better from "French principles," by largely increasing the scanty means of the Dissenting clergy. The Ministers had been previously aided, in a very grudging and shabby manner, by a sort of bribe, the *Regium Donum*, or royal gift, first granted in 1672, by Charles II, who gave £600 of "Secret Service money" to be distributed in equal portions among them annually. The grant was discontinued towards the close of his reign, and during that of James II, but was renewed by William III, who augmented it to £1,200 a year. In 1784, the amount was increased to £2,200 ; in 1792, to £5,000. Still this was a most paltry pittance for so large a body of clergy-

men, and rather degraded than enriched those who received it; while the Anglican Church, with a smaller proportion of the population, was so munificently endowed with lands and tithes.

The Government took alarm on finding that the Presbyterians of Ulster, both clergy and laity, had been generally Republicans and United Irishmen in 1798. Overtures were soon after made to them through their most influential pastors, especially Doctor Black, of Londonderry, giving them a prospect of great increase to their grant, if they would not oppose the Union. This Doctor Black had been a delegate to the Dungannon Convention, in 1772, and had appeared amongst the other delegates in his uniform, as a volunteer officer.

These overtures had the desired success; and, therefore, in 1803, the *Regium Donum* was quintupled. The total yearly grant to non-conforming Ministers in Ireland amounted, in 1852, to £38,561. (*Thom's Official Directory.*)

Doctor Black had a good place; he was agent and distributor of this disgraceful *Donum*, and some years afterwards he very naturally, (like Castlereagh,) committed suicide, by throwing himself off the bridge of Derry into the River Foyle.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1804—1805.

Mr. Pitt in Office—Royal Speech—No Mention of Ireland—Alarm about Invasion—Martello Towers—Reliance of the Irish Catholics on Mr. Pitt—Treatment of the Prisoners—Mr. James Tandy—Mr. Pitt Raises a Storm against the Catholics—Catholic Meeting in Dublin—*Habeas Corpus* Act again Suspended — Ireland "Loyal" — Duplicity of Lord Hardwicke—Catholic Deputies go to Mr. Pitt—A "Sincere Friend"—Mr. Pitt Refuses to Present Catholic Petition—Declares he will Resist Emancipation—Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox Present it—Debate in the Lords—In the Commons—Speeches of Fox, Doctor Duigenan, Grattan—Perceval, Pitt, Sir John Newport—Emancipation Refused, both by Lords and Commons—Great Majorities.

When Mr. Pitt returned to office in 1804, he did not find himself so omnipotent in the country, as he had been during his former administration, or even during that of his *locum-tenens*. Although Mr. Addington had affected not to control the late elections by any treasury influence, he now exerted his personal influence upon all the members, who owed their seats to his patronage or favor, to join him in opposing Mr. Pitt. Though he could brook the injury of being displaced, in order to rëadmit Mr. Pitt to power, he could neither forgive nor forget the insult of being expelled for incapacity and weakness. Mr. Pitt expected to regain more of his lost power by negotiation during the recess, than by his oratory in the Senate; but was reluctantly constrained to prolong the session to the 31st of July. Under the combination of great external and internal difficulties, it became an object of peculiar anxiety with the Minister to give the nation some open and unequivocal proof of the complete recovery of His Majesty's health. When the King went to prorogue the Parliament, the House of Peers was attended by an unusual crowd, and particularly by the few foreign Ministers then resident in London. In no part of the speech was there even an indirect reference to Ireland.

Ireland, indeed, was completely removed into the back-ground by the Union; and while the Government felt it had her safe under the cöercion of a great army, and the exhaustion and terrorism, which now formed the single British policy for that island. Ministers evidently thought the less said about Ireland the better.

The apparent alarm about invasion was carefully kept up during the whole summer. The Government prints sedulously warned the public against the machinations of the French party, which then prevailed throughout the country. Upon this assumption they inveighed against French tyranny and injustice, and decried the loyalty of the native Irish. Thus they justified the expense of their public measures of defence, and affected to sanction the necessity of internal cöercion. The encampment of fifteen thousand men near the Curragh of Kildare, consisted of regular militia, artillery, British horse artillery, and a vast commissariat and driver's corps. Everything bore the appearance of active service. The Martello Towers and other defensive works on the coast, were forwarded with unusual energy. Many additional persons were taken into custody under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, and the

rigorous treatment of the state prisoners, who had been for several months in confinement, was sharpened without any visible or known cause.*

The Catholics, whom Pitt had insidiously deluded by prospects of emancipation, were now so simple as to anticipate on his return to place, some efficient steps for carrying that object, for which he professed to have abandoned his official situation. They now publicly rejoiced *in the benefit of having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the terms of Catholic privileges being obtained.*". Frequent Catholic meetings were holden in Dublin, in which the general sense of the body to petition Parliament for their total emancipation, was unanimously resolved. Mr. Pitt dreaded nothing so much, as to have the sincerity of his pledges brought under discussion. As Lord Fingal from his rank in life, and more from the amiable qualities of his mind, was known to possess the confidence of many of his Catholic countrymen, Sir Evan Nepean was directed to attempt through his lordship every means to hold back the petition. He was invited to dinner, frequently closeted at the Castle, and more sedulously courted, than on any former occasion. However, his lordship may have been personally disposed to hold back, few or none of the body could be induced to postpone their petition.

In proportion to the failure of the Minister's Continental plans, did the Catholic body of Ireland feel their own weight in the Imperial scale. The aggrandizement of Napoleon had been the unvarying result of Mr. Pitt's vehement exertions to crush him. He was quietly and solemnly crowned Emperor of the French at Paris by Pope Pius the VII; a circumstance, which Mr. Pitt with his usual craft attempted to convert into an engine of obloquy on the Catholic body, and an opportune and plausible objection to their petition, which in spite of his secret manœuvres, through Sir Evan Nepean, he now forsaw would be brought forward. The Government papers industriously published, and severely commented upon a memorial, said to have been written by MacNeven at Paris, addressed to the Irish officers of the several Continental Powers, particularly to those in the Austrian service, encouraging them to join in the then intended attempts to liberate Ireland from the thraldom of England; and promising to give them timely notice of the sailing of the expedition.

These Ministerial journals vied also with one another in republishing and commenting on the Papal allocution, addressed by His Holiness to a secret consistory at Rome, on October 28, 1804, immediately before his departure for Paris to perform the ceremony of the Imperial coronation. It referred to the gratitude due to Napoleon for having re-established the Catholic religion in France by the *concordat;* since which he had put forth all his authority to cause it to be freely professed and publicly exercised throughout that renowned nation, and had again recently shown himself most anxious for the prosperity of that religion. It also contained confident assurance that a personal interview with the Emperor, would be for the good of the Catholic Church, which *is the only ark of salvation.*

Here was a dreadful thing! they ex-

* Mr. James Tandy, and thirteen other of the principal state prisoners of the first class, as they were stiled at the Castle, petitioned the Lord-Lieutenant July 11, 1804; and after having specified many of the acts of barbarous cruelty inflicted upon them, as sworn to in the King's Bench, they concluded in these words: In short we experience a treatment rather calculated for untamed beasts, than men. They assured his excellency, that to the pressing and repeated remonstrances, which they had presented to Doctor Trevor, (the inspector of the prisons,) against the harshness of their treatment, they had received a formal answer; that it had not only the sanction, but its origin in the express directions of Lord Hardwicke's government. The first petition having not been attended to, was followed by a second on August 12th, which again complained, that Doctor Trevor executed his office in a manner at once mean and malicious: and pleaded orders from Government for their rigorous treatment. They complained, that they were so reduced by their sufferings (not merited by them, nor necessary for safe custody,) that their lives were become of no value and literally a burden to them, and that there was not one of the petitioners, who from many concurring circumstances, could not on oath declare a firm belief of an intention to deprive them of life by underhand means.

These appeals recived not the smallest attention, and great numbers of the prisoners, without a charge against them, were kept in various prisons for years. Mr. J. Tandy, indeed, was liberated before the end of the year; having first promised not to flog Mr. Secretary Marsden, as he says he had threatened to do.

claimed; as if all the world had not known before that Catholics believed their Church to be the only ark of salvation. Editors, preachers, and pamphleteers, shrieked out in all the tones of alarm and horror, that this meant burning heretics. Here was extreme danger, they insisted, to a "Protestant state;"—in this ominous reconciliation of the Emperor with the Church; as it would give him greater influence in Ireland when he should land there to overthrow Church and State, throne and altar. These topics were enlarged on with so much apparent sincerity of terror, that an enlightened public really began to fancy the dungeons of the Inquisition were already yawning before them. Those scribes, indeed, did not mention the fact, that along with the Catholic Church, the Emperor had also rëestablished the Protestant Church in France. They forgot to state, that in France, the Protestants had long been *emancipated;* and stood, then and thenceforth, on a footing of perfect equality with their Catholic neighbors.

The Irish Catholics did not yet know the meaning of this new outbreak of foaming rage against them and their religion; and at any rate thought Mr. Pitt must be above all the storm of stupid malice which they saw raging; as, in fact, he was, but he was not above exciting it and directing it to his own ends.

The leading part of the Irish Catholics, most of whom had supported the Union in plenary confidence of the professions made by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis that emancipation would immediately follow it, held frequent meetings in Dublin, in order to concert the most efficient means of rendering available Mr. Pitt's disposition to favor their cause, which they fondly assumed had returned with him into power. The general precipitancy of the body to bring the Ministerial sincerity to the test, was with difficulty repressed by those, who were considered to be most directly under the influence of the Castle. An adjournment was carried from December 31st to February 16th.

Parliament met again January 15, 1805; and again His Majesty's speech contained not one word in reference to Ireland. It mentioned the prompt and decisive steps which he had been obliged to take in order to guard against the effects of hostility from Spain.* The speech also denounced the "violence and outrage" of the French Government, and spoke vaguely of the European coalition against France which Mr. Pitt was engaged in negotiating.

Several interesting debates passed in the Commons upon Sir Evan Nepean's motion for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act in Ireland, which he proposed to extend to six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament. He and Mr. Pitt urged as the grounds for that harsh measure, that there were then at Paris committees of United Irishmen, who communicated with traitors in Ireland upon the most efficient means of effecting the invasion of that country; and when the House considered the *humane and just character of Lord Hardwicke*, they would with plenitude of confidence deposit that extraordinary power in his hands. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, warmly replied, that the character of the Lord-Lieutenant was immaterial. The Constitution taught him to be jealous of granting extraordinary powers to any man; and if there were a possibility of their being abused, the mild character of the man, in whom they were to be vested was the worst of arguments. If the powers were not necessary, they ought not to be granted; and if necessary, and the Lord-Lieutenant were not fit to be entrusted with them, he ought to be removed. Mr. Fox added that it was universally admitted that Ireland was at that moment as tranquil as any county in England; why not as well, then, propose to suspend the Constitution in England? But the bill passed—out of two hundred and thirteen members, only fifty-four voted against it.

A respectable Catholic writer† speaking of this debate says, "Ireland in the meantime was loyal and tranquil, in spite of the aspersions and calumnies of the hired writers, and the unsupported charges of some of the Ministerialists in Parliament." Now Ire-

* This meant the sudden attack upon a Spanish fleet in harbor, previous to a declaration of war; one of those feats of arms (like the seizure of the Danish fleet under similar circumstances,) by which Great Britain at length was enabled to boast that she "ruled the seas."

† Plowden's Post-Union History.

land was, indeed, "tranquil" at that moment, but not "loyal," if loyalty means attachment to the King of England. Irish Catholics of that day who could be loyal, must have been something more, or a good deal less, than men. Tranquil they were; but had never been better disposed to rise around the standards of a French army; and, indeed, the English Government knew then, as they know now, that tranquillity is a bad omen for loyalty; and that the Irish people are never so eager to shake off the British yoke, as when sheriffs present judges with white gloves.

On the 16th of February, pursuant to adjournment, a numerous meeting of Catholic noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, was held in Dublin, at which they unanimously entered into the following resolutions: *First.* That the Earl of Fingal, the Honorable Sir Thomas (now Lord) French, Sir Edward Bellew, Counselor Denys Scully, and Mr. Ryan, should be appointed as a deputation, to carry into effect the under-mentioned instructions; and that the other Roman Catholic Peers, (of whom Lords Gormanstown and Southwell were then present,) should be requested to accede to the deputation. *Second.* That the petition prepared by the Catholic committee, and reported by Lord Fingal to that meeting, should be then signed by Lord Fingal and the other Catholic gentlemen, and that the above-mentioned deputies should present it to Mr. Pitt, with a request, that he would bring it into Parliament.

Now was seen the excessive duplicity of Lord Hardwicke. He had been selected from the mass of peerage, as the best qualified to resist the emancipation of Ireland, under the insidious mission of reconciling her to thraldom. The ordinary manœuvres of the Castle upon Lord Fingal, and other leading men of the Catholic body, to induce them to hold back their petition had failed. His lordship could not consistently with his duty to his employers back, countenance, or recommend their petition, however just the claims, however worthy the claimants. But now, under the British Minister's assurance of a decided majority against the question, the Irish Viceroy affected to favor the Catholics' application by discountenancing counter-petitions, as encroaching upon the freedom of Parliamentary debate. He even did one act, which was intended as a proof of his sincerity: he dismissed the notorious Mr. John Giffard from a lucrative post for having proposed and carried, in the Dublin corporation, some violent resolutions *against* Catholic Emancipation. He thought the sacrifice of one man was a trifle; and so punished Giffard for opposing a measure which he himself was doubly pledged to resist.

The Catholic Deputies proceeded to London, and had their conference with Mr. Pitt, on the 12th of March. Eight deputies attended the conference, viz., the Earl of Shrewsbury, (Waterford and Wexford in Ireland,) Earl of Fingal, Viscount Gormanstown, Lord Southwell, Lord Trimblestown, Sir Edward Bellew, Counselor Denys Scully, and Mr. Ryan. They told Mr. Pitt they regarded him as their "sincere friend;" that they hoped everything from his liberality and justice, and so urged him to present their petition to Parliament.

Mr. Pitt declared "that the confidence of so very respectable a body as the Catholics of Ireland was highly gratifying to him;" but he added that the time had not come; there were obstacles; that, in short, he would not present their petition at all. After many arguments and much urgency, they at last entreated him only to lay it on the table of the House of Commons, they would authorize him to state to the House, that *they did not press the immediate adoption of the measure prayed for.*

Mr. Plowden, who had the best means of knowing what passed at this conference, says, with asperity, that Mr. Pitt "drily repeated his negative;" and then adds: "He neither threw out a suggestion for their applying to any other channel, nor gave any ground for presuming, that the introduction of the petition through any Ministerial member would be likely to soften his opposition. For he very explicitly declared, that *he should feel it his duty to resist it.* The only advice he condescended to offer, was to withdraw their petition altogether, or at all events to postpone it." *

* Mr. Pitt might on this occasion have candidly acknowledged what Lord Hawkesbury publicly and officially declared in the House of Lords, March 26,

The "leading Catholics" found themselves now completely in the position of dupes; and they richly deserved it, for having assented to the destruction of their country's national independence, seduced by the professions of an English Minister. At all events, the time was not yet come; nor the man. But a more vigorous race of Catholics was growing up; and in especial one bold, blue-eyed young man, who was then carrying his bag in the hall of the Four Courts—destined one day to hold the great leading brief in the mighty cause of six millions of his countrymen. O'Connell was not yet a leading Catholic; but was fast becoming well known in his own profession; and an Orange judge, in a party case, preferred to see any other advocate pleading before him.

The Catholic Delegates next applied to Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, who agreed to present the petition—one in the Lords, the other in the Commons. This was done on the 25th of March. When Lord Grenville moved in the House of Lords, that it should lie on the table, Lord Auckland rose with precipitancy, and observed with some warmth, that as far as his ears could catch the tenor of it, it went to overthrow the whole system of Church and State; and if the prayer of it were to be granted, he should soon see a Protestant Church without a Protestant congregation, and a Protestant King with a Popish Legislature. He expressed great anxiety, that the question should be calmly and fully discussed, summoned the Reverend Bench to arm themselves for the combat, &c. The venerable Lord Eldon, objected even to the formal motion, that the petition should be printed. After Mr. Fox presented it in the House of Commons, the matter stood over for early days in May, in both Houses of Parliament. Petitions against it were presented from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, from the cities of London and Dublin, the County Fermanagh, and other corporations and public bodies.

1807, in debating the grounds of the Grenville administration's retiring from office; that, although Mr. Pitt had in 1801 gone out of office on that question, yet on his return *he voluntarily engaged, that he never would again bring the subject under the consideration of His Majesty.*

Lord Fitzwilliam, who was still a friend to the Catholics, and well remembered how Mr. Pitt had cheated *him* also upon that question, conceived the idea of bringing Mr. Grattan into the debate; and, accordingly, induced the Honorable C. L. Dundas to vacate his seat for the borough of Malton, and Mr. Grattan was returned for it.

On the appointed day, the discussion in the Lords arose, on motion to commit the bill. After some other Peers had been heard, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, (an Orangeman,) gave his decided opposition to the motion before the House, and urged every resistance in his power to a "measure subversive of all the principles which placed the House of Brunswick upon the throne of these realms."

Lord Camden found full reason for opposing the motion in the grounds upon which the Irish Parliament had negatived the question, whilst he had the honor of being placed at the head of the Irish Government.

The Bishop of Durham, the wealthiest prelate in Europe, and who naturally valued that Constitution in Church and State which had made him so, urged that the motion could not be acceded to without danger to the Church and State. It would be a direct surrender of the security of the best constitution in the world.

Lord Redesdale made a very violent speech against the motion. He said, "to pass such a measure would be to take the titles and lands from the Protestant hierarchy, and give them to the Catholic Bishops." He said, further, "If the Catholic hierarchy were abolished, something might be done to conciliate the Catholic body; and to the generality of that body, he was confident, the abolition of the hierarchy would be extremely grateful."

Lord Carleton, an Irish judge, ran over all the usual Protestant phrases, about the faithlessness and cruelty of Catholics. He laid much stress upon certain "maps of the forfeited estates," which, he said, had been prepared, in order to guide the proceedings of *resumption*.* Lord Carleton added a

* His lordship thus described a map of Ireland, prepared by the antiquary, Mr. Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, showing the situation of the tribe-lands of the ancient clans before the reign of Elizabeth.

singular legal opinion : "That the spiritual supremacy of the Church was by the law of this country vested in the Crown ; and surely it was a piece of the highest contumacy in a sect of His Majesty's subjects to deny that supremacy, and to vest the control in a foreign potentate."

Lord Buckinghamshire, like all other opposers of the motion, spoke much of his own disposition to liberality and conciliation ; denied that any such pledge for emancipation, as had been alluded to, was or could have been given, and deemed it most inflammatory to allege, that the Catholics would be sore or irritated at the refusal of the prayer of the petition.

After an astonishing mass of benighted spite and bigotry had been vented all night, at six in the morning a division was had. The motion to commit was rejected by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine ; and so ended Emancipation in the Lords for that time.

In the Commons, Mr. Fox introduced the same subject in a long and able speech. He gave a history of the Penal Code, and of its successive relaxations ; pointed out how useless and, at the same time, how irritating were the remaining links in the chain, which it was then proposed to strike off ; proved that the Catholics had received assurances, on the part of Mr. Pitt, which induced them, as a body, to remain passive at the time of the Union ; and that now those pledges ought to be redeemed. Mr. Fox concluded an excellent address, by saying : "He relied on the affection and loyalty of the Roman Catholics of Ireland ; but he would not press them too far ; he would not draw the cord too tight. It was surely too much to expect, that they would always fight for a constitution, in the benefits of which they were assured, they never should participate equally with their fellow-subjects. Whatever was to be the fate of the petition, he rejoiced at having had an opportunity of bringing it under their consideration, and moved to refer it to a committee of the whole House."

The famous Doctor Duigenan had the courage to reply to Mr. Fox ; although he saw Grattan opposite, who already threatened him with his eye. He opposed the motion in a long speech, which lasted above three hours ; the general spirit and substance of which was to prove, that by the ancient councils of the Catholic Church, and her invariable doctrine, no Catholic could take an oath, from the obligations of which he could not at the will of the priest be released ; that the Catholics maintained no faith was to be kept with heretics, and such they considered every denomination of Christians but themselves ; and that it was impossible for a Catholic to be truly loyal to a Protestant King. He contended that the ninety-one persons who had signed the Catholic petition, did not by any means represent the body of the Irish Catholics ; he assumed, that none of the clergy had signed, because they still maintained the obnoxious doctrines which the best informed of the laity wished to renounce.

He contended that the oath of supremacy (swearing that the King is head of the Church,) was a mere *simple oath of allegiance*, and that it imported neither exclusion nor restriction to any but traitors. He commented largely upon the oath of canonical obedience to the Pope taken by the Catholic Bishops ; inveighed fiercely against Doctor Hussey, the late Catholic Bishop of Waterford, for forbidding his flock to send their children to Protestant schools for education, and he drew the conclusion from Doctor Hussey's remark—that the loss or abandonment of his religion by the Catholic soldier might be felt in the day of battle, that *in plain English, the Romish soldier might then turn upon and assassinate his officer or desert to the enemy.* This measure would let in an universal deluge of atheism, infidelity, and anarchy. It would admit the Pope's supremacy over the Church of these realms ; it would violate the conditions of both Unions, with Scotland and with Ireland ; and to tender to His Majesty a bill of that import for his royal signature, would be to insult him, by supposing him capable of violating his Coronation oath.

Mr. Grattan rose, and his rising was greeted with breathless attention. He had never appeared in that House before ; and his fame as a noble orator, and incorruptible patriot, impressed the English legislators more than they would have liked to own to themselves.

Mr. Grattan said he rose to defend the Catholics from Doctor Duigenan's attack, and the Protestants from his defence. The question for their consideration, was not, as the learned member had stated, whether they should now qualify or still keep disqualified some few Roman Catholic gentlemen for seats in Parliament, or certain officers in the state; but whether, they would impart to a fifth portion of the population of their European empire a community in that, which was their vital principle and strength, and thus confirm the integrity, and augment the power of the empire. That learned member had emphatically said, that the people of Ireland to be good Catholics must be bad subjects; that the Irish Catholic is not, never was, and never can be, a faithful subject to a Protestant English King. Thus has he pronounced against his countrymen three curses—eternal war with each other; eternal war with England; eternal peace with France. He fully answered the doctrinal parts of Doctor Duigenan's speech, and concluded, that as the Catholic religion was professed by above two-thirds of all Christendom, it would follow, that Christianity was in general a curse; but of his own countrymen he had added, that they were depraved by religion, and rendered perverse by nativity; that is to say, according to him, blasted by their Creator, and damned by their Redeemer. Mr. Grattan closed an animated detail of the evils of the proscriptive system with observing, that if they wished to strip rebellion of its hopes, and France of her expectations, they should reform their policy; they would gain a conquest over their enemies when they had gained a victory over themselves.

The Speaker entered into long detail, of all the dealings of the Irish Government with the Catholics on this question; but it would be in vain with our limits to attempt even a full abstract of this remarkable speech. When the Parliament of Ireland (he said) rejected the Catholic petition, and assented to the calumnies uttered against the Catholic body, on that day she voted the Union: and should they adopt a similar conduct, on that day they would vote the separation. He was surprised to see them running about like grown-up children in search of old prejudices, preferring to buy foreign allies by subsidies, rather than to subsidize fellow-subjects by privileges. He figured them then drawn up, sixteen against thirty-six millions, and paralyzing one-fifth of their own numbers, by excluding them from some of the principal benefits of their constitution, at the very time they said, all their numbers were inadequate, unless inspired by those very privileges. Such a system could not last; if the two islands renounced all national prejudices, they would form a strong empire in the west to check, and ultimately to confound the ambition of the enemy.

Mr. Perceval, a pious man, and one of the first of the race of "saints," (he was then Attorney-General,) opposed the motion, for the sort of reasons, and in the precise style of some conventicle preacher. "But," he said, "he remarked the indisposition of the House to listen to him; which he was not surprised at; for he was conscious that, after the blaze of Mr. Grattan's eloquence, everything that fell from him must appear vapid and uninteresting. Had he been in the Irish Parliament, he never would have consented to grant the elective franchise, nor the establishment of Maynooth for educating the Catholic."

Mr. Perceval knew that he could safely pay a tribute to Mr. Grattan's eloquence, and disparage himself with all the humility of a "saint." He felt that the grand cause of Ascendancy was safe in that House, and that though Grattan spoke with the tongue of men and angels, he could not prevent or reverse the inevitable decision.

The motion was supported by some liberal Englishmen, (for there is always a small minority of liberal Englishmen,) and warmly advocated by George Ponsonby; when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt, arose. His speech was highly characteristic. He said:—

"He was favorably disposed to the *general principle* of the question, but differing in many points from those who had introduced or supported the motion, he thought fit to observe, that he had never considered the question, as involving any claim of right. *Right* was totally independent of circumstances; *expediency* included the considera-

tion of circumstances, and was wholly dependent upon them. Upon the principle of expediency he felt that, entertaining as he did, a wish for the repeal of the whole penal code, and a regret that it had not been abolished, he felt, that in no possible case before the Union, could those privileges have been granted to the Catholics with safety to the existing Protestant establishment in Church and State. After that measure, he saw the matter in a different light; though certainly no pledge was ever given to the Catholics that their claims should be granted; [nobody had ever said such a pledge had been given; the pledge *he* had given was, that he, Mr. Pitt, would support the measure, and would never hold office without making it a Ministerial question.] But he said there were *irresistible obstacles* [which he had taken care to raise up,] and should the question not be carried, and he saw no probability that it would, the only effect of agitating it would be to excite hopes that would never be gratified, and to give rise to expectations which were sure to terminate in disappointment."

He next took another line of argument. They were anxious to conciliate the Catholics; but let them not, in so doing, irritate a much larger portion of their fellow-subjects. Whilst they drew together the bonds which united one class of the population, let them not give offence to another part of it, whose loyalty and attachment [to their own interests] had long been undoubted. He should disguise the truth, if he did not say the prevailing opinion against the petition was strong and rooted. He should, therefore, act contrary to all sense of his duty, and inconsistently with the original line he had marked for his conduct, were he to countenance that petition in any shape, or to withhold giving his negative to the proposition for going into the committee."

Sir John Newport, of Waterford, rose with the special object of rebutting the assertions contained in the petition from the ignorant Orange Corporation of Dublin. The corporators had asserted, (in utter ignorance,) that the Irish Catholics were placed on a footing of political power, not enjoyed by any other dissenters from an established Church in Europe. Sir John Newport said he would give one instance to the contrary—he might have given many:—

"The States of Hungary," he said, "resembled our Constitution more closely than any other Continental establishment. They formed a population of above seven millions, and had for centuries suffered all the evils of being divided by religion, distracted by the difference of their tenets, and restrictions on account of them. At length, in 1791, at the most violent crisis of disturbance, a Diet was convened, at which a decree was passed, by which full freedom of religious faith, worship, and education, was secured to every sect, without exception. The tests and oaths were rendered unobjectionable to any native Hungarian, be his religion what it would; and then came the clause which gave them precisely what these petitioners have in contemplation. That 'the public offices and honors, whether high or low, great or small, should be given to natural-born Hungarians, who had deserved well of their country, and possessed the other requisite qualifications, *without any respect* to their religion.' The Diet consisted of nearly four hundred members, with a splendid civil establishment for the Roman Catholic religion. The measure was adopted in a most critical moment, and it had successfully passed an ordeal of fourteen revolutionary years, equal, in fact, to the trial of a century less disturbed and agitated."

Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald supported the motion, and solemnly declared, that when he voted for Union in the Irish Parliament, it was in view and contemplation of that measure, for no man could deny, that the impression then made on the Catholic mind was, that Ministers, as well as opposition, were in favor of their claims. They expected, of course, that much more attention would be paid to them now.

Colonel Archdall (a North of Ireland Orangeman,) asserted, that the bulk of the Roman Catholics were not anxious about the result of the question; if the cause were a good one, it had been very ill-conducted; and he gave the motion his decided negative.

Sir John Cox Hippesley supported the motion to commit the bill; and in order, as he said, to obviate the objections of those

who apprehended the supremacy of the Pope over Irish Catholics, he suggested that the Catholic Church in Ireland, should be put upon the footing of the Gallican Church ; in other words, that the Crown should have a *veto* upon the appointment of Bishops by the Pope. This was the first distinct mention of the *veto* in Parliament ; a question which afterwards led to much grave dissension in Ireland.*

Honorable H. Augustus Dillon denied, that the question involved a party measure. It affected the safety of Ireland, and the vitality of the empire. The hearts of the Irish people had been alienated by martial law, and the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, and by other severities and oppressions. Were that measure allowed to pass, such expedients would cease to be necessary, and the mass of brave and grateful people would present a firm, an iron bulwark for the protection of the country against the designs of the enemy.

On the whole, it was apparent in this famous debate, that all the lofty intellect, and all the honest principles in the British Parliament were in favor of the measure of Catholic Emancipation. But that was a contemptible minority. The question, upon the motion of Mr. Fox, was negatived —ayes, 124 ; nays, 336 ; majority, 212.

So Catholic Emancipation was set at rest in both Houses of the British Parliament ; and the "Protestant Interest," and the Constitution in Church and State, were saved, it was hoped, forever.

* But this was not the origin of the *veto*. It had been a favorite scheme of Mr. Pitt's since 1799. In that year, an insidious proposal had been made to give a state endowment to Catholic Bishops in Ireland, on certain conditions, amounting in principle to the *veto*. Mr. Plowden relates that the prelates did not then fully appreciate the object of this proposal; which was no less than to buy them up, and make them a species of ecclesiastical police. Plowden tells us :—

"It was admitted by a large number of the prelates, then convened in Dublin, that it ought to by thankfully accepted.

"They went a step further, and signed the following resolution : 'That in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion, to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference by the Government, as may enable it to be satisfied with the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.' And for the purpose of giving it effect, they further resolved, 'that after the usual canonical election, the president should transmit the name of the elected to Government, which in one month after such transmission, should return the name of the elected, (if unobjectionable,) that he might be confirmed by the Holy See. If he should be objected to by Government, the president on such communication, should, after the month, convene the electors, in order to choose some other candidate.' Mr. Pitt never lost sight of this insidious negotiation, into which he had seduced a certain number of the unsuspecting prelates. This was the foundation-stone of that deep-laid plan of Mr. Pitt and his associates, to seduce or force the Irish Catholics into the same state of schism from the Church of Rome, as that which took place in England in the reign of Henry VIII. This was the origin of that vital question of *veto*."

CHAPTER XLVII.

1804—1806.

Prosecution of Judge Fox—His Offence, Enforcing Law on Orangemen—Prosecution of Judge Johnson—His Offence, Censuring the Irish Government —Decline of Pitt's Power—Castlereagh Defeated in Down County—Successes of Buonaparte—Cry for Peace—Death of Mr. Pitt—Whig Ministry—Mr. Fox—His Opinion of the Union—First Whisper of "Repeal"—Release of State Prisoners—Dismissal of Lord Redesdale as Chancellor—Duke of Bedford Viceroy—The Catholics Cheated Again—Equivocation of the Viceroy—Ponsonby—Curran's Promotion—The Armagh Orangemen—Mr. Wilson the Magistrate.

Some very extraordinary proceedings took place in this and subsequent sessions of Parliament, with respect to two of the most irreproachable of the Irish judges—Mr. Justice Fox and Mr. Justice Johnson.

In the summer of 1803, Judge Fox had gone the Northwest Circuit, a region which was then predominated over by a few great Orange magnates, and magistrates who were their very humble servants, and the savage tyrants of the poor country people, who were principally Catholics. As senior judge it was Judge Fox's duty to charge the Grand Juries ; and in Longford, at Enniskillen, and Lifford, he made them very paternal and loyal addresses ; intended, as usual, for the whole of the people of those counties. Endeavoring to awaken them to a high sense of the dangers, which hovered over them from external and internal foes, he called upon the exertion of their best energies. He reminded them of the recent horrors of the 23d of July, and warned them of the dangers of the leaders of that rebellion still remaining at large.

He strongly commented on the nature and extent of that insurrection, and on the origin and motives of the persons engaged in it. He exhorted them to *union amongst themselves—to forget their religious animosities, by which the country had been so long weakened and divided*, and to join in presenting a dutiful and loyal address to the throne, praying His Majesty to strengthen the executive government of the country, &c.

Now, if Judge Fox had done nothing more than utter in the ears of an Orange Grand Jury the words above printed in italics, he could never have been forgiven. But he did worse. When he came to Enniskillen, and proceeded as his duty was to deliver the jail there, the names of two prisoners were returned to him by the jailer, who had been committed by the Earl of Enniskillen, as a magistrate; but without any offence being charged against them. Their names were Breslin and Maguire. The committals were called for and produced—they specified no offence; but in one of them was an order to keep poor Breslin in solitary confinement. The judge, thereupon, ordered the prisoners to be brought to the bar, in order to inquire of them, the facts alleged against them. The jailer then informed the judge, that those two prisoners were taken out of his custody on the 18th of August, (that is during the assizes,) by a military guard sent for the purpose.* The judge felt this to be a high indignity offered to His Majesty's commission; and inquired, if Lord Enniskillen were in town. On learning that he was at his country seat, (Florence Court,) he desired a friend of his lordship's to go over to him with full instructions to relate the whole faithfully, make his compliments, and entreat his lordship's attendance in court on the next day, which was the last day of the assizes. The judge having waited in court to as late an hour as he could, for the appearance of Lord Enniskillen; and having repeatedly inquired for him, he found it his duty upon his lordship's non-appearance to fine him in each of those cases £100—£200 in all. But the audacity of the judge in looking into the doings of Orange magistrates did not stop here. In the same county, Fermanagh, Mr. Stewart was fined £50 for committing one Neale Ford to the jail of Enniskillen without any charge on oath having been made against him, and releasing him on the eve of the assizes without taking bail for his appearance. Mr. Pallas was fined £20 as well as Mr. Webster for releasing without bail a prisoner charged with *a capital offence*. But the prisoner was of the religion of Mr. Pallas.

When the judge came to Lifford, in Donegal, amongst the presentments tendered by the Grand Jury to the judge for his *fiat* was one for a very large sum to be levied upon occupiers of land, under pretence of repaying Government for money advanced to pay bounties to three hundred and fifty men, the quota of that county under the "Army of Reserve act." But not one man of that force had been recruited; although it was the duty of the Marquis of Abercorn, as governor of the county, to have caused that recruiting to be effected. The presentment of the Grand Jury then was a fraud upon the public. Judge Johnson refused to put his *fiat* on it, and publicly censured Lord Abercorn for neglect of duty—Lord Abercorn, the great patron and favorite of the Orange Society of that region. Such a judge as this, it was evident, was somehow to be got rid of.

Many months after the occurrences abovementioned, the Marquis of Abercorn, in a most malignant and vindictive speech in the House of Lords, brought the conduct of Judge Fox before their lordships. He said, "that he had grave and serious matters of complaint to bring before their lordships against one of His Majesty's judges, in which the administration of justice was deeply concerned."

There ensued one of the most extraordinary state prosecutions ever seen in any country—the House of Lords which had no original jurisdiction, undertaking to make itself a court to try a judge on a criminal charge. The distinct charges were numer-

* Maguire never was heard of more. Breslin was hurried off by soldiers to a military prison, where he was kept a long time; then tried by court-martial on the charge of trying to seduce a soldier to desert, convicted, and sentenced to be hung. He cut his throat to avoid the execution of the sentence, but the wound was not mortal; and he was hung near Enniskillen, with the rope forced into the bleeding gash.

ous, including many cases of "unjust fines," "excessive" fines, partiality, seeking to bring Lord Abercorn into contempt, casting censure on Lord Enniskillen, impeding the course of justice, and the like; and the Protestant interest of the North of Ireland was filled with anxiety for the result. Lord Abercorn pressed these prosecutions with wonderful virulence; Lord Hardwicke and the Irish Government aided it.* The public purse was opened to pay for it. A great mass of evidence, (all *ex-parte*,) was produced. The proceedings lasted three years; and the excellent judge was ruined in health and fortune. At last, on motion of Lord Grenville, the House of Lords voted, by a small majority, that the proceedings *should be quashed.* The cost to the public in the prosecution of this case amounted to £30,000.

On the division in the House of Lords, the old Lord Thurlow voted for getting rid of the whole matter, as unconstitutional and vexatious. He said it was a proceeding "to gratify the malignant resentments of individuals who fancied themselves insulted and exposed by any instance of virtuous independence upon the Bench."

Lord Eldon voted for continuing the prosecution to the end; and the Duke of Cumberland, (Queen Victoria's uncle,) an Orangeman, and special friend of Lord Abercorn, strongly opposed Lord Grenville's motion. "He trusted," he said, "and *expected*, that the matter would not be put off *sine die.*" His Royal Highness was naturally of opinion that no justice could be done in Ireland if there were to be judges going round checking the wholesome severities of the very masters of lodges.

It is but justice towards the British House of Lords to admit, that after spending the public time and the public money for three years, in prosecuting a virtuous judge, *because* he was a virtuous judge, did at last grow ashamed of the foul transaction, and by a small majority, thrust it out of Court.

The case of Mr. Justice Johnson, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, was even more extraordinary. Some anonymous Irishman, signing himself "*Juverna*," had, in November of 1803, immediately after Robert Emmet was executed, published a series of letters in Cobbett's *Political Register*, containing severe animadversions upon Lord Redesdale, Lord Hardwicke and his government, upon the public proceedings of Secretaries Wickham and Marsden, upon a charge delivered by Mr. Justice Osborne, and other matters. No government in Ireland ever before had the press so thoroughly corrupted or intimidated as that of Lord Hardwicke; and the first of the "*Juverna*" letters was sent to Mr. Cobbett avowedly because every printer in Dublin had refused to publish it. The sturdy William Cobbett, (who was then, and for many years after, a sharp thorn in the side of Pitt and Castlereagh,) admitted the letter at once to his *Register;* and then several others. These letters excited much attention, and extremely exasperated the Government, because they were evidently the production of some personage highly placed, who knew the secret machinations of the Irish officials against the people.

Great efforts were made to discover the audacious "*Juverna;*" but, in the meantime, as the next best thing, the Attorney-General prosecuted Cobbett himself for publishing the "libels." His trial took place on May 24, 1804.

Cobbett had an interval of repose from persecution of *two days* allowed him, when, at the suit of the Right Honorable W. C. Plunket, Solicitor-General of Ireland, he was again called on to sustain an action for libels contained in letters signed "*Juverna*," published in the *Register*, reflecting on Mr. Plunket's conduct on the occasion of Robert Emmet's trial. Cobbett was again convicted, and damages were awarded to the plaintiff to the amount of £500.

It was believed, by the Irish Government, that the letters in question, had been written by Judge Johnson. On the second trial of Mr. Cobbett, the manuscript of the letter relating to Lord Plunket, was produced; and witnesses were easily found to swear that it was in the handwriting of the Judge. The Government, therefore, determined to prosecute him also, and to bring him over to

* The Marquis read, as a part of his speech before the Lords, a letter from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to the British Minister, in which the judicial conduct of Mr. Justice Fox, on the Northwest Circuit, was arraigned in terms of marked reprobation.

London for trial, as the publication had been in the County Middlesex. But there was a difficulty in the way; there was no law then, no law in existence, giving power to remove offenders from Ireland to England, or *vica versâ*, for trial. But Parliament was in session, and a new law was quickly procured, the two principal persons on the committee which framed it, being Mr. Perceval, brother-in-law of Lord Redesdale, and Mr. Yorke, brother of Lord Hardwicke, who were two of the persons complaining of being libelled.

A warrant was issued to bring the judge to London, and he was arrested at his house near Dublin. Thus he was taken under an *ex-post facto* act, which his counsel contended could not operate retrospectively.

The matter was discussed, during six days, in the King's Bench in Ireland, in January, 1805. The legality of the warrant was confirmed. In the meantime, the *persecuted* judge procured a writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the Court of Exchequer, where the case was argued February 4th and 7th, and, subsequently, in the Court of Common Pleas; and in both courts, the arrest was held good. The judge was then brought over to London, and put on his trial before Lord Ellenborough, November 23, 1805.

Lord Ellenborough, staunch and consistent—always ready to lend the weight of his judicial character and position to the Government on any seditious libel case prosecution, unjustly on this occasion threw discredit on the respectable witnesses produced by Judge Johnson, to prove that the MSS. of the libel prosecuted, was not in the handwriting of the defendant. But the jury, misdirected by Lord Ellenborough, brought in a verdict of "guilty;" the Attorney-General, however, never applied for judgment.

It was true, indeed, that Judge Johnson was the author of the letters of *"Juverna;"* which were a very just, necessary, and well-merited castigation of the Irish Government; yet he was found guilty on bad evidence, for the manuscript was not his.*

* "The libel above-mentioned I know (on the authority of Lord Cloncurry), though the production of Judge Johnson, was sent to Cobbett in the handwriting of the judge's daughter."—*Madden.*

The matter, however, was pressed no further. It was judged sufficient to disgrace a judge of the land by a criminal conviction, to ruin him by heavy expenses incurred in his defence, and to render the justice of Westminster Hall auxiliary to the police of Dublin. But the prosecution had caused great scandal by its unusual features; and in order to put as quiet a close to the matter as possible, the Attorney-General was directed, and he, accordingly, did enter a *nolle prosequi* on the record, as of Trinity Term 1806. The learned judge, whose health was much on the decline, was allowed to retire upon a pension for his life.†

The treatment of these two honest judges was a significant warning to the judges of Ireland, first that they were not to embarrass Orange justice with *their* justice, and second, that they were not to presume to say that a Lord-Lieutenant, or Chancellor, or Secretary, could do wrong.

In this year, Mr. Pitt's political power began to decline; and many of his partizans fell from him. Lord Sidmouth deserted him on the occasion of the impeachment of Lord Melville. Mr. Foster, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, had tendered his resignation; and it was known that Lord Hardwicke was resolved to tender his. The star of the great Minister was growing pale; his Continental combinations against Buonaparte, were all failures; and men were already beginning to speculate upon their chances under Mr. Pitt's successor, about the time when Parliament was suddenly prorogued on July 12th.

The defection of Lord Sidmouth, the impeachment of Lord Melville and consequent shiftings in the Cabinet, created the necessity of Lord Castlereagh's vacating his seat for the County Down, in order to accept the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies and War Department. He sought a re-election for Down; but in that county, there was a very strong feeling against him, on account of the outrage put upon the Marquis

† This excellent judge, afterwards in his retirement in France, wrote a very excellent treatise on the "Military Defence of Ireland," under the name of Captain Philip Roche Fermoy. This work has specially in view, a defence of the country by the inhabitants of it, against the English; and has been much studied since that time.

of Downshire, by the Irish Government (when Castlereagh was Secretary) in dismissing him from the command of his regiment, and from the rank of Lord-Lieutenant of the country, because he had recommended petitions against the Union. Lord Castlereagh, most unexpectedly, found himself at the foot of the polls, through the Downshire influence; and had to return to London and accept a seat for one of the "pocket-boroughs" of the Government. This defeat by Castlereagh is said to have been felt as a severe blow by Mr. Pitt in his already failing fortunes. Mr. Plowden says it was a "triumph over political profligacy which was hailed by the nation at large;" but in truth, the event had a much narrower significance; it was simply a triumph of the Downshire interest over the rival Stewart interest in the County Down. Political profligacy remained as before. But what really broke down Mr. Pitt, was the success of the French armies in Germany.

The total failure of all his plans on the Continent, and the vast ascendancy which Napoleon had acquired by his late conquest and treaty, had filled the unbiassed part of the British nation with dissatisfaction and dismay.

The campaign was only opened in September, and Napoleon, with the velocity of the eagle, marched into the heart of Germany and took an Austrian army, under General Mack, prisoners, at Ulm. On the 2d of December, he gained the renowned victory of Austerlitz, which was followed by the treaty of Presburg, signed on the 26th of the same month; this dissolved the new confederacy, and blasted Mr. Pitt's last hopes on the Continent.

All England cried out for peace, and for an administration which would give her peace. Austria was dismembered, Russia debilitated, Prussia neutralized, if not treacherously gone over to the enemy; Hanover lost to the King of England, and the British forces were too late in the field even to make any important diversion against the triumphant legions of France. Lord Melville, (the former Secretary Dundas,) was pleading to an impeachment before the House of Lords; Lord Castlereagh had returned from his own country, baffled and discredited. All these things together preyed on Mr. Pitt's mind, and ruined his already-frail health. Parliament met on the 20th of January, 1806; and three days after, William Pitt died. His last words were: "*Oh! my country*"—meaning England alone; to Ireland he had ever been a bitter, and at last, a mortal enemy.

Lord Hawkesbury was at first named First Lord of the Treasury, merely to supply the vacancy, without any change of Ministry. His lordsnip held that office only long enough to hurry through the necessary forms of office to grant to himself the lucrative place of Warden of the Cinque Ports, and then resigned. At last, after some days' delay, and much reluctance on the part of the King, was formed the new Grenville-Fox Ministry, Lord Grenville being First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Fox Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The Duke of Bedford was to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with the Right Honorable William Elliott, as Chief Secretary. Right Honorable George Ponsonby, as Lord Chancellor; Mr. Plunket, as Attorney-General; and Mr. Bushe, as Solicitor-General. In short, it was not only a Whig, but was supposed to be also an *Anti-Union* administration. Reform, Emancipation, Repeal of the Union even, anything in satisfaction of Ireland's just claims, was at first imagined to be possible under such a government.

Amongst the earliest Parliamentary proceedings on the change of the Ministry, which in any way related to Ireland, must be noticed Mr. O'Hara's spirited objection to Lord Castlereagh's vote for monumental honors to Marquis Cornwallis, who died in India. He opposed the motion, because he could not with consistency vote funeral honors to a man who had brought about the Union between Great Britain and Ireland; with regard to which, he trusted that, some time or other, it would come under the consideration of that House; and if it were not, as he hoped it would be, utterly rescinded, it would, at all events, be considerably modified, and, if possible, ameliorated. Upon this interesting subject Mr. Fox declared, that he concurred with the motion; for that the words in which it was expressed did not, in imitation of a late precedent, assert that

the object of it was *an excellent statesman.* Although, however, he supported the motion, yet he agreed with Mr. O'Hara in characterizing the Union as *one of the most disgraceful transactions in which the Government of any country had been involved.*

In consonance with this marked reprobation of that fatal measure of Union by the most enlightened and irreproachable member of the new administration, several of the Corporations of Dublin formed meetings to prepare petitions to the Legislature for the Repeal of the Union. Of these, the Company of Stationers, at their hall in Capel street, gave the example, by appointing a respectable committee of nine to draw up a petition. At a subsequent meeting, however, they resolved not at that moment to embarrass Ministers with their claims.

A few days later, Mr. Fox was called upon in Parliament by Mr. Alexander, for an explanation of his words relative to the Union.

Mr. Fox conceived he had spoken very intelligibly ; but he never refused explanation. He adhered to every syllable he had uttered relative to the Union, upon the motion for funeral honors to Lord Cornwallis. But when he had reprobated a thing done, he said nothing prospectively. However bad the measure had been, an attempt to repeal it without the most urgent solicitation from the parties interested should not be made, and hitherto none such had come within his knowledge.

"The parties interested" are the English, the Scottish, and the Irish people ; so that in the apparently-explicit reply of Mr. Fox, there is a breadth of application sufficient to enable a prudent statesman to do as he pleases afterwards. Even so early did it become apparent that neither English Tory nor English Whig would ever listen to any proposal for the undoing of that shameful deed. Gradually, as time has worn on, men of all parties in England have become willing to admit that the Union was a foul act, foully accomplished ; yet no British Minister, of any party, would dare, for his head, to propose that it be undone. It was thus, in 1806, on the accession of Mr. Fox to office, that the first whisper was heard of that demand, which afterwards rang so loud—the Repeal of the Union.

Two or three agreeable incidents at the same time happened in Ireland : The act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* had been permitted to expire without any attempt by Government to continue or revive it. Thereupon, the several jails in Ireland were cleared of all those state prisoners who could bear the expenses of *Habeas Corpus*, and who had been confined there for two or three years. The restoration to society of many respectable and popular characters, dignified by unmerited sufferings, spread a sympathetic glow of exultation through the people, which broke out into an eagerness to hail the new Governor as their deliverer, and stifled all efforts to procure valedictory addresses to the departing Viceroy, who had so long kept them in bondage. The instantaneous removal of Lord Redesdale from his situation, even before his successor had arrived in Ireland, created much satisfaction throughout every rank of the Catholic population, which he had so coarsely and unfoundedly insulted and traduced. This early and marked removal of Lord Redesdale was a seasonable atonement to the insulted feelings of the Irish Catholics, and was received by them as an earnest of the new Minister's adopting a new system of measures, calculated to secure the internal peace, welfare, and prosperity of Ireland.

As for Lord Hardwicke, after his five years' administration, not even the efforts of his paid press could succeed in procuring him those customary addresses of courtesy which are given to departing Viceroys. The attendance even of his favored yeomanry of Dublin was solicited to perform the last honor to the ex-Governor, and was refused in the first instance. Out of all Ireland, addresses on his departure came only from Dublin, the County Mayo, and the loyal Crossmolina Cavalry. He sailed from the Pigeon House on the 31st of March, 1806 ; and many a curse went after him.

The Duke of Bedford came to Ireland, as was firmly and fondly believed, to carry out the liberal principles which Mr. Fox had always supported for the government of the country. But Mr. Fox had more important business to attend to, in his own estimation, than the affairs of Ireland, which

was, as usual, placed in the back-ground. He had upon his hands the difficult business of negotiating a peace with France; and his fast-failing health did not permit him to go into the details of Irish appointments and Irish grievances.

Yet, Charles James Fox was of a character noble, open, and generous; as opposite to Mr. Pitt, in personal qualities, as he was in his place in the House of Commons. If he had, at this juncture, accepted the position of Viceroy—if he had seen with his own eyes the insolent and audacious cruelty of the Orange magistracy, which was now strong enough to brave both law and Government—the too-patient suffering of the great mass of the people, and the decaying trade and industry of the towns—it would have been impossible to repress indignation in such a nature as his. But he had been specially brought into power for the purpose of negotiating a peace with France; and this was enough for his diminished energies. Lord Grenville, the Premier Minister, who had been an active agent in carrying the Union, was by no means so favorable to Ireland as the Foreign Secretary. Lord Sidmouth was the boasted and pledged opponent to Catholic concession, under every possible variation of political occurrence. The friends and cöoperators of Lord Redesdale, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, retained their situations and confidence; Mr. Alexander Marsden, the secret adviser and machinist of the late administrations, was not displaced. The whole of the Orange magistracy remained undisturbed in the commission of the peace. Even Major Sirr was still seen, as the tutelary guardian of the Castle-yard. No floating patronage was removed from any promoter of the late, to countenance or encourage the supporters of the new, system. The name of Grattan, the friend and father of Irish liberty, was not seen on the list of changes, and Mr. Curran, the unwavering asserter of Ireland's rights and freedom, remained nearly five months unpromoted.

As for the Catholics, they were deluded again. They soon found that there was no disposition to disquiet the United Kingdom with an importunate insistance upon any claims of theirs. But at the first moment of the change of Viceroys, they were so confident of their affairs being now in good hands, that they resolved not to press the matter too keenly. A newly-constituted Catholic Committee met in March, before the Duke of Bedford had yet arrived, at Mr. M'Donnell's house, in Allen Court, and there resolved, with the exception of two dissenting voices, that it was inexpedient to press a discussion of the Catholic question, during the present session of Parliament; and that it would be proper to present an address, on behalf of the Catholics, to the Duke of Bedford, congratulating him on his appointment to the chief government of Ireland, and expressing their confidence in the wisdom and abilities of the illustrious personages who composed the present administration.

Indeed, nothing can well be conceived more helpless than the management of the Catholic cause during the whole of the Bedford administration. A Mr. Ryan, a merchant, who had a large house in Marlborough street, threw his house open to informal meetings of active members of the Committee, and entered into correspondence with Mr. Fox, as an authorized agent, or rather leader, amongst the Catholics. This produced jealousies and discontents; other meetings were held in various places; where considerable diversity of opinion made itself manifest, chiefly on this question—should they press for emancipation at once, or await a more convenient season? Many gatherings of Catholic gentlemen and merchants took place in some of the counties, and strong resolutions were passed. It was manifest that a good share of public spirit had been roused amongst them; but they lacked organization, and sage and bold counsel. The new Viceroy received their ultra-loyal and rather mealy-mouthed addresses with courtesy; but answered them with equivocation. For example, one address, from the Catholics of Dublin, signed by Lords Fingal, Southwell, Kenmare, Gormanstown, &c., was presented at the Castle on the 29th of April, 1806. It closes in this humble style:—

"May your Grace permit us to conclude with the expression of those sentiments, in which all Irish Catholics can have but one

voice. Bound as we are to the fortunes of the empire, *by a remembrance of what is past*, and the hope of future benefits, by our preference and by our oaths, should the wise generosity of our lawgivers vouchsafe to crown that hope which their justice inspires, it would no longer be our duty alone, but our pride, to appear the foremost against approaching danger; and, if necessary, to remunerate our benefactors by the sacrifice of our lives."

And the gracious reply ends with these words; an admirable sample of the phraseology with which the Catholics were entertained for many years:—

"In the high situation in which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to place me, it is my first wish, as it is my first duty, to secure to all classes and descriptions of His Majesty's subjects in this part of the United Kingdom, the advantages of a *mild and beneficent administration of the law*. With this important object in view, I entertain no doubt that the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the city of Dublin will, by their loyalty to the King, their attachment to the Constitution, and their affection for their fellow-subjects, afford the strongest recommendation to a favorable consideration of *their interests*."

His Grace takes care to say their "interests;" but it was not their interests they were pleading for; it was their rights; and of rights he said not a word.

But while rival aspirants for leadership of the Catholics were addressing excited meetings, their dissensions were suddenly somewhat allayed by ostentatious warnings contained in the Government newspapers, that they were in danger of bringing themselves within the penalties of the Convention act. It was a sore and embarrassing suggestion for the struggling Catholics.

The Convention act, which passed in 1793, was one of the baleful measures of the Pitt system, to muzzle the victim before the infliction of torture; to render the voice of the subject equally powerless for prevention and redress; and, in truth, this formidable act has remained ever since one of the surest safeguards of British domination in Ireland, as well as one of the conspicuous badges of provincialism; for there is no such law in England.

Lord Chancellor Ponsonby, in whose hands was most of the patronage of Ireland, was not found to exercise that patronage as had been expected by his friends; nor is it interesting, at this time, to enter into those personal and political claims which were either admitted or rejected. Yet there is one case which interests every reader, even at this late day, because it is the case of the illustrious John Philpot Curran. He had been promised, and did expect, on a change of Ministry, a legal position commensurate with his services and standing at the bar. The new Lord-Chancellor neglected him for five months, and then offered him the place of Master of the Rolls, the second Judge in Equity. It was not satisfactory to Curran, for several reasons; his practice had been more in law than in equity; and, besides, this place carried with it no political influence. In his letter to Grattan, on this subject, he says: "When the party with which I had acted so fairly had, after so long a proscription, come at last to their natural place, I did not expect to have been stuck up into a window, a spectator of the procession." He took the place, however, for the sake of unanimity in the party. A singular demonstration of party malignity was made on this occasion by some of Mr. Curran's professional brethren, at a very numerous bar-meeting, convened to take into consideration an address to his honor on his late promotion. His talents were too transcendent, his spirit too independent, his principles too Irish, not to have enemies, who would openly oppose this just tribute to his splendid genius and unrivaled fame. The notice of the intended meeting had no sooner been published, than the prominent supporters of the Ascendancy set every engine to work to prevent, embarrass, and defeat so critical an appeal to the virtue and independence of the Irish bar upon the brightest ornament of their profession, and the staunch and incorruptible friend of their country. On the 7th of July, the meeting took place, consisting of two hundred and fifty gentlemen of the bar, of whom one hundred and eighty only chose to divide. Of these, one hundred and forty-six voted for the ad-

dress ; thirty-four opposed it. The question was warmly debated for several hours. In opposition to, and defiance of the professional powers and political influence of Messrs. Saurin and Bushe, the spirited independence of the bar was honorably asserted, and the talent, integrity, and virtue of the country triumphed over the jealousies and intrigues of the system and its abettors.

While the Catholics found themselves once more thrust back from the threshold of that Constitution which they so much longed to enter, the Northern Orangemen, on their side, (who had been a little nervous at first about the advent of these Whigs,) soon found that they had no cause for alarm. A very singular correspondence passed this summer between Secretary Elliott and Mr. Wilson, a Tyrone magistrate, touching certain outrages perpetrated on Catholics in his neighborhood, and particularly, the burning down the house of a man named O'Neill, a hatter. This outrage was done by night, without any provocation ; and was alleged to have been perpetrated in mere wantonness by a mob of Orangemen coming out of a lodge, and headed by two sons of Mr. Verner, a magistrate, and himself a famous Orangeman. Mr. Wilson's representations were so earnest, demanding inquiry and redress, that Mr. Sergeant Moore was sent down to the neighborhood, accompanied by a Crown Solicitor, to investigate the facts. Mr. Plowden affirms, on the authority of Mr. Wilson, probably, that Sergeant Moore, on his arrival, put himself in communication with the Messrs. Verner, the accused house-burners, to procure him evidence of what took place. "The evidences were brought forward by the young Messrs. Verner ; but he could not get anything out of them, (after the most strict examination,) which could tend towards the crimination of these gentlemen. The house certainly was burned ; but the incendiaries could not be identified. It was true, the two young Messrs. Verner were there, but only as spectators, after the house was destroyed ; but nothing appeared to justify an opinion that either of those gentlemen was concerned in the outrage." Of course, the learned Sergeant returned as wise as he came.

Some days after Mr. Wilson was summoned to Dublin, and had an interview with Lord-Chancellor Ponsonby, who questioned him as to the outrage, and as to the inquiry. Mr. Wilson attempted to make some comment upon the way which the Sergeant had taken for arriving at the facts—the Chancellor twice interrupted him with great energy to declare, *that Mr. Sergeant Moore's conduct entitled him to, and possessed the warmest approbation of Government.* Mr. Wilson made some observations on the state of the magistracy in his part of the country, and the Chancellor asked, how he proposed to remedy the evil? Mr. Wilson replied, that the only effectual mode would be, by issuing a general new commission. This would not give any partial offence ; and care afterwards should be taken not to admit any improper persons into it. His lordship replied by a smile. This ended his personal communications with Government ; but not his correspondence. He wrote several times again on the subject ; but without effect. He applied to have his own commission, as a magistrate, extended from Tyrone into Armagh, (as he dwelt on the border,) in order that he might have some power to protect the poor Catholics, who lived in daily and nightly terror under the shadow of the *original Orange Lodge*, and in that very neighborhood which had been the scene of the "Hell-or-Connaught" exterminations, ten years earlier ; but Mr. Wilson's application was refused. This affair would be in itself too trifling to occupy space in a general narrative like the present, but that it is, unfortunately, only one example of very much of the same kind of wanton oppression and official connivance which made the North of Ireland itself a hell for the Catholic people, during many a year since—and which is by no means over at this day.

Poor Mr. Wilson, who was so Quixotic as to interest himself for the oppressed Catholics of Tyrone and Armagh, after the refusal of an Armagh commission to that gentleman came to be known, was himself subjected to the outrages of the Protestant "wreckers." His range of offices, filled with hay, was burned down one night ; and as he still continued to importune the Secretary and the Chancellor with applications on

behalf, not of himself, but of his persecuted neighbors, he was finally (3d of July, 1807,) deprived of the commission of the peace for Tyrone, by a regular writ of *Supersedeas*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1806—1807.

Revenue and Debt of Ireland—Rapid Increase of Debt—Drain of Wealth from Ireland—Character of the Imports and Exports—Rackrents, Tithes, &c.—Distress of the People—The "Threshers"—Threshers Hung — Catholic Meetings — Increase of Maynooth Grant—From Apprehension of the Irish College in France—Catholic Officers' Bill—To Promote Depopulation—Bill Abandoned—Change of Ministry — The King Demands a No-Popery Pledge—Duke of Cumberland—Perceval Administration—Camden and Castlereagh in Office—No-Popery—Recruiting in Ireland—John Keogh on Catholic Officers' Bill—O'Connell—Too-Easy Gratitude of the Irish towards Whigs—Populace Draw the Duke of Bedford's Coach.

Ireland, until the period of the consolidation of the National Debts, had a separate Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and the actual Chancellor, Sir John Newport, in bringing forward his Irish Budget, in this session of 1806, made as favorable a representation of the finances of the country as possible, according to the usual custom of Finance Ministers. Everything, according to him "afforded proofs of the increase of prosperity and *confidence in the Government*." The revenue of Ireland for the year he proposed to increase, from £3,360,000 to £3,800,000, by means of several new taxes ; but later in the session Sir John Newport brought in a bill "for relief of the Irish poor." On his financial statement, Mr. Parnell drew the attention of the House to the general financial situation of the country, as represented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. He calculated, that were the debt of Ireland to increase with the same rapidity as at present for fifteen years, it would at that period amount to £120,000,000. He, therefore, called upon Ministers to adopt some efficient measures for restraining the progress of so alarming an evil.

Mr. Parnell either did not know, or pretended not to know, that Ministers did not regard this as an alarming evil at all, and that it was precisely for this, amongst other great objects, the Union had been effectuated. Mr. Parnell also fell short in his estimate of the rate of future increase of our debt :—"So well have British book-keepers worked our account, that, within *eleven* years (in 1817) our debt was found to amount, not to 120,000,000, but to £130,561,037, and so brought Ireland up to the condition of indebtedness which entitled her to share equally in all the public liabilities of England."

The truth is, that although from the increase of population, and, therefore, of consumption, the actual amount of taxes now ground out of the Irish people was increasing year by year, those taxes were becoming more and more difficult to pay, and were reducing great numbers of people continually to abject poverty ; so that at the very moment when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was felicitating Parliament upon Ireland's financial prosperity, he had also to bring in a bill for relief of the poor. The system of drainage of Ireland for imperial purposes was even then in full operation, although not so highly developed as we have seen it since that day. There were some circumstances then existing, which in part counteracted that imperial policy—in the first place, the enfranchisement of Catholics as voters, in 1793, had considerably promoted and increased the practice of giving *leases* of small farms ; so as to create freeholders to support their landlords' interests at county elections ; and next, the war in Europe, though occasionally interrupted by short seasons of armed peace, maintained a good price for all kinds of agricultural produce ; because the British Government was constantly obliged to victual great fleets and garrisons in all quarters of the world ; and as such large numbers of the cultivators of the land had leases, their increased profits could not be immediately appropriated by their landlords in the shape of increased rents, and so carried off to England to be spent ; an inconvenience and loss to the "sister-kingdom" which was afterwards fully repaired by the abolition of the "forty-shilling freeholders," as will be seen further on.

In the meantime, however, the war certainly enhanced the profits of Irish agriculture ; and although that increase was not altogether for behoof of the people them-

selves, (for much of it could be carried off by taxation, as we have seen, to pay the charges of an unjust debt,) yet they were not then by any means so cunningly plundered, so scientifically stripped bare, (for want of the requisite machinery,) as they have been since, and are now. Population, therefore, was rapidly increasing during all these years of war, although thousands of young Irishmen were each year recruited for the British army, to fight against Jacobinism, French principles, and the rights of man.

The imports and exports of Ireland continued to increase after the Union, in proportion to the increasing population ; but by no means at so rapid a rate as during the eighteen years of national independence, when the country had the fostering care of a native legislature, bad and corrupt as that legislature was. But it is very material to observe the character of those imports and exports. The imports consisted more and more of British manufactures, and of foreign and colonial produce purchased in England, and imported *thence:* the exports more and more of cattle, meat and grain, raw agricultural produce—and of spirits made from grain. There is an exception in the single article of linen cloth ; yet the increase in that trade did not keep pace with the increase of population. * In the table given below of the official returns of the exports and imports for ten years before, and ten years after, the Union, (assuming those official returns to be correct,) this very material difference may be studied and appreciated : but Mr. Marmion, in his *History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland*, observes of this Table : "These returns were no doubt furnished to support the opinions of certain advocates for the Legislative Union, as *wine*—the consumption of which was likely to show the means of the country, if progressing, as correctly as any other article—has been excluded altogether. The import of wine, in 1799, was one million two hundred and thirty-eight thousand five hundred and twelve gallons ; and it has gradually decreased since then to five hundred and twelve thousand three hundred and nineteen gallons in 1848, about which quantity still continues to be consumed annually."

* See annexed table.

ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO IRELAND FOR TEN YEARS PREVIOUS, AND TEN YEARS SUBSEQUENT, TO THE UNION.

Imports.		Years 1781 to 1800	Years 1802 to 1821.
Drapery	yds.	23,833,381	49,692,058
Sugar, raw	cwts.	3,796,285	6,089,175
Do., refined	cwts.	149,513	490,315
Tea	lbs.	22,711,224	66,847,251
Coals	tons	6,413,557	10,897,970
Iron	cwts.	3,917,882	5,530,682
Flax-seed	hhds.	837,746	934,049
Cotton Wool	cwts.	199,751	538,542
Tobacco	lbs.	99,402,762	116,112,836
Cotton Yard	lbs	4,531,336	19,995,350
Timber	tons.	298,981	490,245
Hats	No.	152,366	1,387,209
Hides, undressed	No.	84,287	450,031
Hops	cwts.	295,234	400,701
Hosiery	pieces.	3,606,074	7,995,640
Oak Bark	bales.	2,224,555	2,550,853
Barilla	cwts.	2,122,932	2,182,060

ARTICLES EXPORTED FROM IRELAND FOR TEN YEARS PREVIOUS, AND TEN YEARS SUBSEQUENT, TO THE UNION.

Exports.		Years 1781 to 1800	Years 1802 to 1821
Linen Cloth	yds.	678,798,721	832,403,860
Butter	lbs.	5,777,566	7,915,949
Pork	barrels.	2,164,608	2,565,403
Wheat	bushels.	1,334,567	4,223,782
Barley	bushels.	1,027,323	1,842,993
Meal and Flour	cwts.	747,674	1,686,948
Candles	cwts.	117,276	205,958
Pigs	No.	70,272	687,569
Oats	barrels.	7,650,359	16,112,142
Bacon	flitches.	1,013,562	6,248,527
Horned Cattle	No.	302,287	747,815
Spirits	galls.	79,892	10,349,752
Lard	cwts.	80,974	313,867
Soap	cwts.	92,616	219,506
Copper Ore	tons.	9,923	30,243
Feathers	cwts.	28,167	106,307
Kelp	tons.	31,224	64,731

The high "war prices," then, for agricultural produce, helped to establish a strong current of exportation in all that species of commodities, out of Ireland into England ; while at the same time the increasing absenteeism of Peers and landed-proprietors (who now preferred to drink their wine in England,) carried off also to that country more and more of the *prices* received in Ireland for those commodities. Thus England was already gaining every way by the Union, and Ireland losing every way.

Yet the system was not yet by any means perfect ; so long as voters for counties had to be created by small freeholds, there were large and increasing numbers of working farmers not wholly at the mercy of their landlords, nor liable to be turned out at the end of any six months. These people could live, and could even employ labor in im-

provements; so that there was a certain comparative prosperity; although manufactures (except linen) still continued to decline; and the market was flooded with English fabrics. It was not till the peace brought low prices that the series of Irish famines recommenced; and after that, the abolition of the "forty-shilling freeholders"—then the systematic refusal of leases—then the universal "tenancy-at-will"—and finally the Poor law, rendered the British system as nearly perfect as any system of human invention can be, for reaping the full fruits of the Legislative Union.

It was under great difficulties and oppressions that Irish farmers, at the period we have now arrived at, made out life even so well as they did. Their chief troubles arose from middlemen, rack-rents, tithes, church-rates, and the monstrous Grand Jury jobs by which gentlemen accommodated one another, at the expense of the county with roads and bridges, which were not useful to the county, but were convenient or ornamental to the demesnes of those gentlemen themselves. Those who knew Ireland in the early years of this century can well remember the many cases of exasperating oppression, the scenes of misery and despair which were caused by *each* one of the plagues above enumerated. In some counties during this very year, 1806, the too-long suffering country people were goaded into secret combinations and violent local resistance.

In consequence of recent exactions by the tithe proctors in the counties of Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and parts of Roscommon, formerly notable for their pacific and orderly demeanor, a body of people, styling themselves *Threshers* (*i. e.* of tithe proctors' corn) had appeared in a sort of public confederacy. Up to that time, they had punctiliously confined their outrages and depredations to the collectors of tithes and their underlings. They frankly averred their reasons for their conduct, viz., that from the late unprecedented rise in the tithes, beyond what had before been insisted upon, the profits of their crops centered almost entirely in the tithe proctor. They sent letters, signed *Captain Thresher*, to the growers of flax and oats, warning them, under severe pains, to leave their tithes in kind on the fields, but on no account to pay any monied composition to their rectors and vicars, or their lessees or proctors. Had the managers of the Bedford administration *in all things* minutely followed the example of their predecessors, those counties would have been proclaimed, and probably a more general insurrection have existed in Ireland, than in the year 1798. Many of the task-drivers under the former Government (all found in place were retained, except Lord Redesdale and Mr. Foster, discharged by Mr. Fox,) urged the Government to proclaim the disturbed counties, and recommence the discipline and goadings of 1798.

But there was then no motive for resorting to the system of Camden and Carhampton; there was no need now of provoking an insurrection, because the Union had been carried, and all was safe. Accordingly, it was resolved to meet the case of the poor "Threshers" by the usual Constitutional measures, assizes, special commissions, packed juries, and the gallows. During the whole of the Bedford administration, not a single measure was adopted nor attempted for the redress or abatement of this curse of tithes; the people were left at the mercy of the grinding proctors and rectors, * and if they committed "outrage," they were hung. Twelve Threshers were executed in the autumn of this year in Mayo County alone; and others suffered death in Galway, Roscommon, and Longford. There was not the smallest evidence that they had any political views; or French principles. They were simply White-Boys under another name.

During this summer, the anxious negotia-

* *Grinding* was not the worst of it. Rectors discovered a practice of swindling farmers in the following manner: In order to encourage the labor and industry of husbandmen in improving their lands, many clergymen granted *leases of tithes* to the tenants during their incumbencies. The lessee speculating upon the *life* of the incumbent, would make expenditures in the improvement of his lands proportionate to the probability of his own enjoyment of the fruits of his improvements. When the improved lands began to yield increased crops, in order that the church should not lose the advantage of them (*decimæ uberiores*), the incumbent would effectuate an exchange of livings (often preconcerted), with some other lessor of *his* tithes for his incumbency; thus letting each other *gratis* into the full benefit of the tenant's labor and expenditure, upon the speculation of a life interest, at least, in his improvements. In some instances, this fructifying process has been known in two or three years to have doubled, and in others to have trebled the value of the living.

tions for peace with France, conducted by Lord Lauderdale failed; and his lordship returned to London. This was the death of Charles James Fox—he died on the 13th of September, and relieved the administration of the embarrassment of the presence of one honest man. The death of Mr. Fox caused no alteration in the Irish Government. In England, Lord Howick quitted the Admiralty, and went to the Foreign Office.

Catholic meetings were held from time to time during the winter of 1806–7, mostly at the Star and Garter in Essex street. At one of these a committee of twenty-one was appointed to prepare a petition for Catholic Relief; and amongst the twenty-one we find the names of John Keogh, the old and faithful leader of the Catholics, Daniel O'Connell, the young and ultimately victorious leader, Purcell O'Gorman, Doctor Dromgoole, Thomas Wyse, and others, whose names were afterwards household words in every Catholic home during the long struggle for emancipation. A petition was framed, adopted, and committed to Henry Grattan for presentation.

On the 4th of March, 1807, on the Report of the Committee of Supply being brought up in Parliament, it appeared that the committee estimated the grant to Maynooth College at £13,000 instead of £8,000. This increase was, of course, opposed by Mr. Perceval, who always showed himself the most zealous Protestant in Parliament. The increased grant, however, was carried; not through any feeling of liberality towards the Catholics; but for the reasons set forth by Lord Howick in supporting the grant. He said he did so on the large principle of connecting the Irish Catholic with the state. It was then particularly necessary to promote the domestic education of the Catholic clergy, as an institution of great extent had been formed at Paris, at the head of which was a Dr. Walsh, a person of considerable notoriety, with a view to rëestablish the practice of Irish Catholic education at that place, and to make that education the channel of introducing and extending the political influence of the French Government in Ireland.*

English governments, after having so long prohibited by penal laws the education of Catholic youths at home, and having thus driven them abroad for education, were now almost willing to bribe them to stay at home and receive that education which within the memory of men then living, would have merited transportation or death. Yet there was nothing inconsistent in these two modes of treatment. A century before, the great object of law and government had been to get and keep possession of Catholic lands and goods—and for that purpose to debase Catholics to the condition of brutes for want of education—but in 1807, the great need and absorbing passion of the Government was to crush France, and keep out French principles; and it was desirable to keep young divinity students away from Paris, where they might learn matters not expedient to be known in Ireland; might learn, for instance, that it is not so very miserable a case for each man to be his own landlord; that country-people can be pretty comfortable even without paying tithes—that people of all religions in France are equal before the law—that the French are not a race of creatures altogether abandoned to crime, debauchery and atheism, for want of noble landlords; and many other things of this nature. Therefore, when the Government at one time drove young Irishmen abroad for education, and at another time induced them to stay at home for education, it knew very well each time what it was doing, and acted in both cases upon the invariable principle that all Irish life, activity and industry, physical and intellectual, lay and clerical, be-

* "In the latter end of autumn, 1806, some printed copies of an *arret*, or decree, signed 'Napoleon, Hugh B. Maret, Champagny, and Walsh, Administrateur Général,' dated Milan, 28th Floreal, An. xiii., uniting the English, Irish, and Scotch Ecclesiastical Establishment, in the French dominions, under the general administration of the Reverend Dr. Walsh, late Superior of the Irish College at Paris, were sent from thence *via* Hamburg, to England and Ireland. At the same time Dr. Walsh invited the students of St. Patrick's Irish College at Lisbon, to repair to Paris, to prosecute their studies, and encouraged them to undertake the journey, by promising that the expenses of it would be defrayed. The Roman Catholic Archbishops and other Prelates, Trustees of Maynooth College, having met in Dublin on business concerning it in January, 1807, availed themselves of the occasion, to express their disapprobation of the invitation from Paris, in a letter to the Rev. Doctor Crotty, Rector of the Irish College at Lisbon, a copy of which was sent to Mr. Secretary Elliott, and also to Lord Howick.

long to England, and are to be regulated and disposed of, displaced, transferred, encouraged, and prohibited, as British policy and interest shall from time to time require.

Upon the very same invariable principle, the Government in this session introduced what was called the "Catholic Officers' bill," to enable Catholics to hold commissions in the army or navy. This measure was intended by Ministers for two purposes; first, to stop by a small concession, the threatening agitation of the Catholics for their complete relief; and secondly, by commissioning some Catholic officers, to make the British service more popular with the people, and thus promote enlistment. On this latter point, the words of Lord Howick, who introduced the bill, are worth preserving:—

"On the Commonalty of Ireland the measure must have a powerful effect, by affording *a salutary check to the increasing superabundant population* of that country; as it would induce numbers to enter into the service of His Majesty, even of those, who by their own discontents, and by the artifices of others, had so lately been urged into insurrection and rebellion."

It is needless to say that this measure also was resisted by the model Protestant, Perceval. "He greatly feared," he said, "that this was but the beginning of a system, which would in its consequences, when fully disclosed, be highly dangerous to the Constitution and Protestant establishment. He perceived, that step by step, and from day to day, they were bringing forward measures, which he thought must end in the TOTAL REPEAL OF THE TEST ACT." Mr. Perceval was himself, he declared, "as great a friend to toleration as any man," but he could not see how the Constitution in Church and State was to stand, if persons were allowed to command the King's troops who believed in Seven Sacraments. The bill was read a first time; and immediately arose a violent ferment, both in England and amongst the "Ascendancy" in Ireland. The University of Oxford petitioned against the measure; so did the Corporation of Dublin. The Dukes of York and Cumberland, Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury, had frequent access to the King, whose mental disorder was then, indeed, so much aggravated, that he had need of advisers, if those advisers had been honest. George III. was at that time an idiot; sometimes a helpless and moping idiot; sometimes a talking and busy idiot; and, unfortunately, he was in the latter species of paroxysm. Mr. Perceval advertised in the public papers that "the Church was in danger;" and a great cry of "No-Popery!" arose over all England. The events that followed are clearly set forth in the explanations given by Lord Grenville and Lord Howick in the two Houses, of the causes which led to the sudden change of Ministry. It appears that the Ministers had had several interviews with the King, who seemed at first satisfied with their statements of the expediency of the measure proposed; but the unhappy patient had evidently not understood their statements. He asked Lord Howick one day, "What was going on in the House of Commons?" On being told that the Catholic Officers' bill was to come on, he expressed his general dislike.

"The next day (said Lord Howick) His Majesty, in the same gracious manner that we have been accustomed to experience from him, informed us, that he must look out for new servants. Two days afterwards, I was authorized to state this circumstances to the House, and on Tuesday last, His Majesty signified his pleasure that we should resign our offices next day." Ministers then proposed to drop the bill altogether; but this was not enough for the King, in the condition of nervous irritation to which he had been worked up by Lord Eldon and their Royal Highnesses, his two sons, the Dukes of York and Cumberland. He required from them a pledge that they would never more bring forward any measure whatever respecting Papists—in other words, would never advise His Majesty to do any act of justice towards one-fourth part of his subjects. This was two much. The Ministers had no idea of *emancipating* the Catholics; it was to stave off that question of emancipation that they had proposed the trifling concession in question; but to give such a pledge as he required (a pledge which *had*, however, been given him by Mr. Pitt,) would have been contrary to their duty as Ministers of State, and to their oath as Privy-Councillors, who swear "faithfully and truly

to declare their mind and opinion, according to their hearts and consciences, in all things to be moved, treated, and debated in council." Before the resignation, however, several debates took place. In one of these, Mr. Plunket, making his first speech in a united Parliament, brought under the notice of the House the singular proceeding of the Duke of Cumberland. He said:—

"Not satisfied with their placards, &c., an attempt has been made by the Chancellor of the University of Dublin (the Duke of Cumberland) to disturb the peace of that University, by endeavoring to procure a petition against the Catholic bill. Finding (to the honor of that learned body) the first application unsuccessful, a second had been sent, in which it was intimated, that the only way to preserve the favor of the royal Duke, was by signing such a petition. He was not aware, whether the latter application took place after the measure had been abandoned in Parliament, or before. If after, it was a political scheme to support the new administration—if, while the bill was pending, it was an unconstitutional and unwarrantable interferenee."

The matter ended with the resignation of Ministers; and the installation of the famous "No-Popery" Cabinet, with the pious Perceval at its head as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Castlereagh, who had become indispensable to the councils of his sovereign, was Secretary for the Colonies and the War Department; Lord Camden was President of the Privy-Council; and George Canning Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Eldon was Lord-Chancellor of England; the Duke of Richmond Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and the Chief Secretary of that country was to be the victor of Assaye, and conqueror of the Mahrattas, who had just returned after his brilliant campaign in India. The Baron Sutton was created Lord Manners, and appointed Chancellor of Ireland.

The occasion or pretext for this change of Ministry was so absurd, and gave such an impression of craziness, that many members of both Houses of Parliament were unwilling to resign themselves, and the country to be governed by the fitful caprices of an idiot; and several efforts were made by offering resolutions against the principle of the required *pledge* to keep Ministers in their places. Of the Parliamentary debates on these resolutions, it is only material in this place to notice such passages as throw any light on Irish affairs. Mr. Tighe, an Irish member, said the tranquillity of Ireland would, he feared, be affected by the removal of the Duke of Bedford. He did not, however, see any ground for apprehending any alarming disturbance, because the people of Ireland had been accustomed to view with cold, determined apathy, all changes in administration here, as none of those changes were attended with any benefit to them. Few recruits were to be had in the South, or in the West, because there was no security for the free exercise of religion. Some years ago, a gentleman had got some men in his neighborhood, upon his own pledge, and the pledge of a magistrate, that they should always be allowed the free exercise of their religion; but when they arrived at their quarters in the Isle of Wight, they were compelled to attend the Protestant worship, and forbidden ever to attend a neighboring chapel of their own, under pain of military punishment. Consequently, the recruiting proceeded but slowly in Ireland, though the country was poor, and the bounties offered extravagantly high. Since the Union, Ireland had felt no community of rights, no community of commerce; the only community it felt, was that of having one hundred assessors in the British Parliament, who were to give *ineffectual votes for the interest of their country, as he might do that night.*

Mr. Tighe's estimate of the value of Irish representation at Westminster remains true at this day.

Sir John Newport (as he and his friends were going out, and were not to be responsible for pledges,) showed in his speech a sacred regard for "pledges." He said: "Ireland would force itself upon the consideration of the House and of the empire, of which it was a vital part; it was in vain to overlook the wants and interests, the expectations and the rights of Ireland; it was in vain to trifle with the pledges given; Ireland must have its weight, for it must be felt, that the common enemy could not be resisted without Ireland. The pledge, given

under the authority of the noble Lord opposite, could not be evaded, though the noble Lord may not act as it required him. The noble Duke at the head of the present government had given a still stronger pledge. He had written two letters to two officers of the Irish Brigades, inviting them to enter into the service of this country, on the promise of making the Irish act of 1793 general, and further, of opening the whole military career to them.

In Ireland, these Ministerial changes caused a great commotion among the Catholics. Their committee had drawn up their petition for complete emancipation ; and had sent it to Mr. Grattan for presentation. He had consulted with the friends of their cause in London, particularly with Sheridan, and wrote to the committee that they had better withhold it. A Catholic meeting was then held, at which the venerable John Keogh moved the postponement—not abandonment—of further proceedings upon their petition. As to the paltry measure of conciliation which had been proposed by Government, and which the Catholics had not petitioned for at all, Mr. Keogh thus truly described it: "The English Ministers resolved to encourage our Catholic gentlemen to enter into the army and navy, and through their influence to induce our peasantry to enter the service in great numbers. One of their objects, they admit to be, *to lessen our population*, and, on the whole, to change disorder and weakness into subordination and strength. But candor must compel us to allow, that this bill would not have given them any great claim for gratitude from the Catholics ; *to relieve them was not the object of the bill;* it did not profess to admit them to the privileges of their country. It has been called a boon to the Catholics ; but, in truth, had it been carried into effect, it would have been a boon given by the Catholics ; the boon of their blood, to defend a constitution from which they, and they only, were cautiously excluded."

Yet Mr. Keogh praised warmly the Ministry who had attempted to grant even this "boon ;" and proposed that from respect to them, and in deference to the advice of Mr. Grattan and other friends, their petition for emancipation should not then be presented. This motion was opposed by Mr. O'Gorman, but sustained by the potent voice of Daniel O'Connell, who spoke on this occasion with a warm and filial regard of the veteran Catholic agitator, John Keogh, and his long services to the cause. The resolution to postpone was carried ; the committee was dissolved ; and Lord Fingal was deputed to present a respectful address to the Duke of Bedford ; although, how his grace merited any confidence or gratitude from the Irish Catholics it would now be difficult to explain. The whole policy of his administration had been directed to keep back their claim for emancipation, and to preserve the Orange Ascendancy in its oppressive domination.

Yet the Duke *seemed* to be removed from office upon a question which touched the Catholics, though never so little. The Orange men were excited against him ; party spirit had been roused ; and such zealous partizans are the Irish populace, and so grateful for any presumed kind intention, that the Dublin mob, absolutely took out the horses from the Duke's carriage, and from the Duchess' carriage, yoked some of themselves to the carriages, and drew them to the water side, where they embarked for England on the 21st of April, 1807.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1807—1808.

Duke of Richmond Viceroy—Sir A. Wellesley, Secretary—Their System—Depression of Catholics—Insolence of Orangemen—Government Interference in Elections—Ireland Gets a New Insurrection Act—And an Arms Act—Grattan Advocates Cöercion Acts—Sheridan Opposes Them—Acts Passed—The Bishop of Quimper—Means Used to Create Exasperation against Catholics—"Shanavests" and "Caravats"—"Church in Danger"—Catholic Petition — Influence of O'Connell — Lord Fingal—Growing Liberality amongst Protestants — Maynooth Grant Curtailed—Doctor Duigenan Privy-Councillor — Catholic Petition Presented — The "*Veto*" Offered—Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan—They Urge the *Veto* as a Security—Petition Rejected—Controversies on the *Veto*—Bishops' Resolutions—No Catholics in Bank of Ireland—Dublin Police.

The Duke of Richmond had arrived in Dublin, as Lord-Lieutenant, a few days before his predecessor left it.

As the new administration had accepted office immediately after the King had required a pledge from his Ministers that no Catholic claims, or rights, or wrongs, should *ever* be mentioned to him again, this acceptance of office was itself a pledge to that effect by the new advisers of the Crown ; and, so far as they were concerned, they certainly redeemed the pledge. They were professedly a " No-Popery " Cabinet ; and the first principle of their policy was resistance to all reform, and especially to all concession to Catholics. Such being their merits, the Viceroy and his Secretary, Sir Arthur Wellesley, were at once presented by the Dublin Corporation with the freedom of the city in a gold and in a silver box, respectively. The vote was accompanied by an enthusiastic speech of the notorious Mr. John Giffard, who said, this was not the mere compliment of custom, but a special recognition of their known determination "to maintain the Constitution in Church and State"—that is, the Protestant Ascendancy, and the exclusion and debasement of Catholics.

It may well be understood that this event aggravated the insolence of Orange magistrates and squires, all over the island, making the lot of the Catholic country-people still more bitter than before ; and that it caused despondency, irritation, and some degree of disorganization amongst the Catholic leaders, who were striving in such hopeless circumstances for the civil rights of their countrymen. It would be difficult to conceive any political prospect more gloomy than that of the Catholic body at that moment ; dreading the rigor of the new administration, with its ferocious Orange supporters, and reduced to be thankful to the out-going Ministers for attempting a paltry army-reform, avowedly intended to diminish the Catholic population. This is the first time—seven years after the Union—that we first find British Ministers urging the depopulation of the island ; a policy which has since been prosecuted with such eminent success.

The new Parliament opened in June. In the elections which preceded it, the Government made unusual exertions to secure a large majority. Of the nature of the influences employed in Ireland for this purpose, one example may suffice : Soon after the House met, Mr. Whitbread stated, from a paper which he produced, to the House, that Mr. Ormsby, the Solicitor for the Forfeited Estates in Ireland, went down to the election for Wexford County, and personally waited on Mr. James Grogan, for the purpose of influencing him to support the Ministerial candidates, by a promise of a restoration to the family of all the estates of his late brother, Cornelius Grogan, which had been forfeited Ministers neither denied nor blamed, nor offered to investigate the fact, or punish the delinquent. Mr. Perceval assured Lord Howick, that he had never before heard of it ; and Sir Arthur Wellesley declared, that the Government of Ireland had given *no instructions* to Mr. Ormsby on the subject ; and any improper use of such influence was unknown to Government. The actual abuse of the Government influence, the overt negotiation of their confidential servant, and his subsequent impunity, tell the whole story plainly enough.

The first act passed for Ireland in this Parliament was a new " Insurrection act." The second was an " Arms act." They were brought in by Sir Arthur Wellesley ; and it appeared on the debates that they had been actually framed by the late Grenville administration, but there had not been time to pass them. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Secretary Elliott had recommended, and now supported them ;—yet, the Dublin people had harnessed themselves to Lord Bedford's carriage ! So easily won by even pretended kindness are our generous-hearted countrymen—and so minute is the difference between Whigs and Tories.

The " Insurrection act " renewed the power of the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim disturbed counties, and the authority of the magistrates to arrest persons who should be found out of their dwellings between sunsetting and sunrising. There was a clause enacting, " that magistrates might have the power to enter any houses, *or authorize any persons*, by warrant, to do so, at any time from ——— after sunset, to sunrise, from which they should suspect the inhabitants, or any of them to be then absent, and cause

absent persons to be apprehended, and deemed idle and disorderly, unless they could prove they were absent upon their lawful occasions."

Many persons thought it singular to find Mr. Grattan, then member for Dublin, supporting this cōercion law; but in truth, it was quite consistent with his former course; he had supported the former Insurrection act, and Gunpowder act, in the Irish Parliament. Nobody could have a greater horror of revolutionary movements, and of French principles than Grattan; and Mr. Elliott, the late Secretary, assured him that the poor "Threshers" were at bottom no other than *Jacobins*. He said, on this occasion:—

"He understood from his Right Honorable friend beside him, (Mr. Elliott,) *that there were secret meetings of a dark and dangerous description in Ireland*. This formed a ground for the bill. He was afraid of a French interest in Ireland, and he wished that Government should be furnished with the means not merely of resisting, but of extirpating that interest, wherever and whenever it should appear."

But his support of so cruel a measure greatly alienated his friends in Ireland. To do him justice, he vehemently objected to the clause authorizing magistrates to enter houses by night, on suspicion, or to give a warrant for that purpose to *any one* who might say he had a suspicion. "But who," he exclaimed, "were the persons to be vested with the power? Perhaps some lawless miscreant—some vagabond. Perhaps, the discretion of that reasonable time was to be lodged in the bosom of some convenient menial, some postillion, coachman, hostler, or ploughboy, who, under the sanction of the law, was to judge when it would be a reasonable time for him to rush into the apartment of a female, while she was hastily throwing on her clothes, to open the door to this midnight visitor. This would give a wound that would be felt long."

Richard Brinsley Sheridan, to his honor be it said, went against his friend and most of his party upon this question. "His Right Honorable friend had said, that the measure could only be justified by an imperious necessity; now it was that necessity which he wished to have clearly made out to exist, before the measure was resorted to. It was no answer to him, that the measure had been prepared by his friends. If it had, the Threshers were then engaged in their disturbances, and administering unlawful oaths. Ireland was now as loyally tranquil as any part of the empire. Would they state in the preamble of the bill, "Whereas, a very small part of Ireland was some time ago disturbed by the Threshers, and whereas, that disturbance has been completely put down by the ordinary course of the law, and Ireland is now completely tranquil, be it, therefore, enacted, &c. That most extraordinary powers, &c."

The bill passed into law, however, with all its clauses; and by continual renewals (for it is always *temporary*, like the Mutiny act,) it has been substantially the law of Ireland even to this day.

Next came the Arms bill. It was the needful complement of the other; for if the people were not very carefully deprived of arms, it was known that they would not submit to the daily and nightly outrages which were intended to be perpetrated upon them under the "Insurrection act." But while the latter was to be contingent upon the Viceroy's proclamation, the Arms act was universal and was to operate at once.

Mr. Sheridan opposed this measure also. He said that if the former bill seemed odious in its form and substance, this was ten thousand times more so; it was really abominable. But at the same time, as if it were meant to make the measure both odious and ridiculous, it was so constructed, as that it would plunder the people of their arms, and put down the trade of a blacksmith. Nothing like a blacksmith was to exist in Ireland, lest he might possibly form something like a pike. If ever there were an instance, in which the liberties of a loyal people were taken from them, and they were thereby tempted to become disloyal, it was the present. Indeed, from the general spirit, with which the bill was framed, he thought there only wanted a clause to make it high treason for any man to communicate either of these bills to Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French, lest he should conceive them to be direct invitations to him to visit that part of His Majesty's empire.

On the 14th of August, Mr. Sheridan moved for a serious Parliamentary inquiry into the state of Ireland. Mr. Perceval eagerly opposed the motion ; earnestly deprecated "the *time* and the spirit" of Mr. Sheridan's motion ; and got rid of it by the "previous question."

Thus, at the moment when Catholics were told to despair of ever being admitted to the privileges of the Constitution, they were to be disarmed and cöerced on suspicion and hearsay ; and all inquiry into the causes of their discontent was refused, because the right time had not come. And, in fact, it has never come. We have said the *Catholics* were to be disarmed and cöerced ; for although no religious distinction is made in the acts, yet every one knew then, as now, that such laws are never enforced against a Protestant, unless it be, perhaps, some Protestant like Mr. Wilson, the Tyrone magistrate, who makes himself obnoxious by standing up for his Catholic neighbors.

The stern and eternal negative put upon Catholic claims soon reached France. A certain Bishop of Quimper, in a pastoral to his flock, very naturally drew a striking contrast between the intolerance of England and the regard for religion and absolute toleration shown by the Emperor's Government.* These remarks were, in the eyes of the English Government, a development of the most infamous French principles, or rather a proof of a Franco-Irish conspiracy. Indeed, nothing ever has so bitterly provoked the British public and its Government, as when the eloquent tongue of some illustrious French prelate proclaims aloud the shocking truth about Irish rule, and pours forth the hot torrent of sacred indignation upon the deliberate, cold-blooded atrocities of England.†

Upon the slender foundation of the Bishop of Quimper's Pastoral, Government underlings engrafted a most base fabrication, for the double purpose of raising indignation against the French, and of throwing *odium* upon the body of the Irish Catholics. The Government prints gave out, that a very important document, pregnant with danger to this country, signed by Napoleon and Talleyrand, had fallen into the hands of his Majesty's Ministers, together with a document of still more importance to the Catholic cause in Ireland, asserted to have been solemnly issued from the Vatican. It was falsely asserted, that the Pope had lately issued a Bull, addressed to the titular bishops of Ireland, exhorting them in the most forcible terms to excite in the minds of all people of the Roman Catholic persuasion under their influence and direction, an ardent devotion to the views and objects of Buonaparte, and an expectation, that by his assistance and protection they might eventually obtain an uncontrolled exercise of their rights, religious and political. It was also stated, that this address from the Roman Pontiff, was accompanied by another paper containing a solemn declaration on the part of the French ruler, that it was his firm de-

* The good Bishop of Quimper says amongst other things : "He (the Emperor) shall hear the acclamations of your gratitude and your love. They will prove to the eternal enemy of the glory and prosperity of France that all her perfidious intrigues will never be able to alienate from him your religious and faithful hearts. For a moment she had seduced you—at that unhappy epoch when anarchy ravaged this desolated land, and when its impious furies overturned your temples and profaned your altars. She only affected concern for the rëestablishment of your holy religion in order to rend and ravage your country. See the sufferings which England inflicts upon Ireland, which is Catholic like you, and subject to her dominion. The three last ages present only the affecting picture of a people robbed of all their religious and civil rights. In vain the most enlightened men of that nation have protested against the tyrannical oppression. A new persecution has ravished from them even the hope of seeing an end to their calamities. An inflamed and misled (the English) people, dares applaud such injustice. It insults with sectarian fanaticism the Catholic religion, and its venerable chief; and it is that Government, which knows not how to be just towards its own subjects, and dares to calumniate this, which has given us security and honor. Whilst the Irish Catholics groan beneath laws so oppressive, our august Emperor does not confine himself to the protection and establishment of that religion in his own states. He demanded in his treaty with Saxony, that it should there enjoy the same liberty as other modes of worship."

† It is but a very few years since Monsieur Dupanloup, the eloquent bishop of Orleans, having given out that he was about to preach a charity sermon, for the relief of the exterminated Irish, Lord Plunket, bishop of Tuam, wrote to Monsieuer d'Orleans that he knew he was going to libel *him*, and fling foul slanders upon him. Efforts were even made through the English Embassy to induce the Emperor to forbid the sermon. It was preached, however, to a vast assemblage, and though his grace of Tuam was not slandered nor named in the discourse, yet it was a most scathing and touching *expose* of the whole course of British policy in Ireland. The English press was bitterly indignant.

termination to give the Roman Catholic religion the ascendancy in Ireland.

By foul means such as these the "No-Popery" cry was stimulated to its most savage pitch of blood-thirsty ferocity. Even the rural organizations, calling themselves "Shanavests," and "Caravats," which arose this year in Tipperary, and who were nothing in the world but White-Boys and Threshers, under local names, were carefully given out to be secret political societies, which were going to bring in the French. In truth, those unhappy people had their thoughts much more occupied about the tithe-proctor than about the Emperor Napoleon; and knew more about County-cess than about French principles. Unfortunately, however, the Shanavests and Caravats were not *one* agrarian faction, but two; and sometimes, when they ought to have been threshing the tithe-corn, they threshed each other at fair and market. Mr. Plowden says:—

"Both parties seemed to be indiscriminately sore at the payment of tithes; both complained of the exorbitancy of the advanced demands of rack-rents for lands out of lease. Both manifested symptoms of a natural and interested attachment to the soil they had occupied, by their undisguised hostility to every competitor for the farms of the old occupiers. They had not then begun (as they were afterwards charged,) to fix a general rate of tithe and rent, and to enforce the observance of it by threats of visiting those who should dare to exceed it. They assumed no appellation expressive of, or appropriate to, any of those objects which they have since pursued to the disgrace and disturbance of the country. When the Insurrection and Arms bills passed into laws, it is no less true, than singular, that in all the counties, then said to be disturbed, *not a single charge* was to be found on the calendar, *of sedition or insurgency*, at the preceding assizes. Widely as the Threshers had extended their outrages, they had been completely put down and tranquillized by the arm of the common law, without recourse to the violent measure of suspending the Constitution. The objects of their outrages had been ascertained by the judges, who had gone into the disturbed parts on the late special commission; and not even a spurious whisper had reached their ears, that there was amongst them anything describable as an *existing French party*."

These miserable writhings of a crushed peasantry, under the heel of local tyrants, were, however, eagerly seized and dwelt upon, as both justifying the cöercion bills, and exhibiting the unchangeable, ineradicable wickedness of Papists; so that when Parliament met, on the 21st of January, 1808, *No-Popery!* and *Church in Danger!* rung fiercely through the Three Kingdoms.

Two days before Parliament assembled, there was a large meeting of Catholics in Dublin, Lord Fingal in the Chair. On motion of Count Dalton, it was resolved to petition Parliament for the repeal of the remaining Penal laws. Some gentlemen, as Mr. O'Conor, of Belanagare, moved an adjournment of the meeting, as they despaired of any success, under the existing *regime;* but O'Connell, who now constantly attended these meetings, and took a leading part in them, had already adopted his well-known maxim — *Agitate! Agitate!* He supported the resolution to petition; so did John Byrne, of Mullinahack. The resolution of adjournment was withdrawn, and that for a petition unanimously passed. O'Connell's influence was, even thus early, very powerful in softening down irritation, soothing jealousies, and inspiring self-abnegation, for the sake of the common cause. It was this great quality, not less than his commanding ability, which made him, soon afterwards, the acknowledged head of the Catholic cause.

The petition was intrusted to Lord Fingal, who went to London and asked Lord Grenville and Mr. Grattan, to present it, after the Duke of Portland, to whom it was first offered, had coldly refused to have anything to do with it. And humiliating enough it must have been, to that Peer of ancient race, to be obliged to hawk round among "Liberal" members of both Houses the humble petition of himself and his countrymen, to be admitted to the common civil rights of human beings, and to see the representative of one of King William's Dutchmen turn his back upon the importunity of the Irish Papist. Nothing came of this

petition. It was laid on the table of the Lords; but when Mr. Grattan offered it in the Commons, the sharp eyes of Canning and Perceval detected an informality—several of the names appeared to be written in the same handwriting—a fatal objection, as they insisted, and the petition was not received. Evidently, the right way had not yet been discovered, to command the attention of that House to Catholic claims; and it was not till twenty-one years later that the right way was suddenly found out by O'Connell.

It is agreeable to have here to record, that the furious bigotry of the Ministry and the studied excitations to religious animosity, were not responded to by the Irish Protestants altogether as had been expected. The Duke of Cumberland had entirely failed to induce or intimidate the University of Dublin into petitioning against the Catholic claims, as Oxford had done. The Protestant inhabitants of many of the counties in Ireland presented petitions in favor of the claims of the Catholics. There were nine counties that had shown the noble example of liberality and sound policy. The Counties of Clare and Galway had, at meetings convened by the sheriff, expressed their ardent wish for admitting their Catholic brethren to the benefits of the Constitution. In the Counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, Roscommon, Waterford, and Meath, and in the town of Newry, resolutions to the same effect were entered into, as well by the Protestant gentry and inhabitants, as by the great bulk of Protestant proprietors of land. That recommendation was owing partly to the growing influence of liberality and confidence, partly to the absence of all suspicion of any real intention to invade the landed property of the county on a convenient occasion, but more particularly to the strong and immediate feeling of danger which a divided country would have to encounter in case of hostile invasion. On that principle did wise Protestants deprecate the terrible privilege of an exclusive monopoly of Constitutional right and political power.

The Duke of Cumberland, indeed, had the gratification of presenting to the House of Lords one petition from the Orange Corporation of Dublin against the Catholics; but the example was not generally followed. One reflection arises upon these facts:—That the most potent and unrelenting enemy to the Irish Catholics, *at all times*, was not the Irish Protestants, but the British imperial system. It was the English Parliament, in King William's time, then assuming to bind Ireland by its own acts, which first violated the treaty of Limerick, by excluding Catholic Peers and Commoners from Parliament. It was while the English Parliament completely controlled the action of that of Ireland, (by requiring the heads of bills to be sent over,) that the dreadful Penal Code was successively elaborated and maintained in force. But it was Ireland's *free* Parliament which, in 1793, gave the grand shock to that infamous code, admitting Catholics to the bar, to the corporations, to the juries, allowing them to go to school, and to teach school, to bear arms, to own horses, to hold lands in fee, to take degrees in the University;—in short, it was the Irish Protestant Parliament, once free, that swept away, in one day, five-sixths of the oppressions, penalties, and disabilities, accumulated and piled upon the Catholics, during a whole century, by the unappeasable hate of England.

This accounts for O'Connell's frequent declaration, that, rather than remain in the Union, he would gladly take back the Irish Protestant Parliament—consent to repeal of Catholic Emancipation, and take his chance with his Irish fellow-countrymen. And O'Connell was right.

Two of the first things recommended for Ireland by the Duke of Richmond were, the curtailment of the Maynooth Grant, and the appointment of Doctor Duigenan to a seat on the Irish Privy-Council. The whole spirit of the Perceval administration is apparent in these two examples. Doctor Duigenan had devoted his life to raking up all the vile, forgotten slanders that had ever been heaped upon Catholics since the days of Calvin; and was never so much in his element as when pouring forth his foul collection, by the hour, in a full-foaming stream of ribald abuse. The appointment of such a man to such a place, was a public affront and a significant warning to Catholics, showing them in what estimation they and their claims were held by the new Government.

The other pitiful manifestation of No-Popery spite was cutting down the appropriation for Maynooth College. This was evidently a subject of difference and discussion in the Cabinet. Mr. Foster, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, in Committee on the Supplies, stated, that additional buildings were in progress at Maynooth; that the establishment was capable of accommodating two hundred and fifty students; and that it was his intention to move that the sum of £9,250 should be granted to that institution for the current year. Sir John Newport moved that it should be £13,000, which was the annual grant fixed by the late administration, as will be remembered, in their alarm lest the Irish College of Paris should again attract Irish pupils. A warm debate ensued. Mr. Perceval, as a matter of course, opposed the larger grant, upon strictly evangelical principles; so did William Wilberforce, (a gentleman whose sympathies were strongly excited by the degradation of oppressed people, provided they were of a black color.) General Mathew, a good and generous Irishman, earnestly supported the proposal to grant the larger sum.

He had been, within the last ten days, at Maynooth, and he could assure the House, that, unless the whole of the last year's grant should be voted, the buildings upon which former grants had been expended, would fall. There was no lead on the roofs, and the rain penetrated through them. He alluded to the offer made by order of Napoleon, to induce Irish students to go for education to France from Lisbon and Ireland, upon a promise of the restoration of all the Irish *Bourses;* and read an extract from the answer of the Irish Catholic Bishops, stating their gratitude to the Government for the liberal support of Maynooth, and denouncing suspension against any functionaries, and exclusion from preferment in Ireland against any students, who should accept the offers of the enemy of their own country. Would any one say after that, that the Catholics were not to be confided in? If they were not to be trusted, why not dismiss them from the army and navy? Why allow them to vote at elections?

But this was not the act of Ministers. He was sorry to be obliged to allude to the conduct of any of the Royal family. But, however, it was rumored, that even Ministers were disposed to agree to the grant, till they went to St. James' Palace, and were closeted for several hours with a Royal Duke, after which they resorted to the present reduction. That Royal Duke was the Chancellor of the University of Dublin; he was Chancellor of a Protestant school, and might wish to put down the education of the Catholics; but no man, who knew or valued Ireland, as he did himself, could countenance such a project.

Ministers, however, had a sure majority, and succeeded in cutting down the proposed grant to Maynooth. One can only wonder that the Catholic body, clergy and laity, persisted in such an obstinate "loyalty" to the British Government, and did not turn to France, and hearken to the liberal invitation of the Emperor Napoleon.

Amongst the bitter opponents of the Maynooth Grant was Doctor Duigenan, the new Privy-Councillor, who was member for an Irish Borough. He vented some of the venom, of which he had plenty, upon his Catholic countrymen; said they were always traitors in theory, and wanted but the opportudity to be traitors in action. This gave rise to some sharp debating.

Mr. Barham could not contain his execration of such scandalous and wicked sentiments. This drew from Mr. Tierney the question to Mr. Perceval, whether the official order for making Doctor Duigenan a Privy-Councillor had been sent over to Ireland. On a negative answer from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir A. Wellesley apprised the House, that the Right Honorable and learned gentleman had been specially recommended by the Lord-Lieutenant to be a Privy-Councillor, as from his knowledge of ecclesiastical business he could be of great service in Ireland in that situation. This induced Mr. Barham on a subsequent day to move the House, that an humble address be presented to His Majesty, praying that he would order to be laid before the House, copies of the extracts of the correspondence, which passed between the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and the Government of England, as to the appointment of Doctor

Patrick Duigenan to a seat in the Privy-Council of Ireland. The question being put, Mr. W. Wynne said he was anxious to hear a vindication of so extraordinary an appointment, and one which was so much lamented. He then alluded to the dismissal and subsequent advancement of Mr. Giffard, and considered the present only as a fresh endeavor to irritate the feelings of the Catholics of Ireland. Sir A. Wellesley repeated, that applications had been made to Government here, to grant to the learned Doctor as Judge of the Prerogative Court, the office of member of the Privy-Council. Till the time of his predecessor this had been the uniform custom, and it was now resorted to again as a matter of convenience. He believed, that the present session was the first time it had been attempted to be argued, that because a man was friendly to the Church, he ought not to be trusted. If the Honorable and learned Doctor had been indiscreet in his language, why was it not taken down at the time, and complaint made to that House? *He did not care of what religion a man was.* If he could be useful in any line, in that line, he was of opinion, he ought to be employed.

There is no doubt that Sir Arthur Wellesley was quite sincere in these declarations; he did not care of what religion a man was; he was always a practical person; he desired, in a privy-councillor, as in a staff-officer or a commissary, precisely such qualities as were serviceable for the business in hand; and as the business in hand at that moment was to trample down and humiliate the Catholics, he approved of Doctor Duigenan for Privy-Councillor.

The Catholic petition which had been rejected by the House of Commons, on a point of form, had been sent back to Ireland to be signed anew. In the meantime, Lord Fingal remained in London, and had frequent interviews with the friends of the Catholics, particularly with Mr. Ponsonby. It was now that the delicate subject of the *veto* first took a tangible shape. Lord Fingal was an amiable, high-minded, and unsuspicious man; but a weak one. The success of the petition, he was assured by the friends of the Catholic cause, would be greatly forwarded by an admission of the royal *veto* in the nomination of the Irish prelacy. This negotiation, which has since produced effects of great national importance, though then unforseen, was of a private nature; and the particulars of it would not have reached the public, had not subsequent events induced the parties to it to make them public. Never was a point of *politico-theological* controversy so fiercely contested, and, consequently, so misconceived and misrepresented as this question of *veto*. Lord Fingal had certainly received no specific instruction concerning it from the Catholic meeting, which voted him the sole delegate, guardian, and manager, of their petition; and the subject of a *veto* was not in contemplation of that meeting.

The history of this affair proves, in a most striking manner, how dangerous it is for any national Church, in matters affecting its discipline, government, and independence, to take counsel of any one outside of itself. In the present case, Lord Fingal, only anxious for the emancipation of his countrymen, and credulous enough to believe that the English Parliament would grant it upon fair terms, without the strongest cöercion, acted by the advice of Doctor Milner, an English Vicar-Apostolic, and author of a learned controversial work; and as Doctor Milner was a kind of agent in England for the Irish Bishops, though not with any such purpose as this, the two together took it upon them to authorize Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan (as both those gentlemen affirmed,) to reinforce the prayer of the Catholic petition, by offering the *veto* power to the Crown.

The petition having returned from Ireland, duly signed, was presented by Mr. Grattan, on the 25th of May. The only remarkable passage in his speech, is that in which he proposes the *veto*. He said:—

"The influence of the Pope so far was purely spiritual, and did not extend even to the appointment of the members of his Catholic hierarchy. They nominated themselves, and looked to the Pope, but for his spiritual sanction of such nomination. But if it should be supposed, that there was the smallest danger in this course, he had a proposition to suggest, which he had authority to state, which, indeed, he was instructed

to make; namely, that His Majesty may interfere upon any such occasion with his negative. This would have the effect of preventing any Catholic ecclesiastic being advanced to the government of that Church in Ireland, who was not politically approved of by the Government of that country."

Mr. Ponsonby, in supporting the petition, made the same proposal; and said he did so upon the authority of Doctor Milner, who was a Catholic Bishop in England, and who was authorized by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland to make the proposition, in case the measure of Catholic Emancipation should be acceded to. The proposition, he said, was this: That the person to be nominated to a vacant Bishopric should be submitted to the King's approbation; and that, if the approbation were refused, another person should be proposed, and so on, in succession, until His Majesty's approbation should be obtained, so that the appointment should finally rest with the King.

Mr. Perceval, as might have been expected, earnestly and prayerfully opposed Mr. Grattan's motion, and all other possible concession to Papists, whether on the condition of *veto*, or any other condition. Not that he would be averse, he said, from giving contentment to his Catholic brethren, whom he loved as a Christian, as much as any man; and "should not conceive himself precluded from supporting their claims under different circumstances, in the event, for instance, *of a change taking place in the Catholic religion itself*." On the division upon Mr. Grattan's motion, the Minister had a majority of one hundred and fifty-three—one hundred and twenty-eight having voted for going into committee, and two hundred and eighty-one against it.

Lord Grenville presented the same petition in the Lords; made the same offer of the *veto*, and the petition met the same fate as in the Commons.

These debates at once raised an immense controversy both in England and in Ireland; which lasted many years, and produced innumerable books and pamphlets; discussing the limits between spiritual and temporal power; the meaning of loyalty, and of the oath of supremacy, and the "liberties of the Gallican Church"—which ought rather to be termed the "Slavery of the Gallican Church," because it means the subordination of the government of that Church to the civil power. *That* civil power, indeed, is native and not foreign; but when it comes to be a question of subordinating the government of the Catholic Church in Ireland to a Protestant King of England, one must only wonder that even the eagerness for civil emancipation could ever have made any Irish Catholic entertain such an idea for a moment. Into the merits of the question we do not here enter; but it is matter of history that when Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh were intriguing for support to the Union, in 1799, they had deluded certain Irish Bishops into accepting the principle of the *veto*, by holding out to them the bait of immediate emancipation after the Union.*

The alarm and indignation excited in Ireland, both amongst clergy and laity, by the *veto* project, were quite vehement. The conscientious Catholic historian, Plowden, says:—

"The prospective view of a national religion, preserved with a virtuous hierarchy, without any *civil* establishment or state interference, through three centuries of oppression and persecution, produced alarm in

* The Rev. Mr. Brenan, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, narrates the circumstances thus:—

"During the course of that year, ten of the Irish Bishops, constituting the Board of Maynooth College, happened to be convened in Dublin, on the arrangement of some ecclesiastical business, when Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary for Ireland, availed himself of their presence, and submitted for their adoption two vitally momentous measures, originating from the British Ministry.*

"By the first of these it was proposed, that His Majesty should be invested with the power of a veto in all future ecclesiastical promotions within this kingdom, and agreeably to the second, the Catholic clergy of Ireland were to receive a pension out of the treasury; at the same time, assurances were solemnly pledged by Government, that on the acquiescence of the Irish hierarchy in these state measures, the fate of that great national question, Catholic Emancipation, entirely depended. Thus beset by the proffers of the Minister on the one hand, and by the alarming posture of the country on the other, the Bishops already alluded to agreed, 'that in the

* The prelates composing the board were as follows:—Richard O'Reilly, R. C. A. B., Armagh; J. T. Troy, R. C. A. B., Dublin; Edward Dillon, R. C. A. B., Tuam; Thomas Bray, R. C. A. B., Cashel; P. J. Plunkett, R. C. B., Meath; F. Moylan, R. C. B., Cork; Daniel Delaney, R. C. B., Kildare; Edmund French, R. C. B., Elphin; James Caulfield, R. C. B., Ferns; John Cruise, R. C. B., Ardagh.

every reflecting mind. The proposed innovation of introducing *Royal and Protestant* connection, influence, and power into the constitution and perpetuation of a Catholic hierarchy, to the utter exclusion of which the Irish Catholics ascribed that almost miraculous preservation, threw the public mind into unusual agitation. The laity abhorred the idea of the ministers of their religion becoming open to Court influence and intrigue, and shuddered at the prospect of prostituting the sacred function of that apostolic mission and jurisdiction, to which they had hitherto submitted as of divine institution, to its revilers, persecutors, and sworn enemies. At the same time, the whole Catholic clergy of Ireland were driven by a common electric impulse into more than ordinary reflection upon the stupenduous efficacy of that evangelical purity and independence by which the spiritual pastors had so long, and under such temptations and difficulties, preserved their flocks in the religion of their Christian ancestors.

"The general voice of the people crying out against religious reform, was an awful warning to the clergy ; and although the insidious concordat of 1799, was still clothed in darkness, the Irish Catholic prelates met in regular National Synod on the 14th and 15th of September, 1808, in Dublin, and came to the following resolutions :—

"It is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops, which mode, long experience, has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary.

"That the Roman Catholic prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rules by which they have been hitherto uniformly guided ; namely, to recommend to His Holiness only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct." These Synodical resolutions were signed by twenty-three prelates. Three only (they were three of those who had signed the resolutions of 1799,) dissented."*

Immediately were held many meetings of Catholics throughout Ireland, who, by their resolutions and addresses, protested vehemently against the whole project of *veto*, and thanked the Bishops for their firm resolutions. When the real nature of the proposal was explained, and fully known, the Catholics of Ireland indignantly resolved rather to remain unemancipated, than suffer their Church to be enthralled. O'Connell was a strong opponent of the *veto* from the first ; the more active and educated of the laity repulsed the plan with scorn ; the press teemed with pamphlets, of which none made so much impression as the republication of Burke's letter to a peer in Ireland, in which he treats of a similar project, of giving the Crown a voice in the nomination of Catholic Bishops.†

appointment of Roman Catholic prelates to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of Government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed is just, and ought to be agreed to ; ' this statement was accompanied with an admission, ' that a provision, through Government, for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.' "

This transaction remained a secret for many years. Mr. Plowden speaks of "the long and mysterious suppression from the knowledge of the Catholic body, of the resolutions of the Clerical Trustees of Maynooth College in 1799, which never came fully to light till 1810. It is not surprising," he adds, "that respectable prelates should wish to conceal them from the eyes of the public, and particularly of such of their friends as they wished to engage in their cause, and whose esteem and confidence they subsequently courted. They were the base offspring of their unguarded connection with Mr. Pitt, whilst he was meditating the Union; which they have been sorely lamenting from the hour they found themselves swindled out of the stipulated price of their seduction."

It should be stated, in justice to Doctor Milner, that, after the use of his name in Parliament, as authorizing the offer of a *veto*, he published a statement that he had no authority to sanction such an offer; and that he had been misquoted. After the Irish Bishops passed their Synodical resolutions, there was no more ardent opponent of the *veto* than Doctor Milner.

* Plowden. *Post-Union History*, p. 395, *et seq.*

† Edmund Burke, who was as warm a friend to his Catholic countrymen as Grattan, and a much wiser friend, says, in his letter to a Peer: "Never were the members of one religious sect fit to appoint pastors to another. Those, who have no regard for their welfare, reputation, or internal quiet, will not appoint such as are proper. The Seraglio of Constantinople is as equitable as we are, whether Catholics or Protestant; and where their own sect is concerned, full as religious; but the sport which they make of the miserable dignities of the Greek Church, the factions of the Harem, to which they make them subservient, the continual sale to which they expose and reëxpose the same dignity, and by which they squeeze all the inferior orders of the clergy is nearly equal to all the other oppressions to

The project of enslaving the Irish Catholic Church to the English Protestant State, was for that time defeated; but it was brought forward again and again, during the struggle for emancipation, and for many years, greatly agitated the Catholic public.

In the course of this session, Lord Grenville made his motion to make Catholic merchants admissible as Governor and Directors of the Bank of Ireland. Lord Westmoreland opposed the motion, on the general ground that *no further concessions* whatever should, under the present circumstances, be granted to the Catholics. But to this not very intelligent argument, his lordship added a sensible observation. He said "he was surprised to see such motions so often brought forward by those who, when they were themselves in power, employed every exertion to deprecate and prevent such discussions." This was true. Ireland and her grievances, the Catholics and their wrongs, had become, in the Imperial Parliament, a stock-in-trade for Whigs out of place; and have so remained ever since. When these politicians are in power, they still "deprecate such discussions." Lord Redesdale, late Chancellor of Ireland, was alarmed at the danger to the Protestant interest which would arise, from allowing Catholics to be Bank Directors. He said he had only to repeat his former objections to such claims "The more you were ready to grant them, the more power and pretensions you gave to the Catholics to come forward with *fresh claims*, and *perhaps to insist* upon them. His lordship then launched out into a general invective against the Catholics, and particularly the priests."

gether, exercised by Musselmen over the unhappy members of the Oriental Church. It is a great deal to suppose, that the present Castle would nominate Bishops for the Roman Church of Ireland, with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot, perhaps dare not do it." And in another letter to Doctor Hussey, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, he said: "If you (the Catholic Bishops,) have not wisdom enough to make common cause, they will cut you off, one by one. I am sure, that the constant meddling of your Bishops and Clergy *with the Castle, and the Castle with them*, will infallibly set them ill with their own body. All the weight, which the clergy have hitherto had to keep the people quiet will be wholly lost, if this once should happen. At best you will have a marked schism, and more than one kind, and I am greatly mistaken if this is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued."

This debate about the Bank of Ireland, is not, by any means, worth recording (for the motion was rejected, as its mover knew it would be,) save to illustrate the party tactics of the Whigs, and the cool and stupid insolence of the "Ascendancy."

The Dublin Police bill was carried, creating eighteen new places for police magistrates; and Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of July, 1808.

CHAPTER L.

1808—1809.

The Duke of Richmond's Anti-Catholic Policy—The Orangemen Flourish—Their Outrages and Murders—Castlereagh and Perceval Charged with Selling Seats—Corruption—Sir Arthur Wellesley—Tithes—Catholic Committee Reorganized—John Keogh on Petitioning Parliament—O'Connell and the Convention Act—Orangemen also Reorganized—Orange Convention—More Murders by Orangemen—Crooked Policy of the Castle—Defection of the Bandon Orangemen—Success of the Castle Policy in Preventing Union with Irishmen.

THE administration of the Duke of Richmond showed a venomous determination to keep down the Catholic people, and to rule the island most strictly through the Orange Ascendancy, and for its profit.

The legislative rejection of the Catholic petition had been aggravated by the restoration of a certain Mr. Jacob, a notorious Orangeman, to the magistracy, the appointment of Mr. Giffard to a more valuable situation than that from which he had been displaced, the admission of Doctor Duigenan to the Privy-Council, and the curtailed grant to Maynooth College. A fostering countenance was given to the Orangemen, that tended more to foment and encourage, than to put down or punish their atrocities.

It is certainly not an agreeable part of our duty to narrate and to dwell upon these Orange outrages; because this helps, more or less, to keep alive the religious animosities between the two religious sects; which was the very object of the English Government in encouraging those outrages. Much more pleasing would it be to draw a veil of oblivion over them, and to think of them no more. But for two reasons this cannot be: first, the modern history of Ireland would be al

most a blank page without the villanies of Orange persecution, the complicity of Government in those villanies, and their consequences upon the general well-being of the island; next, because however well-inclined to forget those horrors, we have not been permitted to do so for a moment down to the present day. It was as late as 1848 that Lord Clarendon secretly supplied the Orange Lodges with arms; as late as '49, that a magistrate of Down County led a band of Orangemen and policemen to the wrecking and slaughter of a Catholic townland.* Later still, the records of assizes in the northern circuits show us the frequent picture of an Orange murderer shielded from justice by his twelve brethren who have been carefully packed into the jury-box by a sheriff who is an officer of the Crown. All this odious condition of society being a direct product of British policy, and now flourishing and still bearing its poisonous fruit, a student of Irish history is bound to look at, and to study, the wretched details.

On the evening of the 23d of June, 1808, a considerable number of men, women, and children, were assembled round a bonfire at Corinshiga, within one mile and a half of the town of Newry. They had a garland, and were amusing themselves, some dancing, others sitting at the fire, perfectly unapprehensive of danger, when in the midst of their mirth, eighteen *yeomen*, fully armed and accoutred, approached the place, where they were drawn up by their sergeant, who gave them the word of command to "present and fire," which they did several times, leveling at the crowd. One person was killed; many were grievously wounded. The magistrates of Newry, although far from being friendly to the Catholic people, were scandalized at this atrocity. They offered a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators; inclosed a copy of their publication to the Duke of Richmond, and prayed him to take some measures for the protection of the Catholics, who they said were all unarmed, while the very lowest class of Protestants were well provided with fire-arms. The Duke made a civil, but unmeaning, reply, expressing his "regret" at the sad circumstance. Some weeks elapsed; and still no measures were adopted. In the meantime, one of the persons concerned in the outrage was apprehended, but was allowed to escape by the yeomen, to whose custody Lord Gosford had intrusted him; and a number of the same corps, to which the murderers belonged, so far from showing any shame or regret at the conduct of their comrades, one day returning from parade, fired a volley (by way of *bravado*) over the house of M'Keown, (father of the deceased,) the report of which threw his wife into convulsions.

Several inhabitants of the townland of Corinshiga, came to the magistrates and made depositions as to the continual terror and danger of themselves and their families, and the atrocious threats of the Orange yeomen who lived near them. Mr. Waring, one of the magistrates, who appears to have exerted himself earnestly in this affair, sent to the Castle copies of these depositions, and entreated the Government to issue a proclamation, offering a reward for the assassins, and to take some measures of repressing open outrage.

Mr. Secretary Traill replied, coldly, that the Government declined to do anything in the matter. Mr. Waring again wrote, still more earnestly, "that the magistrates had expected that Government would have issued a proclamation offering a reward for prosecution, and pardon to some concerned for evidence against the others; that if this had not the desired effect, still much good might be expected to arise from the marked disapprobation of Government of an outrage of so dangerous and alarming a tendency; that it might appear not unworthy the consideration of his grace, whether such a measure might not even then (the 3d of August, 1808,) be adopted with propriety, and that this procedure so far from having a tendency to supersede the exertions of the local magistracy, could not but prove an efficient aid to them." This last letter was not answered, and so the business dropped.* The advertisement or proclamation of the Newry magistrates

* It is true that the magistrate was dismissed from the Commission. He had somewhat exceeded the intentions of the Castle in getting up a "loyal demonstration." Yet the arms of that banditti had been furnished out of the Castle vaults.

* See abstract of the whole correspondence in Plowden's (Volume III,) *Post-Union History.*

was sent to the *Hue and Cry*, but was not inserted. Not the least notice was taken of it, or the letter accompanying it. Such was the unblushing tenderness of the Duke of Richmond for the band of eighteen Orangemen, each and every one of whom was guilty of open murder. Not one of them was ever brought to justice; and to this day the inhabitants of that and many another Catholic neighborhood in Ulster, when the anniversaries of the 1st and 12th of July come round, either bar themselves up in their houses and put out all lights, or else prepare for defensive battle.

The foregoing incident is related in detail, because it is a characteristic example of many similar cases; save, indeed, that the local magistrates, instead of seeking to bring offenders to justice, as in this case, have generally sought to screen them. If an atrocity like this had been at any time done by Catholics, troops would immediately have been sent down to quarter themselves upon their houses, and a special commission would have issued to hang at least eighteen, guilty or innocent.

It was not merely in the way of direct encouragement to lawless Orangeism, that Lord Richmond's administration showed its settled design of trampling down the Catholics. We have seen that in Dublin, the wealthiest and most respectable merchants were insultingly kept out of the Bank Direction, because they were Catholics. In the counties, Catholic gentlemen, whose property and position entitled them to be called upon the Grand Juries, were studiously excluded. If any High Sheriff of a county was not a supporter of the Ministerial policy, or was known to be favorable to his Catholic neighbors, his name was carefully excluded from the next list. And in all these measures, Sir Arthur Wellesley was unusually active and rigorous. The time, indeed, had almost come, when his services would be required in the Spanish Peninsula; and his native country could well spare him.

During this year, (1808,) corruption seems to have been almost as rife in Ireland as it had been immediately before the Union; and seats in Parliament were bought and sold. Early in the session of 1809, Mr. Maddox brought forward a specific charge of this sort of corruption, criminating Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Spencer Perceval, stating, amongst other things, that at the last general election, a sum of money was paid by Mr. Quintin Dick to Lord Castlereagh, through means of the Honorable Henry Wellesley; and that gentleman (Mr. Dick) was thereby returned member for Cashel, and Mr. Spencer Perceval was also a party to the transaction. Upon occasion of the late investigation as to the Duke of York, Mr. Quintin Dick waited upon Lord Castlereagh, and informed him of the vote he meant to give, and the noble lord not approving of that mode of voting, suggested to him the propriety of relinquishing his seat in Parliament.

Mr. Perceval, indeed, refused to plead to the charge; said it was an insidious plan to lay the foundation for a measure of Parliamentary reform—which it certainly was—and so bowed to the Speaker, and went out. Lord Castlereagh followed his example; but it is quite evident the charge must have been true, otherwise, there would not have been, in a House of six hundred and fifteen, in the teeth of all Ministerial influence, the large minority of three hundred and ten for a motion to inquire. There is every reason to believe that Sir Arthur Wellesley, during his Secretaryship, took the largest share in all this traffic for seats and votes and influence. He had a mind of the character usually termed "eminently practical;" and thought he had a right, as he declared long after, speaking of his administration in Ireland, "to turn the moral weakness of individuals to *good* account;" that is, to the account of his party.

In the session of Parliament, in 1809, little or no attention was given to the affairs of Ireland. An attempt was made by Mr. Parnell, to carry a motion for inquiry into the mode of collecting tithes in this country. The grievances and oppressions connected with the Church establishment, and the irritating spoliation of the people, for support of clergymen whose ministrations were of no use to them, were but too well known already, and needed no Committee of Inquiry at all. On this very ground, the motion was opposed by Ministers, who, having no idea whatever of giving any relief, or

redress, naturally enough refused the empty formality of an inquiry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer "did not think that the House was in ignorance, with respect to the subject of tithes in Ireland, but that the difficulty was, how to find out a practical mode of securing the property of the Church. He could not be persuaded, that any inquiry, either by commission or committee, would do any good; for they did not *want information.*"

In the short debate on this motion, Sir John Newport observed, that he thought Lord Castlereagh bound, by his former professions at the Union, to find out some modifications to lighten the burdens of the poor, oppressed people of Ireland. Instead of doing so, that noble Lord appeared to forget all his pledges for the public good, and merely to attend to those that went to provide for individuals, whom he had taken care to seduce to his own standard. Lord Castlereagh arrogantly asserted, that he knew of no pledge made, either by Mr. Pitt or himself, upon the subject of tithes, *or the Catholic question.* He most distinctly denied, *that he had ever made any pledge whatever* as to Ireland. Mr. C. Hutchinson deprecated the conduct of Lord Castlereagh as to Ireland. He was the parent of the Union, and, in order to effect it, he had made many promises; but whenever any question as to the amelioration of the situation of Ireland came to be agitated, he either put a negative upon it, or moved the previous question. And, in fact, by the "previous question," the whole question was put aside upon this occasion also.

On the 24th of May, was held in Dublin a numerous meeting of the Catholics, to consider what step they should take to further their claims. The requisition convening the meeting was signed by Lord Netterville, Sir Francis Goold, Daniel O'Connell, Richard O'Gorman, Edward Hay, Denis Scully, Doctor Dromgoole, and many others, whose names have since been familiar, in connection with the Catholic cause. Mr. O'Gorman opened the proceedings with a speech, in which he proposed to petition Parliament. This was opposed by the veteran John Keogh, who spoke with great bitterness of the treachery practiced towards the Catholics in the matter of the Union, and deprecated petitioning altogether, at least while the existing Ministry remained in power. Mr. Keogh observed, that, with respect to the existence and oppressiveness of their grievances, they were unanimous; and differed only as to the means most likely to remove them. He was ready, on his part, to sacrifice, to burn, with his own hands, the resolution, which he was about to propose to the meeting, if any man could show him what was likely to be more effectual to promote the object of all their wishes. A petition at the present moment, must, if presented, be presented to decided enemies, or lukewarm friends; upon neither of whom could be placed any reliance for success. Mr. Perceval and his colleagues were admitted into office, upon the express condition of excluding the Catholic claims from the relief of the Legislature; and their predecessors had very willingly consented to give up a bill, nominally only in favor of the Catholics, rather than resign their places. Mr. Keogh adverted in strong and pointed terms, to the double imposition practiced upon the Catholics at the time of the Union. He insisted, that the proposals for their support from the Unionists and the Anti-Unionists, were equally hollow, and equally insidious. Had it been otherwise; had the Catholics been liberally treated by their Parliament, they would have raised a cry in its defence that would have been heard, and would have shaken the plan of Union to atoms. No man had a right to suppose, that he wished to relinquish the Catholic claims. With his dying breath, with his last words, as a testamentary bequest to his countrymen, he would recommend to them never to relinquish, never even to relax, in the pursuit of their undoubted rights. No man could expect success to the petition. Without that expectation, he saw nothing likely to accrue from the measure but mischievous and injurious consequences. He resisted the measure, not for the purpose of retarding, but of forwarding the Catholic claims.

Mr. Keogh, therefore, moved a resolution in accordance with these views, which was passed; but the meeting then proceeded to organize a new Catholic Committee, consist-

ing of the Catholic Peers, and the survivors of the Catholic Delegates of 1793, together with certain gentlemen who had been lately appointed by the Catholics of Dublin to prepare an address. It was resolved that these persons "do possess the confidence of the Catholic body."

This new committee was to be permanent; and was to consider the expediency of preparing a petition, not to the then sitting, but to the next session of Parliament. The committee, undoubtedly, was capable of being regarded as a virtual representation of the Irish Catholics, and, therefore, as coming under the penalties of the "Convention act;" for which reason Mr. O'Connell, who knew that the Government was watching their proceedings with a jealous eye, endeavored to guard against this legal peril by introducing a resolution which was carried unanimously: "That the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof; nor shall they assume or pretend to be representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof."

We thus find Mr. O'Connell, from the first of his long series of agitations, always anxiously steering clear of the rocks and shoals of law; and find, also, that the most dangerous of those rocks and shoals was always the same "Convention act." It embarrassed the Catholic Committee in 1809; it stopped the "Council of Three Hundred," in 1845—and, in fact, it had been passed for the very purpose of preventing all organized deliberation, and all effectual action, by Catholics for the attainment of their rights. There is no doubt that the Government might at any time have prosecuted to conviction the members of this Catholic Committee as *delegates*, (notwithstanding their disclaimer,) by means of a well-packed Castle jury; but, in the meantime, the affairs of the Catholics seemed to acquire some consistency and strength from the permanent organization of the committee and the respectability of its members. Of course, this circumstance alarmed and infuriated the Orangemen; who are generally believed to have at the same time remodeled and improved their societies. It is not easy to arrive at the exact truth regarding all the secret tests and oaths and "degrees" of this mischievous body—the precise forms have been from time to time altered; and their "Grand Masters" and their organs at the press have boldly denied what is alleged against the Society, although such allegation had been true very shortly before, and was substantially true when denied, even if some trifling form may have been altered, to justify the denial.

Mr. Plowden, writing in 1810, says, very distinctly, that "a renovation of the system (of Orangeism) actually prevailed in the year 1809," and that new oaths were introduced. He says, further:—

"It was reported, believed, and not contradicted, that about the time, at which the Catholic Bishops of Ireland were assembled in National Synod to oppose the *veto*, the Orange associations met by deputation in Dawson street, Dublin, in order, as may be naturally presumed, to counteract the presumed resolutions of that Episcopal Synod, and to make head generally against the alarming growth of Popery. A deputy from the seventy-two English (almost all Lancastrian) Lodges came over in unusual pomp of accredited diplomacy to the Irish Societies. Through the gloom of Orange darkness it would be presumption to ascertain the points of debate within their strictly-guarded sanctuary in Dawson street." The same writer observes:—

"So much undeniable truth has lately been brought before the public concerning the Orange institution, so glaringly has the illegality and mischief of the system been exposed, such weighty and fatal objections urged against it, that it has become fashionable with many Orangemen, of education and fortune, to affect to disclaim everything objectionable in the system, and to throw it exclusively upon the incorrigible ignorance and bigotry of the rabble, who are alike in every country, and of every persuasion. This was base artifice to disguise or conceal the countenance and support which the Orange societies have uniformly and unceasingly received from Government. If the obligations and oaths of Orangemen were of a virtuous and beneficial tendency, why not proclaim them aloud? If illegal and dangerous, why criminally conceal them? Whilst

the Orange aristocracy thus affects to disclaim their own institute, in detail, their activity in keeping the evil on foot is supereminently criminal. Nor can they redeem their guilt without revealing in detail the whole mischief of the system, by enabling others, or cöoperating effectually themselves, (as far as they possess power,) to expose and effectually extinguish it."

Upon the subject of the new and alarming development of the Orange system which took place at this date, we may further cite the language of O'Connell, at an aggregate meeting, in May, 1811. He said :

"From most respectable authority I have it, that Orange Lodges are increasing in different parts of the country, with the knowledge of those whose duty it is to suppress them. If I have been misinformed, I would wish that what I now say may be replied to by any one able to show that I am wrong. I hold in my hand the certificate of an Orange purple man, (which he produced,) who was advanced to that degree as lately as the 24th of April, 1811, in a Lodge in Dublin. I have adduced this fact to show you, that this dreadful and abominable conspiracy is still in existence ; and I am well informed, and believe it to be the fact, that the King's Ministry are well acquainted with this circumstance. I have been also assured, that the associations in the North are rëorganized, and that a committee of these delegates, in Belfast, have printed and distributed five hundred copies of their new constitution. This I have heard from excellent authority ; and I should not be surprised if the Attorney-General knows it. Yet there has been no attempt to disturb these conspirators ; no attempt to visit them with magisterial authority ; no attempt to rout this infamous banditti."

In truth, the "banditti" were so useful and indispensable an agency of British domination in Ireland, that they were perfectly safe from the law and the Attorney-General ; and that functionary was not in the least obliged to O'Connell for his information. It was against Catholics only that penal statutes were made. Thus, although the Convention act makes no distinctions between Catholic and Protestant, the Orange Lodges were never at all embarrassed about sending delegates to a meeting in Dublin. And although the acts against administering secret oaths, especially apply to the oaths of Orangemen, no Orangemen was ever prosecuted by the Crown under those laws. The oath which Government punished, was not an oath to extirpate one's neighbors, but an oath to promote the union of Irishmen.

It would be easy to accumulate examples of Orange outrages at this time in many parts of the country ; but these incidents have a wearisome sameness. On the 12th of August, 1808, fifty unarmed men of the King's County militia, who had volunteered into the line, marched from Strabane into Omagh, in Tyrone County, where fifty of their comrades occupied the barracks. As they came into the town, it happened that three hundred Orange yeomen had assembled, and were celebrating the battle of Aughrim. A yeoman began operations by knocking off and trampling upon the cap of one of the militiamen, because it was bound with *green*, which, though regimental, was not considered "loyal" enough for that occasion. The militiaman resented the outrage by a blow. A general assault was made by the whole body of yeomanry upon the fifty unarmed men ; they retreated in good order to the barrack, where they were attacked again ; but as they were now supplied with arms, they defended themselves to some purpose, and killed four of their assailants. Thomas Hogan, a corporal of the King's County militia, was tried for the *murder* of those four men, and was actually found guilty of manslaughter.

Again, at Mountrath, the annual return of the Orange festival, in July, 1808, had been disgraced by the most atrocious murder of the Rev. Mr. Duane, the Catholic priest of that parish ; and it was followed up in the succeeding year by the no less barbarous murder of a Catholic of the name of Kavanagh, into whose house the armed yeomen rushed, and barbarously fractured his skull, in the presence of his wife and four infant children. On the first day of this same July, at Bailieborough, in the County Cavan, the Orange armed yeoman went in a body to the house of the parish priest, at whom they fired several shots, and left him for dead. They then wrecked

the chapel, and wounded and insulted every Catholic they met.

None of the persons guilty of these outrages, either at Mountrath or Bailieborough, was ever punished, or even questioned.

But while the government of the Duke of Richmond thus encouraged Orange outrage, and screened the perpetrators, his grace sometimes affected to deprecate violent demonstrations of the Society, at least in his own presence. For example, he made a tour through Munster in the summer of this year, 1809; and as the object of his excursion was chiefly to conciliate the Catholics of that province, (many of whom were wealthy and influential,) and so to prevent them from joining in the agitation for their own rights, he issued orders that no distinctively Orange displays should take place on his line of route. The town of Bandon was in those days a great stronghold of Orangeism, in the South, and possessed a "legion" of six hundred yeomanry, all brethren of the Order. On the first of July, the yeomanry being assembled, according to custom, to celebrate the battle of the Boyne, and to flaunt before the eyes of the oppressed Catholics the emblems of their defeat, they were astonished at being addressed by their Commander and Grand-Master, Lord Bandon, in a very unusual strain: He said, "those Orange emblems were calculated to keep up animosities, and his grace the Lord-Lieutenant did not wish anything of the sort *on the present occasion.*" The men suddenly dispersed in high indignation. The next parade-day was the 6th, and they again assembled; but to show how they valued the homily of Lord Bandon, every man of them appeared decorated with Orange lilies.

The Earl of Bandon and Colonel Oriel, the inspecting officer of the district, observed, that if they wished to be considered really obedient and loyal, they would attend to the orders of their officers, as Government seemed particularly anxious to prevent the further wearing of any emblem of this kind. They then ordered them, either to take these marks of distinction down, or else to ground their arms. The corps for some time remained undecisive, when at length, with the exception of twenty-five, they indignantly threw down their arms and accoutrements, sooner than obey the command of Government, delivered through their officer. The whole yeomanry of Bandon amounted to about six hundred men. On the 24th of July, 1809, the members composing the Boyne, Union, and True-Blues corps of yeomanry, under the denomination of the Loyal Bandon Legion, openly declared the cause for which they laid down their arms.*

This "defection of the Bandon Orangemen," as it was called, made the Government very cautious for long afterwards how it showed the least displeasure against these "loyal" displays, or the outrages which nearly always attended them. Indeed, Grand Masters and Ascendancy journals often coolly reminded the successive Chief-Governors of Ireland that English dominion could not be maintained one day in Ireland without the Lodges, which was true; so that Lords-Lieutenant and Ministers, while feeling themselves bound in common decency to affect, at least, to deprecate violence, and hypocritically to advise concord and good feeling, have been exceedingly tender of wounding the sensibilities of those people, who were, and are, their only support in the country.

So well had the Castle succeeded, during the administration of the Duke of Richmond, in undoing all that the volunteers and United Irishmen had done, and in making impossible that *union* of Irishmen, which was the only thing the Castle feared in the world.

CHAPTER LI.

1810—1812.

Duke of Richmond's "Conciliation"—Orange Oppression—Treatment of Catholic Soldiers—The *Veto* again—Debate on *Veto* in Parliament—Catholic Petition Presented by Grattan—Rejected—O'Connell's Leadership—New Organization of Catholics—Repeal of the Union First Agitated—Insanity of the King—Treachery of the Regent—Prosecution of the Catholic Committee—Convention Act—Suppression of the Committee—New Measures of O'Connell—Mr. Curran at Newry Election—Effects of the Union.

THE Duke of Richmond was one of our "conciliatory" Viceroys. In his tour through

* For a fuller account of these transactions at Bandon, see Plowden, Vol. III, of *Post-Union History.*

the South, he rendered himself more than usually affable and urbane ; and having a frank and gracious manner, he was not without some success in soothing the Catholics, whom long oppression had rendered too credulously impressible by a few words of hollow and hypocritical kindness. At a moment when it was notorious that he was acting as the zealous agent of a *No-Popery* administration ; that he was excluding Catholic gentlemen from the Grand Juries, Catholic merchants from the bank, that Catholic soldiers were regularly punished by their officers for going to Mass, and that his grace's Orange banditti were killing and maiming their Catholic neighbors with a perfect certainty of impunity, we find that at the entertainment given by the Corporation of Waterford to the Lord-Lieutenant, his grace's affability and attention to all were conspicuous. He took an opportunity of addressing Doctor Power, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, whom in a gracious and cordial style he thanked, for his and his flock's conduct in putting down the disturbances in their county. He openly and distinctly assured him, that he had it in special instructions from His Majesty, to make no distinction between Protestant and Catholic, which injunction he emphatically declared he had punctiliously complied with, ever since he had undertaken the government of the country, as far as the laws would allow of. Those laws, he lamented, it was not in his power to deviate from. Such was the traveling style of the Vice-regal Court. At the dinner given to his grace by the Mayor and Corporation of Cork, at the Mansion House, amongst the regular Corporation toasts, was announced, in its order, the *Protestant Ascendancy of Ireland*, on which his grace arose and declared, he wished to see no ascendancy in Ireland but that of loyalty ; and strongly recommended the same line of conduct to be pursued by all good subjects.

At another dinner in Cork, given by the merchants, traders, and bankers, his excellency had even the sanctimonious audacity to express his wonder, that religion being only occupied with a great object of eternal concern, men should be excited to rancorous enmity because they sought the same great end by paths somewhat different. This kind of language, which has been the common style of Irish Viceroys ever since, was first brought into vogue by the *No-Popery* Duke of Richmond ; and what is very remarkable, it so far imposed upon many simple-minded Catholics, that they were afterwards but slow and reluctant in even coming forward to petition for their withheld rights and franchises.

In the meantime, the daily and continual oppressions and humiliations which were inflicted upon the Catholics, not only by Orange magistrates and yeomen, but by the Government itself, were too notorious and too galling to be soothed away by the fair words of a conciliatory Viceroy. The treatment of Catholic soldiers in the army (of which they already constituted nearly one-half,) excited the strongest and bitterest feelings of discontent. At Enniskillen, a Lieutenant Walsh turned a soldier's coat, in order to disgrace him, for refusing to attend the Protestant service ; others were effectually prevented from attending the service of their own church, by an order not to quit the barracks till two o'clock on the Sunday, when the Catholic service was over, as at Newry. The case which acquired the most publicity, and produced the strongest effect upon Ireland, was that of Patrick Spence, a private in the County Dublin militia, who had been required (though known to be a Catholic,) to attend the divine service of the Established Church, and upon refusal, was thrown into the Black Hole. During his imprisonment, he wrote a letter to Major White, his commanding officer, urging, that in obeying the paramount dictates of conscience, he had in no manner broken in upon military discipline. He was shortly after brought to a court-martial, upon a charge that his letter was disrespectful, and had a mutinous tendency. He was convicted, and sentenced to receive nine hundred and ninety-nine lashes. Upon being brought out to undergo that punishment, an offer was made to him to commute it for an engagement to enlist in a corps constantly serving abroad ; this he accepted, and was transmitted to the Isle of Wight, in order to be sent out of the kingdom. The case having been represented to the Lord-Lieutenant, by

Doctor Troy, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, Mr. W. Pole wrote him a letter, which stated, that the sentence had been passed upon Spence for writing the disrespectful letter; not denying (therefore admitting,) that the committal to the "Black Hole" was for the refusal to attend the Protestant Church; but that, under all the circumstances, the Commander-in-Chief had considered the punishment excessive, and had ordered the man to be liberated, and to join his regiment. When Spence arrived in Dublin, he was confined several days, and then discharged altogether from the army. The copy of Spence's letter, which he vouched to be authentic, contained nothing in it either disrespectful or mutinous. The original letter was often called for, and always refused by those who had it in their possession, and might, consequently, by its production determine the justice of the sentence of nine hundred and ninety-nine lashes.

Many other examples of this kind of petty tyranny occurred about the same time; and as no officer was ever punished or reprimanded for any of them, they are sufficient to indicate the real feelings of the Government, and how much sincerity there was in the after-dinner liberality of the Duke of Richmond. In short, it was the settled design of the British Government, not only to break the promises made for carrying the Union (as it had formerly broken the treaty of Limerick,) but also to make the Catholics feel in their daily life the whole bitterness of their degradation.

They had, of course, no representative in the British Parliament; and it appeared, in the course of the year 1810, that such Protestant friends and advocates as they possessed in that Assembly, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby for example, desired to effect their emancipation only on the terms of enslaving the Catholic Church to the State, by means of the *veto*. The subject of *veto* was now revived, both in Parliament and in the country. The English Catholics, in *their* petitions for relief, offered to accept emancipation on such terms; that is, on the terms of giving to a Protestant State a discretion as to the appointment of their Bishops. In Ireland, that idea was now universally repulsed, by the clergy and laity; although, as before stated, it had once been favorably received by a few of the higher clergy.

Late in January, 1810, was held a large meeting of the Catholics of Dublin. The Secretary, Mr. Hay, stated, that the most Rev. Doctor Troy had received from an English member of Parliament (Sir John Cox Hippesley) a letter, accompanied by an explanatory printed copy of a sketch of proposed regulations, concurrent with the establishment of a state provision, for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland.*

It was the project of *veto* in all its nakedness, but recommended both by the prospect of civil emancipation and by a state provision for the clergy. To the credit of the whole Catholic body (for it must be admitted that the bribe was high,) all proposals of this nature were rejected, and rejected with indignation. A petition was prepared for presentation to Parliament asking for unconditional emancipation, intrusted to Lord Fingal, who carried it to London, and presented by Mr. Grattan. But, although he presented it, he said that it was merely in order to have the claims of the Catholics put on record; that he had hoped the Irish Catholics would be willing to allow, on the appointment of their Bishops, a *veto* to the Crown; "he was sorry to see that at present no such sentiment appeared to prevail." Mr. Grattan had still the same violent horror of "French influence," which had formerly prevented him from joining the United Irishmen. "The Pope," he said, "was almost certain now to be a subject of France; and a subject of France, or French citizen, could never be permitted to nominate the spiritual magistrates of the people of Ireland." In short, Mr. Grattan,

* The Catholic historian, Plowden, says: "This deep-laid plan, suggested by Sir John Cox Hippesley, fathered by Mr. Pitt, adopted by Lord Grenville, palmed by Lord Castlereagh upon the duped or intimidated trustees of Maynooth College, in contemplation of the Union, was now brought forward with the privity and approbation of several of the leading members of the Board of British Catholics. The concluding sentence speaks in full its primary intent: "All confirm the principle, that the sovereign power in every State, of whatever religious communion, has considered itself armed with legitimate authority in all matters of ecclesiastical arrangement within its dominion."

in both the speeches which he made in this session, spoke *against* the petition which he had presented. It would be tedious to make even an abstract of the debate ; and it will be sufficient to say that on the motion for going into committee with the Catholic petition, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, and Sir John Cox Hippesley, were in favor of the motion, *subject to veto ;* Mr. Hutcheson, Mr. Parnell, and Sir John Newport, in favor of it, *without veto*—Lord Castlereagh wholly against it in every shape ; so, of course, were Mr. Perceval, and all other members of the No-Popery administration ; and the motion was lost by a majority against the Catholic claims of one hundred and four.

In June, the petition was presented by Lord Donoughmore to the Lords, in a very fair and just speech. He said, speaking of the Catholic Church : "No man was so ignorant as not to know, that its professed unity in doctrine and in discipline, under one and the same declared head was the essential distinguishing characteristic of the Catholic Church, and yet they were told, that the Irish Catholics were the most unreasonable of men, because they would not renounce, upon oath, this first tenet of their religion, and consent to recognize a new head of their Church in the person of a Protestant King. The Irish Catholic, under the existing tests, solemnly abjures the authority of the Pope in all temporal matters, pledges himself to be a faithful subject of the King, and to defend the succession of the Crown, and the arrangement of property as now established by law, and that he will not exercise any privilege, to which he is, or may become, entitled, to disturb the Protestant religion or Protestant government. What possible ground of apprehension could there be, which was not effectually provided against by the terms of this oath. With respect to that ill-fated *veto*, the introduction of which, into the Catholic vocabulary, he witnessed with sincere regret ; he could only say for himself, that he wanted no additional security ; but he was equally ready to acknowledge, that it was the bounden duty of the Catholic, whenever the happy moment of conciliation should arrive, to go the full length his religion would permit him, to quiet the scruples, however groundless and imaginary, of the Protestant Legislature."

After a short debate, in which we find Lord Holland, Lord Erskine, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Grey, speaking in favor of going into committee on the petition ; against it, Lord Liverpool, Lord Clancarty, Lord Redesdale, and the Lord-Chancellor —there appeared on a division : for the motion, sixty-eight ; non-contents, one hundred and fifty-four ; majority against the Catholics, eighty-six.

It was now at last tolerably evident that there was no use in petitioning that Parliament to acknowledge the rights of Catholics ; that the insidious promises made by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh, for the purpose of carrying the Union, were to be deliberately disregarded ; and that the Catholic cause must be either abandoned altogether, or must be taken up by some more potent hand than any of those which had guided it up to that time. Daniel O'Connell was to be the new leader of the Irish Catholic cause, and may be said to date the commencement of his wonderful career of agitation from the Parliamentary defeat sustained by the petition of 1810. In a month after the rejection of that petition, the general committee of the Catholics, after passing a vote of thanks to the worthy old John Keogh "for his long and faithful services to the cause of Catholic Emancipation," issued an address to all the Catholics of Ireland, urging upon them a new and more combined form of political action, and bearing the signature of "Daniel O'Connell, Chairman." The programme of action presented in this address is substantially the same which was followed up by Mr. O'Connell, under several successive names, throughout all his agitations—local organizations holding frequent meetings, and corresponding with a central committee in Dublin. All proceedings were to be peaceful and legal ; yet there was the *hint* of a possibility that millions of people steadily denied their rights, might in the end be driven to extort them with the strong hand. Here is an extract :—

"Still, *whilst time and opportunity yet remain for peaceful counsels*, the virtuous Catholic will deeply revolve in his mind the

wisest course for his redemption. He will prefer that success, which promises the greatest permanent enjoyment to himself and his family; the most salutary to his country; the most conformable to the best laws and dearest precepts of civil society. He will prefer to opposite courses—those of peace, of reason, and of temperate, but firm perseverance, in well-regulated efforts.

"The committee, sir, consulting not merely local, but general feelings, entertain every wish and hope, of calling into fair and free exercise the unbiased judgment and independent opinions of the Catholics of Ireland, thinking and acting for themselves throughout their respective counties, districts, cities, and towns, and deciding upon such measures as shall appear to them most eligible.

"They hope that the Catholics will take frequent opportunities, and as early as possible, of holding local meetings for these purposes; and there, unfettered by external authority, and unaffected by dictation, apply their most serious consideration, to subjects of common and weighty concern, with the candor and directness of mind, which appertain to the national character.

"The establishment of permanent boards, holding communication with the General Committee in Dublin, has been deemed in several counties highly useful to the interests of the Catholic cause.

"Nothing is more necessary amongst us than self-agency. It will produce that system of coherence of conduct, which must insure success.

"In the exercise of the elective franchise, for instance, what infinite good might not result from Catholic coherence? What painful examples are annually exhibited of the mischief flowing from the want of this coherence?

"The Catholic Committee have, therefore, every reason to expect the most beneficial effects to the general cause, from local and frequent meetings."

During this same summer, was heard the first loud cry for a *Repeal of the Union*. In the Corporation of Dublin—then, of course, an exclusively Protestant body—Mr. Hutton, pursuant to notice, made an impressive speech, in which he powerfully depicted the ruin, bankruptcy, despair, and famine, that were apparent in every street of Dublin—pointed out that the debt of the nation was then *above ninety millions;* that two millions sterling, wrung from the sweat of Irish peasants, were squandered in a foreign country, by absentees,* and that £2,500,000 more was drained away to pay the interest on that insupportable debt. He proposed resolutions to the effect, that the cure for all these evils was the repeal of the Union. Of course, he was vehemently opposed by Giffard and his party; but the resolutions were carried by a majority of thirty.

The next step was a requisition from the Grand Jurors of Dublin, to the two High Sheriffs, Sir Edward Stanley and Sir James Riddall, to call a meeting of the freemen and freeholders, to consider "*the necessity that exists* of presenting a petition to His Majesty and the Imperial Parliament, for a repeal of the act of Union." Stanley declined to call such a meeting; he said it "would agitate the public mind." But Riddall called the meeting. On the 18th of September, at the Royal Exchange, was held this memorable meeting, at which both Protestants and Catholics were unanimous, not only in affirming the universal misery and beggary of the country, but in attributing the whole to that fatal and fraudulent measure called the Act of Union. O'Connell delivered, on this occasion, a speech of the most concentrated power and passion, which deeply impressed his audience, and the entire nation. It was at once printed on a broadside, surmounted with a portrait of the orator; and O'Connell was from that moment the leader to whom all Catholics turned with pride and hope. The resolutions for the preparation of a petition for repeal of the Union, were adopted unanimously.

What we have to remark is, that in these first movements favoring repeal of the Union, all speakers concurred in representing the material and financial effects of that measure as disastrous in the extreme to Ire-

* Dean Swift estimated the absentee rents in his time at half a million sterling, and thought that same a great grievance. In 1848, Mr. Smith O'Brien, always moderate in his statements, said the drain through this single channel amounted to five millions.

land; yet those speakers do not appear to have bethought them that the impoverishment of Ireland was the exact measure of the profit to England; that this was the specific object for which England had demanded, contrived, and accomplished the Union; and that the existing relation between the two countries, was the accurate fulfillment of the prediction made by that honest Englishman, Samuel Johnson, to an Irish acquaintance—"Sir, we shall rob you."

The Catholics of Ireland were by this time quite unanimous in favor of repealing that Union, the perpetration of which they had been induced to regard with indifference, or almost with complacency. At least, they knew how treacherously they had been dealt with on that occasion by the English Government and its agents, Cornwallis and Castlereagh; and the natural soreness which they felt at being duped, aggravated the sufferings which fell upon them, as well as upon the Protestants, in consequence of depressed trade and ruined manufactures.

"Repeal" was, therefore, fairly before the country; but it was too late for any peaceful redress. When the shark has once made his *union* with his prey, he does not easily disgorge; for this there needs, either a miracle, as in the case of Jonah's fish, or else that the shark be killed and cut up. *Petitioning* for restitution of that rich prey, is, perhaps, the most imbecile idea that ever possessed any public man since the beginning of the world.

Catholic Emancipation, however, was another kind of question; and one quite susceptible of a peaceful solution; because to emancipate Catholics would cost England nothing; but, on the contrary, would probably win over many of the leading, educated, and professional Catholics, who might be induced, by the prospect of honors and emoluments for themselves, to abandon their people to plunder and extirpation, and to sell the cause of their country to its enemies;—an anticipation which we have unhappily seen realized on a large scale.

Catholic Emancipation, then, although a minor question, was the immediately-practical one for an Irish agitator; and O'Connell saw that it was so, and devoted himself to it accordingly.

In October, King George III. fell into his final and irremediable insanity; and the Prince again became Regent; this time with almost full regal powers. It was a matter of no interest whatsoever to Ireland; save that many Catholics were simple enough to believe that it removed the only real obstacle to their emancipation; namely, the stupid scruples of the idiot King as to his Coronation oath. The Prince had made many professions, even distinct promises and pledges, afterwards minutely specified by O'Connell, that so soon as he should enjoy actual power, he would do all that in him lay to bring about Catholic Emancipation. In 1806, he had made such a pledge, through the Duke of Bedford, then Viceroy, in order to induce the Catholics to withhold their petitions; his good friends, the Catholics, were to trust all to *him*, the Prince. Mr. Ponsonby, then Chancellor, had, in the same year, promulgated a similar promise in the Prince's name. He had himself given such a pledge to Lord Kenmare, at Cheltenham. Finally, he had given a formal verbal pledge to Lord Fingal, in presence of Lord Petre and Lord Clifford, which was reduced to writing by those three noblemen, and signed by them soon after the interview ended. The Prince had now uncontrolled power; and, as usual, the Catholics found themselves cheated. He retained as his Prime Minister, the *No-Popery* Perceval, and was surrounded by advisers intensely hostile to the Catholic cause; his mistress at that time was the wife of the Marquis of Hertford; and the conscience of that lady could not reconcile itself to the thought of conceding any right to persons who believed in Seven Sacraments. Even the two Protestant Sacraments were one too many for her ladyship.*

* Certain resolutions passed in the Catholic Committee but too plainly referred to this woman, when they spoke of the "fatal witchery" which had led the Regent to form a Ministry hostile to liberty of conscience in Ireland. The enchantress was over fifty years of age; and her husband and her son were the closest boon-companions of the lover of the father's wife and of the son's mother. These famous "witchery" resolutions were supposed to have so strongly aroused the Protestant feelings of the Prince as to adjourn all thought of Catholic Emancipation for many years, and to have been the cause of the exceedingly bad grace with which King George IV. at last assented to that measure.

Almost the first act of any consequence done in Ireland, after the Prince became Regent, was a State prosecution, instituted against the Catholic Committee, in the persons of two of its members, Mr. Kirwan and Doctor Sheridan, who were charged to have been elected as delegates, in breach of the Convention act. The Government had been long watching for this chance, and now the Castle strained every nerve to insure a conviction. Mr. Saurin, Attorney-General, commenced his speech thus: "My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury—I cannot but congratulate you and the public, *that the day of justice has at last arrived*;" surely a most extraordinary expression, under the circumstances; seeing that these Catholics were but peacefully claiming their manifest right; and seeing that the crime of which they were now accused was unknown to the law of England. Mr. Bushe, then Solicitor-General, afterwards Chief Justice, speaking of the committee, constituted as it was, thus concluded his speech upon that trial: "Compare such a constitution with the established authorities of the land, all controlled, confined to their respective spheres, balancing and gravitating to each other—all symmetry, all order, all harmony. Behold, on the other hand, this prodigy in the political hemisphere, with eccentric course and portentous glare, bound by no attraction, disdaining any orbit, disturbing the system, and affrighting the world!" The remedy for this horrible comet was a packed jury; which is one of those "established authorities—all symmetry and harmony—" spoken of by Mr. Bushe. A conviction was obtained; and the Catholic Committee, in that form, ceased to exist. Mr. Sheil says: "A great blow had been struck at the cause, and a considerable time elapsed before Ireland recovered from it."

But although that organization was at an end, many angry meetings were held; and the Catholic press assumed a tone of aggression and defiance which had not been usual with it. Mr. O'Connell, in conjunction with Mr. Scully, a gentleman of large property and high talent, established a newspaper; and both in the press and in public assemblies there was manifested by the popular leaders, so much boldness and activity, as assured all men that the cause of the nation was now in a fresh and vigorous hand.

Mr. Wellesley Pole, had been appointed Irish Secretary of State, as successor to his brother, Lord Wellington; and his administration was chiefly noted for his circular letter against meeting in conventions, with a view to the suppression of the Catholic Committee. Mr. Wellesley Pole was soon after succeeded by Mr. Robert Peel, who proved himself during many years after the most deadly, and, indeed, most fatal foe the Irish nation ever encountered. He was but twenty-four years of age; and continued Chief Secretary for six years, during which he closely studied the character and wants of the people; so that of all English statesmen, in modern times, Sir Robert Peel may be said to have understood Ireland best, to Ireland's bitter cost.

In 1812, Mr. Perceval, the "No-Popery" Prime Minister, was assassinated by a maniac, in the lobby of the House of Commons; and a change of administration became necessary. But the new arrangements had little interest for Irishmen, and presented no hope of any approach to justice, in the treatment of that country. Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister, and both Canning and Castlereagh were members of the Cabinet. A dissolution of Parliament and general election followed, at which several additional "Liberals" were returned from places in Ireland. Mr. Curran was persuaded by his friends, and invited by the Liberal electors of Newry, to permit himself to be placed in nomination for that borough. He had never, since the Union, sought to enter the British Parliament; and it was with no sanguine hope of being able to effect any good there for his country, that he now essayed to enter public life once more. He was defeated at Newry; defeated by General Needham, one of the military tyrants who had dragooned the people into insurrection, in 1798. But in Mr. Curran's speech, on that occasion, to the electors of Newry, though imperfectly reported, is found a passage most vividly depicting the condition of Ireland twelve years after the Union, and Curran's estimate of the nature and effects of that measure. He said: "The whole history of man-

kind records no instance of any hostile Cabinet; perhaps, even of any Cabinet, actuated by the principles of honor or of shame. The Irish Catholic was, therefore, taught to believe that if he surrendered his country he would cease to be a slave. The Irish Protestant was cajoled into the belief that, if he concurred in the surrender, he would be placed upon the neck of a hostile faction. Wretched dupe! you might as well persuade the jailer that he is less a prisoner than the captives he locks up, merely because he carries the key in his pocket. By that reciprocal animosity, however, Ireland was surrendered—the guilt of the surrender was most atrocious—the consequences of the crime most tremendous and exemplary. We put ourselves into a condition of the most unqualified servitude; we sold our country, and we levied upon ourselves the price of the purchase; we gave up the right of disposing of our own property; we yielded to a foreign legislature, to decide whether the funds necessary to their projects, or their profligacy, should be extracted from us, or be furnished by themselves. The consequence has been, that our scanty means have been squandered in her internal corruption, as profusely as our best blood has been wasted in the madness of her aggressions, or the feeble folly of her resistance. Our debt has, accordingly, been increased *more than ten-fold*—the common comforts of life have been vanishing—we are sinking into beggary—our poor people have been worried by cruel and unprincipled prosecutions; and the instruments of our Government have been almost simplified into the tax-gatherer and the hangman." This dismal picture of the condition of his country, could not have been made in so public a manner, and by a man of Curran's character, unless it had been true. He could not have ventured to tell a large assembly of his countrymen, that they were ground down by taxes and sinking into beggary, if they could all have risen up and contradicted him on the spot. Besides, the evidence from other quarters is too clear and strong to allow us to doubt of the accuracy of any one feature in the sombre scene he depicts. The country was during all those years, as usual, disturbed now and then by a vindictive murder of some bailiff, or agent, who had turned poor families adrift, and pulled down their houses; or some tithe-proctor, who had seized on a widow's stack-yard. And all these acts of vengeance or despair were uniformly treated as seditious "insurrections." Ireland, therefore, remained under an almost uninterrupted *Insurrection act* The act of *Habeas Corpus* had been suspended in 1800 by the act *for the suppression of the rebellion;* that act had been continued in 1801, and again in 1804; and had been replaced in 1807 by another martial law (substantially the same law,) called Insurrection act, which was maintained until 1810. It will be seen hereafter, how steadily the same exceptional cöercion laws —but with ingenious variations of name, have been continued down to this day.

When Mr. Curran mentioned that the people were "worried by cruel and unprincipled prosecutions," he had in his thoughts the long series of "special commissions" sent down in state to the country, to hang up some scores of haggard wretches, and to terrify the rest; he was thinking of the many fathers of poor families, who were often dragged to jail, without a charge against them, and without the right to demand a trial; he was thinking of the free course which suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* gave to the vindictive outrages of Orange magistrates, and to the fanatical rage of packed juries.

So uniform has been the long passion of Ireland—generation after generation, wasting and withering under the very same atrocity which calls itself "Government;" the children losing heart and hope, as their fathers had done, and begetting a progeny to pine way under the same miseries still—until they are tempted to doubt whether a just God reigns over the earth.

CHAPTER LII.

1813—1821.

Grattan's Emancipation Bill—More *Veto*—Quarantotti—Unanimity in Ireland against *Veto*—Mr. Peel and his New Police—Stipendiary Magistrates—Close of the War—Restoration of the Bourbons—Waterloo—Evil Effects on Ireland—The Irish Legion in France—Its Fate—Miles Byrne and his Friends—Effects of the Peace in Impoverishing the Irish—Cheap Ejectment Law Passed—Beginning of Extermination—"Surplus Population"—Catholic Claims Ruined by the Peace—O'Connell and Catholic Board—Board Suppressed—O'Connell in Court—His Audacity—His Scorn of the Dublin Corporation—Duel with D'Esterre—Distress in Ireland—Famine of 1817—Cöercion in Ireland—"Six Acts" in England—Mr. Plunket's Emancipation Bill—Peel and the Duke of York—Royal Visit to Ireland—Catholics Cheated Again.

Mr. GRATTAN made his final effort to effect the emancipation of the Catholics in the first session of the new Parliament, in 1813. The bill which he proposed was a very imperfect and restricted one; but it provided that Catholics should sit in Parliament, and hold certain offices—excepting those of Lord-Chancellor—either in England or in Ireland, and that of Lord-Lieutenant, or Lord-Deputy, in Ireland. It did not include a provision for the royal *veto* upon Catholic Bishops. The debate which ensued is scarce worth recording, inasmuch as after several amendments, providing for *veto*, and at last an amendment, striking out the clause enabling Catholics to sit and vote in Parliament, the bill was withdrawn, and finally lost.

The *veto* amendments proposed by Castlereagh and Canning were the work of Sir John Hippesley, that indefatigable patron of *veto*. They proposed to constitute a Board of Commissioners, to examine into the *loyalty* of those proposed for Episcopal functions, and to exercise a *surveillance* and control over their official correspondence with Rome. But the Irish Catholics were now fully alive to the insidious nature of this proposal; and both clergy and people, with great unanimity, rejected all idea of emancipation upon any such terms. But the English Catholics, not having any *national* interest at stake in the matter, were quite favorable to the project, and used their utmost endeavors to have it accepted at Rome, and recommended from thence. English influence was then very strong at Rome; the Pope was a prisoner in France; and it was to the cöalition of European sovereigns against Buonaparte, that the Court of Rome looked for its rëestablishment. A certain Monsignor Quarantotti exercised, in the year 1814, the official authority of the Pope; and was induced, under English influence, to recommend submission to the *veto*, in a letter, or rescript, to "the Right Rev. William Poynter," Vicar-Apostolic of the London District. As the question of *veto* at that period occupied so large a share of public attention, both in England and in Ireland, it may be but just to let this Monsignor Quarantotti state, in his own way, the view which was taken of it at Rome; and, therefore, we give an extract from the most material passage of his rescript:—

"As to the desire of the Government to be informed of the loyalty of those who are promoted to the dignity of Bishop or Dean, and to be assured that they possess those qualifications which belong to a faithful subject; as to the intention, also, of forming a board, for the ascertainment of those points, by inquiring into the character of those who shall be presented, and reporting thereon to the King, according to the tenor of your lordship's letter; and, finally, as to the determination of Government to have none admitted to those dignities, who either are not natural-born subjects, or who have not been residents in the kingdom for four years preceding; as all these provisions regard matters that are merely political, they are entitled to all indulgence. It is better, indeed, that the Prelates of our Church should be acceptable to the King, in order that they may exercise their Ministry, with his full concurrence, and also that there may be no doubts of their integrity, even with those who are not in the bosom of the Church. For, 'it behoveth a bishop (as the Apostle teaches, 1 Tim., iii: 7,) even to have a good witness from those who are not of the Church.' Upon these principles, we, in virtue of the authority intrusted to us, grant permission, that those who are elected to and proposed for Bishoprics and Deaneries by the clergy, may be admitted or rejected

by the King, according to the law proposed. When, therefore, the clergy shall have, according to the usual custom, elected those whom they shall judge most worthy in the Lord to possess those dignities, the metropolitan of the Province, in Ireland, or the senior Vicar-Apostolic of England and Scotland, shall give notice of the election, that the King's approbation or dissent may be had thereupon. If the candidates be rejected, others shall be proposed, who may be acceptable to the King; but if approved of, the Metropolitan or Vicar-Apostolic, as above, shall send the documents to the Sacred Congregation here, the members whereof having duly weighed the merits of each, shall take measures for the obtainment of canonical institution from His Holiness. I perceive, also, that another duty is assigned to the board above-mentioned, namely, that they are charged to inspect all letters written by the ecclesiastical power to any of the British clergy, and examine carefully whether they contain anything which may be injurious to the Government, or anywise disturb the public tranquillity. Inasmuch as a communication on ecclesiastical or spiritual affairs with the head of the Church is not forbidden, and as the inspection of the board relates to political subjects only, this also must be submitted to. It is right that the Government should not have cause to entertain any suspicion with regard to the communication between us. What we write will bear the eyes of the world, for we intermeddle not with matters of a political nature, but are occupied about those things which the divine and the ecclesiastical law, and the good order of the Church, appear to require. Those matters only are to be kept under the seal of silence which pertain to the jurisdiction of conscience within us; and of this, it appears to me sufficient care has been taken in the clauses of the law alluded to. We are perfectly convinced, that so wise a Government as that of Great Britain, while it studies to provide for the public security, does not on that account wish to compel the Catholics to desert their religion, but would rather be pleased that they should be careful observers of it. For our holy and truly-divine religion is most favorable to public authority, is the best support of thrones, and the most powerful teacher both of loyalty and patriotism."

This did by no means suit the views of the Irish Catholics, or their idea of "loyalty and patriotism." As they did not themselves "possess those qualifications which belong to a faithful subject," they naturally thought that their clergy should not. They believed, indeed, and not without reason, that loyalty and faithful attachment on the part of the Irish Catholic clergy towards a foreign and hostile Government, meant neither more nor less than a formal abandonment of the people to the mercy of their enemies, and a desertion of the cause of those faithful and devoted Catholics who had stood by their clergy in the worst of times, when a price was set upon a priest's head. In fact, the sequel proved that the Irish clergy of that day were not so base as it was hoped they would be. The Bishops sent a strong remonstrance to Rome, by the hands of Doctor Murray, cöadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin; which, however, was not regarded in the least—so powerful was the political influence of England in the councils of the Holy See. Doctor Murray returned to Ireland. At a meeting of the Prelates, very energetic resolutions were adopted, one of which ran in these terms: "Though we sincerely venerate the Supreme Pontiff as visible head of the Church, we do not conceive that our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland can or ought to be removed by any determination of His Holiness, adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions, and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the Most Rev. Doctor Murray—who, in that quality, was more competent to inform His Holiness of the real state and interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland *than any other with whom he is said to have consulted.*"

This last phrase meant the emissaries of the English Catholics, then busy at Rome; and the English Catholics have been at all times as zealous and resolute to keep Ireland subject to English domination, in all respects, as any "No-Popery" Briton or

Orange Grand-Master could be. The resolutions were signed by all the Catholic Bishops in Ireland, and transmitted to Rome by the same Doctor Murray, accompanied by the Bishop of Cork. A vehement agitation was aroused in Ireland; which extended to the laity as well as the clergy; and under the potent impulse of O'Connell, a resolute spirit of resistance manifested itself in the whole Catholic population, against any orders or recommendations coming even from Rome itself, tending to enchain their national Church.

While this *veto* commotion agitated the Catholics, Mr. Robert Peel, the Irish Secretary, was engaged in rëorganizing and greatly increasing the Constabulary force, with a view to render it a more efficient instrument in the hands of the English Government for the cöercion of the country, and the detection of seditious proceedings. With the same view, Mr. Peel invented and established the class of stipendiary or police-magistrates, who were to take their instructions from the Castle, and whose business was to control and direct, as far as possible, the proceedings of justices of the peace at petty sessions and quarter-sessions, and to guard against any movement of independent feeling on the part of country gentlemen who were in the commission of the peace. The men chosen for this office of stipendiary magistrate have been usually briefless barristers, or broken-down politicians in a small way, to whom the salary was a desirable livelihood; and as they have at least legal phrases at their command, a supposed acquaintance with the views of the Castle, and great self-importance of manner, it has been found in practice that these paid officials have really to a great extent controlled and managed the local administration of justice; which, in all conscience, had been bad enough before. Mr. Peel's police arrangements were extremely unpopular; and his new constables and stipendiaries were popularly termed *Peelers;* but although the Irish, by an infallible instinct, abhorred the new system, they were yet far from suspecting to what a deadly use Mr. Peel would eventually put his new force.

In the meantime, the grand war of cöalized Europe against the French Empire drew to a close. The French armies were driven out of Spain by the patriotic efforts of the Spanish people, aided by a British force under Lord Wellington—for the English Government, with the great object of crushing the French, was willing, in a distant country, to ally itself even with patriotism The Emperor Napoleon, after the tremendous slaughter at Leipsic, (in which he fought all Europe,) had been obliged gradually to withdraw his forces into France; but though he made a most brilliant and fierce resistance to the advance of the allies, they surrounded Paris in overwhelming numbers; and the great Emperor was forced, in an evil hour, to abdicate at Fontainbleau. The cöalized kings and oligarchies of Europe triumphed; and the expelled Bourbons came back to sit on the throne of France for a while. The "Congress of Vienna" was called, to settle Europe upon the basis of a distinct denial of every human right and every national aspiration; and the fitting representative of England in that Congress was no other than Lord Castlereagh, the artizan of the Irish Union.

It does not enter within the compass of this narrative to detail the wonderful series of events which followed—the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, the enthusiastic uprising of France in his favor, the tricolor flying from steeple to steeple, the reign of a Hundred Days, the renewed concentration of the forces of the allies, and the sad disaster of Waterloo—Waterloo, like every other triumph of the arms and policy of England, was, of course, a fatal misfortune to Ireland. It confirmed the odious rule of an insolent oligarchy, both in England and in Ireland, and placed it high, as was hoped and believed, above all apprehension of revolution and democracy. Waterloo put an end at once to all interest in Catholic claims on the part even of the "Liberals," and adjourned for fourteen years all thought either of emancipation or of reform. The defeat of Waterloo was not, indeed, so much a defeat for France, as for other oppressed countries of Europe; for in France, the great revolution had been accomplished, and its work could not be undone. In France, all religious sects were equal, and

remained equal, before the law; all feudal privilege was, and remained, abolished; and all men, like all religions, were on an equal footing; in France, the people were in possession, and remained in possession, of the great confiscated estates, each one of which made hundreds or thousands of farms for free peasants; in France, tithes were, and remained, abolished; the highest dignity of the state was open to the meanest mechanic; the highest grade in the army to the humblest private. It was earnestly hoped, indeed, by the cöalized allies of the Bourbons, that the forcible restoration of that family would speedily reverse and abolish all these dangerous privileges of the French people—but that was impossible. The sentiment and practice of justice and equality had entered too deeply into the life and soul of France, to be eradicated even by foreign bayonets. But for Ireland, the case was very different. The apprehension of a triumph of "French principles"—that is, principles of equality and justice—which had been for twenty-five years a dreadful bugbear to the British oligarchy—was now at an end; and *privilege*, and Church and State, and the "Ascendancy," reigned supreme.

Of the armies which triumphed on the field of Waterloo, about one-fourth consisted of British troops; and of these "British" troops, nearly one-half were Irish. It is a shame to be obliged to confess it. Their country can take no pride in those Irishmen; Irish history refuses to know their names. They fought under a commander who always opposed and denied their right to rank on an equality with his other soldiers; they fought to perpetuate a domination which oppressed and despised them; fought against their own enfranchisement, and their own right to land and life on their own soil; and to establish, on an immovable basis, that odious British system which has since degraded, impoverished, and almost depopulated their country. While a vestige of genuine Irish feeling remains amongst our people, Irishmen will speak with pride of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, and with shame and repugnance of the Irish regiments at Waterloo.

There were, indeed, some true Irishmen in the service of France at that period; the Irish Legion, the relics of '98, as the old brigades were the relics of Limerick. In this Legion and its gallant officers, Ware, Allen, Byrne, Corbet, Lawless, MacSheehy, centred the genuine military renown of the Irish race at that day. But the Legion was not present at Waterloo; it had fought through the Peninsular campaign, and had taken part in some of the last battles of the campaign of 1814. It had thus been sadly reduced in numbers; and during the first Restoration, (before the Hundred Days,) it had been entirely rëorganized and reduced to a regiment. At the time of the final struggle on the plains of Belgium, the regiment was stationed at Montreuil, on the shore of the British Channel; and after the calamity of Waterloo, and the treacherous capture of Napoleon, the Irish regiment, as well as all the rest of the army, was disbanded; and the officers were allowed at first to retire upon their half-pay to any town they might select in France, where, says the venerable Miles Byrne, "they hoped at least to enjoy their pittance and the protection of the law." But it is mortifying to learn that through the paramount influence of Castlereagh with the new Government, and through the base compliance of Clarke, Duc de Feltre, (himself the son of an Irishman,) these forlorn exiles were persecuted with a mean malignity, which only the spite of Lord Castlereagh could have suggested. Before quitting Montreuil to be disbanded, orders had been given to deface and destroy all their insignia and memorials of service—a bitter ordeal for the veteran heroes. Colonel Byrne, in his lately published memoirs, gives some account of the affair. He says:—

"Two beautiful standards were sent to Spain by the Emperor in 1810, for the second and third battalions of the Irish regiment, but they were left at Valadolid, as those battalions were then in Portugal. These standards were brought to the depôt of the regiment and were destroyed by Lieutenant Montague at Montreuil. They were green, with a large harp in the centre. On one side, in gold letters, "Napoleon I. to the second Irish Battalion." And on the other, "The Independence of Ireland." The third

the same. The Eagle was carried by the first battalion, which, of course, had its colors like the others.

"The officers of the council left at Montreuil received two-thirds of their pay until the February following, and when all was finished, they retired on half-pay like the other officers, hoping, at least, to remain unmolested. But soon after the battle of Waterloo, the brave regiment was disbanded by Louis XVIII., and the Irish officers were made to feel that Lord Castlereagh and English influence prevailed in the French councils.

"Commandant Allen, who had retired to Melun, was ordered from that town to Rouen, and passing by Paris, was there arrested by order of the Duke of Feltre, and informed he must quit the French territory without delay. Thus, without trial or judgment, one of those officers, whose gallant actions had gained such renown for the Irish regiment, both in Spain and Silesia, was to be banished from his adopted country, by the orders of General Clarke, the son of an Irishman."

Many others of the officers, including Miles Byrne himself, were in like manner ordered in the harshest manner to quit France; but long afterwards we find most of them again upon active duty in the French service. Scarcely one was base enough to offer his services to England; and nothing could irritate these gentlemen so much as any suggesion of seeking a British pardon, or accepting a British favor.*

Poor Curran, when near his last, and in great misery of body and mind, had made a visit to Paris in August 1814, and had met there some of the Irish officers. In a letter to a friend, which afterwards was made public, he had spoken of his wish to see *mercy and compassion* shown them by the English Government. Miles Byrne tells us in his memoirs:—

"I recollect a coincidence. In August, 1814, whilst at Avesnes, Inspector-General Burke was preparing his report to the Minister of War on the merits and claims of the brave Irish officers returning from the Russian prisons of Siberia, as well as those officers who escaped from Flushing, and from the English pontons, Curran's very ill-timed and most silly letters from Paris, in August, 1814, to his friend, Counselor Denis Lubé, were published in the Dublin newspapers. The following extract is from one of them on the Irish exiles:—

"'I had hopes that England might let them back. The season and the power of mischief is long past; the number is almost too small to do credit to the mercy that casts a look upon them. But they are destined to give their last recollection of the green fields they are never to behold, on a foreign deathbed, and to lose the sad delight of fancied visits to them in a distant grave.'

"It caused no little indignation amongst the Irish officers who had read it, and several of them met at dinner at the Trois Frères, in the Palais-Royal, to talk it over. These were General Lawless, who came in from Saint Germains for the meeting, Commandant O'Reilly, Captain Luke Lawless, Edward Lewens, and John Sweetman, &c. We were a mixture of civil and military at dinner.

"General Lawless asked Arthur Barker, as the youngest, (for he was still astuden tat the Irish College,) to read those famous letters. When read, General Lawless, turning to Lewens, said: 'You must have told Curran that our number was not worth the commiseration of Castlereagh.' 'Me, Sir!' cried Lewens, in a great passion; 'how could you think me capable of any such thing?' General Lawless rejoined: 'Of the exiles at Paris, Curran only saw you and Corbet.' It would have been better had he vented his spleen and ill-humor on something else; he might have let the brave Irish officers who have escaped the dangers of their various campaigns, be again placed on active service."

Indeed, to the very last, we find the survivors of these noble Irish exiles looking forward with anxious hope to a renewal of war between France and England, that they might have one other chance of striking a mortal blow at the enemy of their country.

* The officers of the Legion were almost all restored afterwards to active service in the armies of their adopted country. Corbet became a Major-General, and for some time commanded at Caen. Miles Byrne was commandant of Patras, in the war of Greece; and died in 1862; his rank was that of *Chief de Bataillon* in the Fifty-sixth Regiment of the line.

We may be excused for giving one other characteristic extract from the Byrne memoir. Speaking of Corbet, (who died a French Major-General,) Colonel Byrne says :

"General Corbet was officer of the Legion of Honor, Knight of Saint Louis, and Commander of the Order of the Saviour in Greece. He valued those distinctions as highly honorable, no doubt, but he would sometimes say : 'How much the more valuable would they have been, had they been gained in the cause of my native country !' And to his last moment he lamented that her independence was not obtained ; and he seemed ever anxious for something to arise between the governments of France and England, which might prove beneficial to his own country.

"In 1840, we frequently consulted about the way we could be best employed to serve Ireland, in the event of a war between France and England, which was then on the point of being declared. I remember one day, after an audience he had had with the Minister of War, on the situation of Ireland, he told me that the Minister, General Schneider, was very desirous to have a conversation with me, respecting the reliance which could be placed on the then leader of the Irish, when a French army should land in Ireland. When he saw that there was to be no war with England, he would speak to me of going to the United States of America, being sure, he said, that from that country, one day or other, Ireland would receive ultimate assistance."

So the wholesome tradition is handed down unbroken ; any and every foe of England is the Irish exile's friend ; and the power of Britain must be, indeed, broadly and deeply based, if it forever withstand the long-gathering tempest of just wrath which has been laid up against the day of wrath.

The close of the great war on the Continent had certain direct effects upon Ireland. The immense demand for agricultural produce for victualing of armies and fortresses, had maintained high prices ; and as large numbers of the small farmers then possessed leases—granted by landlords in order to manufacture voting freeholders—the people generally lived with some approach to comparative comfort. Immense contracts for the provisioning of the English navy were also made at Cork ; and thus the war-prices, one way and another, brought money into the country, which was not all immediately sent out again, but actually circulated, to some extent, amongst the people. It is true, that landlords, wherever they had tenants from year to year, steadily raised the rents as prices advanced, but still the good-natured and kindly people helped one another ; and, on the whole, there was not very much of either extermination or emigration. In 1815, however, and the few following years, prices of grain, cattle, and other produce, fell very low, and rents were not reduced in proportion. The increase of population—for there were now six millions of people in Ireland—produced that deadly competition for small farms which has enabled Irish landlords to wring the vitals out of a helpless peasantry, who had been left no other resource but labor on the land. Extermination may properly be said to have begun in good earnest, just after "French principles" were crushed at Waterloo ; and to facilitate this process for the landlords, by recommendation of Mr. Robert Peel, the first of the series of cheap ejectment laws was passed in this very year, 1815. It provided that, in all cases of holdings, the rent of which was under £20—which included the whole class of small farms—the assistant barrister, at sessions, could make a decree, at the cost of a few shillings, to eject a man from house and farm. Two years after, the proceedings in ejectment were still further simplified and facilitated by an act making the sole evidence of a landlord or his agent sufficient testimony for ascertaining the amount of rent due. By these two acts it was rendered very easy to sweep out on the highways the whole population of a village or a townland ; and this was very often done towards tenants-at-will—a race of beings which exists in no country of Europe save Ireland. As for the possessors of a forty-shilling freehold, their leases and their voting capacity protected them for a time. It is about this date that we first meet with the expression, "surplus-population in Ireland ;" although, indeed, the idea itself had been common enough nearly a

hundred years earlier, when Swift published his "*Modest Proposal.*" At all events, it is evident that from this moment, and for many years after, every English statesman, publicist and political economist, held it as the grand fundamental maxim, in treating of Irish affairs, that there was a surplus-population in that island; and the steadiest and most earnest aim of every administration, of every party, has been to devise and execute some sure method of removing —that is, extirpating or killing the said surplus. The young Irish Secretary, Mr. Peel, who was destined to become one of England's greatest statesmen, had, of course, turned his attention to this momentous object, and had commenced operations, as we have seen, by laws providing for cheap and easy ejectment; but he had yet other methods in his mind, which were not then matured, or for which the time was not yet come.

The effect of the peace upon the prospects and claims of Catholics was altogether adverse and discouraging. England felt not only secure, but triumphant; and, according to the invariable rule, it fared ill with Ireland. The English oligarchy, and its dependant, the Irish Ascendancy, were absolutely drunken with an insolent and malignant pride. *Concession* of anything, was no longer to be thought of; and if any person presumed to hint that there existed such a thing as human rights, he was set down as a Jacobin. A "Catholic Board" had maintained its struggling existence until the middle of summer, 1814. But whenever the news of the capitulation of Paris and imprisonment of Napoleon arrived in England, orders were at once sent to Lord Whitworth, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to suppress the board summarily by proclamation; which was, accordingly, done upon the 3d of June, in that year. The board met no more; but, under O'Connell's direction, the agitation took the form of "Aggregate Meetings;" thus avoiding all possibility of incurring the penalties of the Convention act; while the meetings were even more useful than the board in arousing the people, diffusing sound information as to their rights and their wrongs, and keeping up a continual public commentary upon current events. There ensued, however, differences and dissensions amongst the Catholic leaders, as to the most expedient policy to be pursued. The *veto* question had not yet entirely subsided; and something of the old jealousy between the aristocratic Catholics and the mass of the people revived. Lord Fingal, in fact, together with some other Catholic gentlemen of rank, and others who courted rank and position, retired from all participation in public affairs for some years. On the other hand, O'Connell led and stirred the Democracy. But it must he confessed that it was a most arduous and difficult enterprize for him, although then in the full vigor of his vast powers, to keep alive the cause of Catholic Emancipation at all in those days of triumphant bigotry and tyranny. Richard Lalor Sheil, speaking of this gloomy period, scruples not to say: "*The hopes of the Catholics fell with the peace.* A long interval elapsed in which nothing very important or deserving of record took place. A political lethargy spread itself over the great body of the people; the assemblies of the Catholics became more unfrequent, and their language more despondent and hopeless than it had ever been."* And never before, for half a century, had the "Protestant interest" shown itself so aggressive and so spiteful towards the Catholic people. O'Connell, by his activity and audacity, concentrated upon himself the greater part of this Protestant wrath. For he made no scruple, whether in a public harangue to the people, or in a speech to a jury, (where the trial had anything of a political character,) to denounce, with a rough and rasping tongue, all kinds of injustice and bigotry, packed juries, church-rates—in short, the most cherished principles and practices of "our glorious Constitution in Church and State." In the celebrated speech for John Magee, proprietor of the *Evening Post*, who was prosecuted for a seditious libel upon the Government, O'Connell had not only adopted and repeated the "libel," but aggravated it a thousand fold. With a fierce and vindictive energy he laid bare the whole atrocious system which in Ireland passes for government. He thundered into

* Notice of "Catholic Leaders and Associations," in *Sketches of the Irish Bar.*

the ears of the judge, that he had first advised this prosecution, which he was now pretending to try;—and as for the twelve pious Protestants in the jury-box, (all "saints," and members of the "Society for the Suppression of Vice,") he told them, with cruel taunts, that they knew they were fraudulently *packed*, that they should find a man guilty (so help them God!) for stating what they knew to be true.

Mr. Sheil, in his admirable sketch of O'Connell, says: "The admirers of King William have no mercy for a man who, in his seditious moods, is so provoking as to tell the world that their idol was 'a Dutch adventurer.' Then his intolerable success in a profession where many a staunch Protestant is condemned to starve,—and his fashionable house in Merrion Square,—and a greater eyesore still, his dashing revolutionary equipage, green carriage, green liveries, and turbulent, Popish steeds, prancing over a Protestant pavement, to the terror of Protestant passengers—these and other provocations of equal publicity, have exposed this learned culprit to the deep detestation of a numerous class of His Majesty's hating subjects in Ireland. And the feeling is duly communicated to the public; the loyal press of Dublin teems with the most astounding imputations upon his character and motives." The provocation of the "Popish horses prancing over a Protestant pavement," was more serious than it may now appear; for the pavement was strictly Protestant; and so were the street-lamps. No Catholic, though he might drive a coach-and-four, could be admitted upon any paving or lighting board in that sacred stronghold of the Ascendancy, the Corporation of Dublin.* O'Connell was in the habit of speaking with supreme contempt of the little municipal close-borough; and in one of his speeches of this year, 1815, he termed it "a beggarly Corporation." "One of its most needy members," says Sheil, "was Mr. D'Esterre"; and he, thinking the epithet "beggarly" too scurrilous, and too closely personal, at once sent a challenge to the speaker. O'Connell committed his conduct as to the reception of the challenge, to the decision of his friends. The parties met; fought with pistols, and D'Esterre was killed, to the very great and lasting sorrow of his slayer. Mr. Shiel does not say expressly—but says "it is understood"—that D'Esterre was induced to attempt O'Connell's life, by the expectation that if he should rid the Government of so formidable an agitator, he would be rewarded with a place; and he adds: "His claims would probably not have been overlooked by the patrons of the time." On what precise evidence Mr. D'Esterre was charged with undertaking the base job of a mercenary assassin, we have not been able to satisfy ourselves. At any rate, no dishonorable practice in the conduct of the affair was ever imputed.

In the year 1816, Sir John Newport moved in Parliament for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland, which was then suffering greatly from scarcity of food. Sir Robert Peel steadily and successfully resisted the proposed inquiry. That prudent statesman had not been several years Chief Secretary of Ireland for nothing. He had no need of inquiry, being quite well aware of what was passing in Ireland, where he knew that things were falling out exactly according to his calculations. If there was some extermination of starving wretches, it was because his cheap ejectment laws were working well. If there was some disturbance, and "agrarian crime," he had his new police ready to repress it. Better than all, he had procured the renewal of the "Insurrection act" in 1814—had caused it to be continued in 1815, and it was now (1816) in full vigor, filling the jails with persons who could not give a good account of themselves, and transporting men for possessing a fowling-piece. He felt that an assiduous Irish Secretary could do no more; and naturally, resisted Sir John Newport's meddling motion for inquiry.

But, in truth, the low price of produce had made thousands of farmers unable to pay the rent; then they had been ejected; and then that lowness of price could not en-

* It was at the height of the Catholic agitation that a Town-Councillor, who was a tailor, said at a Corporation Dinner: "My Lord, these Papists may get their emancipation—they may sit in Parliament—they may preside upon the Bench—a Papist may become Lord Chancellor, or Privy Councillor;—but never, *never* shall one of them set foot in the ancient and loyal guild of tailors.

able them to procure food, because they had no money. Then there was an occasional murder, or attempt at murder. Magistrates would meet, and write to the Castle for immediate proclamation of the county, under the Insurrection act. It is useless to go through the unvarying detail of torturing oppression which has continued and repeated itself year after year, and will never end while the British Empire stands. But in sad earnest, this year, 1817, was a season of dreadful famine and suffering; and, of course, the Cöercion act of the year before was carefully renewed. The potato-crop had failed; and although Ireland was then largely exporting grain and cattle to England,* yet this good food was not supposed to be sent by Providence, for the nourishment of those who sowed and reaped it on their own soil. It is instructive to remark the constant similarity of the circumstances attending the series of Irish famines—the wholesale export of the Irish crops to England—the wholesale disappearance, also, of the money received as the price of those crops, in the shape of absentee rents, of "surplus revenue," &c.—and the never-failing Cöercion acts. If in the famine of 1847-8, there was a much greater destruction of the people—and, at the same time, a much larger export of their food and their money to England, it is only because the British system was then more fully perfected in all its details, than in 1817.

In that year, however, the suffering from famine and typhus fever was already dreadful enough; and in the most fertile counties of Ireland, multitudes of people fed upon weeds of various sorts—some boiled nettles; others subsisted upon the wild kail, called in Irish, *prashagh*. All political movement was suspended for several years, both in Ireland and in England, and in 1819, Lord Sidmouth introduced and carried his celebrated "Six acts," principally to quell the "seditious" aspirations of the English people. These acts imposed heavy penalties upon the possession of arms, and upon "blasphemous and seditious libels"—meaning all plain and truthful comments upon the proceedings of Government. A horrible military massacre was perpetrated this year at Peterloo, near Manchester, by the onslaught of a body of troops upon a perfectly peaceable meeting of the people to demand reform. This bloody day was the 16th of August, 1819, and one of the "Six acts," passed immediately after, prohibited, under cruel penalties, the assembling of more than fifty persons together, unless at a meeting called by the magistrates. In short, it was the British "Reign of Terror," not inaugurated, as in France, by the people, to rid themselves of their oppressors, but by the oppressors, to crush the people and their French principles into the earth.

On the 28th of February, 1821, Mr. Plunket brought up in Parliament a bill for Catholic Emancipation. It was at an unfavorable time; all the governing and controlling opinion of England was averse to any kind of claim for *rights*. The bill was vehemently opposed by the Tory party, and especially by Sir Robert Peel. In the House of Lords, the Duke of York, heir presumptive to the throne, made a furious speech against it; saying, amongst other things, that "there is a great difference between *allowing* the free exercise of religion, and the *granting* of political power"—as if there could be any freedom without political power, or as if freedom and political power were things to be allowed and granted, by persons who might lawfully withhold them. It was in the same year, in the month of August, that King George IV. condescended to make a triumphal visit to Ireland; and that Mr. O'Connell, with certain views of "policy," which will not be universally appreciated, testified an enthusiastic loyalty to that individual, and drank at a public dinner the "Orange Charter toast." Overpowered by the cordiality of his reception, the King quitted the soil of Ireland with tears of emotion in his eyes. On the spot where he embarked stands a granite monument, surmounted by a crown; and Dunleary changed its name to Kingstown. It would be agreeable not to record these incidents; but they form, unhappily, part of the history of Ireland.

Touching this royal visit—not to insist in this place upon the savage comment of Lord

* In this year, 1817, the export to England, of grain alone, was 695,651 *quarters*.—*Thom's Official Tables in Directory.*

Byron, we may give the more moderate prose of Richard Lalor Sheil: "Sir Benjamin Bloomfield arrived in Dublin before his master, and intimated the royal anxiety *that all differences and animosities should be laid aside.* Accordingly, it was agreed that a public dinner should be held at Morrison's, where the leaders of both parties should pledge each other in libations of everlasting amity. This national festivity took place; and from the vehement protestations on both sides, it was believed by many that a lasting reconciliation had been effected. Master Ellis and Mr. O'Connell almost embraced each other. The King arrived; the Catholics determined *not to obtrude their grievances upon him.* Accordingly, our gracious sovereign passed rather an agreeable time in Dublin. He was hailed with tumultuous hurrahs wherever he passed; and in return for the enthusiastic reception which he had found, he directed Lord Sidmouth to write a letter recommending it to the people *to be united.* His Majesty shortly afterwards set sail, with tears in his eyes, from Kingstown. For a little while the Catholics continued under the miserable deception under which they had labored during the royal sojourn, but when they found that no intention existed to introduce a change of system into Ireland—that the King's visit seemed an artifice, and Lord Sidmouth's epistle meant nothing—and that while men were changed, measures continued substantially unaltered, they began to perceive that some course more effective than a loyal solicitude not to disturb the repose of His Majesty should be adopted."

In short, the Irish Catholics were once more cheated; and it is not saying much for their perspicacity—for they were twice cheated by the same cheat. Neither can we ever look back with pleasure on the scenes of "loyal" servility enacted at that period by leading Irishmen — O'Connell toasting the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the "Dutch adventurer," and presenting a huge bunch of shamrocks to the discreditable being who then represented the desolating British domination. Doubtless these hypocritical demonstrations of "loyalty" to an enemy, were transacted with an idea that it was a cunning policy to conciliate tyrants in England, and to disarm animosities at home. In these views they failed utterly, and have their place in history only as a signal example of gratuitous crouching and crawling.

The senseless gala of 1821 passed away; the horrible famine of 1822 immediately followed.*

CHAPTER LIII.

1822—1825.

Famine of 1822—Its Causes—Financial Frauds upon Ireland—Horrors of the Famine—Extermination—Suspension of *Habeas Corpus Act*—Castlereagh Cuts his Throat—Marquis Wellesley Viceroy—Sir Harcourt Lees—The Bottle Riot—Catholic Association Formed—Dr. Doyle; "J. K. L."—Progress of Catholic Association—"Catholic Rent"—Maynooth Professors "Loyal"—Rage of the Orangemen—"O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil"—Passiveness of the Dissenters—O'Connell's Appeals to Them—Intellectual and Literary Power of the Movement—Act to Suppress "Unlawful Associations"—First Attempt to Cheat the Catholics—A Relief Bill, with "Wings"—Defeated—Catholic Deputation in London—O'Connell and the Whigs—Strong Feeling in Ireland against "Wings."

Before proceeding to the details of this dreadful famine of 1822, it is needful to consider the financial relations of the two islands since the period of the "Union."

In 1816 was passed the act for consolidating the British and Irish Exchequers—it is the 56th George III., chap. 98. It became operative on the 1st January, 1817.

The meaning of this consolidation was, charging Ireland with the whole debt of England, pre-union and post-union; and in like manner charging England with the whole Irish debt.

Now the enormous English national debt, both before and after the Union, was contracted for purposes which Ireland had not only no interest in promoting, but a direct and vital interest in contravening and resisting — that is, it had been contracted to crush American and French liberty, and to destroy those very powers which were the natural allies of Ireland.

* John Philpot Curran died in 1817, on the 14th of October. His remains were buried first in London; afterwards removed to the cemetery of Glasnevin. Grattan died three years after, and had the very doubtful honor of a tomb in Westminster Abbey. These two great Irishmen left the country they loved in one of the gloomiest periods of her gloomy story

But this is not all: we have next to see the proportions which the two debts bore to each other. It will be remembered that by the terms of the so-called "Union"

I. Ireland was to be protected from any liability on account of the British National Debt contracted prior to the Union.

II. The separate debt of each country being first provided for by a separate charge, Ireland was then to contribute two-seventeenths towards the joint or common expenditure of the United Kingdom for twenty years; after which her contribution was to be made proportionate to her ability as ascertained at stated periods of revision by certain tests specified in the act.

III. Ireland was not only promised that she never should have any concern with the then existing British Debt, but she was also assured that her taxation should not be raised to the standard of Great Britain until the following conditions should occur:—

1. That the two debts should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts for Ireland; and,
2. That the respective circumstances of the two countries should admit of uniform taxation.

It must be further borne in mind, that previous to the Union the National Debt of Ireland was a mere trifle. It had been enormously increased by charging to Ireland's special account, first, the expenses of getting up the rebellion; next, the expenses of suppressing it; and, lastly, the expenses of bribing Irish noble lords and gentlemen to sell their country at this Union. Thus the Irish Debt, which before the Union had been less than three millions sterling, was set down by the act of Union at nearly twenty-seven millions.

On the 20th of June, 1804, (four years after the Union had passed,) Mr. Foster, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, observed, that, whereas, in 1794 the Irish debt did not exceed two millions and a half, it had in 1803 risen to forty-three millions; and that during the current year it was increased to nearly fifty-three millions.

During the long and costly war against France, and the second American war, it happened, by some very extraordinary species of bookkeeping, that while the English debt was not quite doubled, the Irish debt was more than quadrupled; as if Ireland had twice the interest which England had in forcing the Bourbons back upon France, and in destroying the commerce of America.

Thus, in 1816, when the consolidation act was passed, the whole funded debt of Ireland was found to be £130,561,037. By this management the Irish debt, which in 1801 had been to the British as one to sixteen and a half, was forced up to bear to the British debt the ratio of one to seven and a half. This was the proportion required by the Act of Union as a condition of subjecting Ireland to indiscriminate taxation with Great Britain—a condition equally impudent and iniquitous. Ireland was to be loaded with inordinate debt; and then this debt was to be made the pretext for raising her taxation to the high British standard, and thereby rendering her liable to the pre-union debt of Great Britain!

By way of softening down the glaring injustice of such a proposition, Lord Castlereagh said that the two debts might be brought to bear to each other the prescribed proportions, partly by the increase of the Irish debt, but partly also by the decrease of the British. To which Mr. Foster thus answered, on the 15th of March, 1800: "The monstrous absurdity you would force down our throats, is that Ireland's increase of poverty, as shown by her increase of debt, and England's increase of wealth, as shown by diminution of debt, are to bring them to an equality of condition, so as to be able to bear an equality of taxation."

But bad as this was, the former and worse alternative was what really befel. The given ratio was reached solely by the increase of the Irish debt, without any decrease of the British.

We take from the excellent pamphlet of Mr. O'Neill Daunt,* already quoted in a former chapter, a passage presenting a summary of the financial dealings of England with Ireland:—

"The following facts stand unshaken, and should become familiarly known to every man in Ireland:—

* "Financial Grievances of Ireland." Publications of the *Irish National League*.

"1. The British Debt in 1801 was about sixteen and a half times as large as the Irish Debt.

"2. It was promised by the authors of the Union, and the promise was embodied in the Seventh Article, that as Ireland had no part in contracting that debt, so she should be forever preserved from all concern with the payment of its principal or interest.

"3. In order to give effect to this promise, Great Britain was to be separately taxed to the extent of her separate pre-union debt-charge. But Great Britain is *not* thus separately taxed; and Ireland is consequently made to contribute to the payment of a purely British liability, from which she was promised perpetual exemption.

"4. Ireland has never received from Great Britain one farthing, by way of compensation or equivalent, for being thus subjected to the pre-union British Debt.

"5. By the fifth clause of the Seventh Article of the Union, Ireland was guaranteed the benefit of her own surplus taxes. She has never, during the sixty-four years of Union, received one farthing in virtue of that clause. Her taxes, after defraying her public domestic expenses, have been uniformly abstracted by England; and the clause that professes to secure to Ireland the use of them has been rendered a dead letter by the Parliamentary management I have described.

"6. The amount of Irish taxes annually drawn from this kingdom is a very large item in the general pecuniary drain. Mr. Dillon, in his able and carefully-compiled Report to the Dublin Corporation, shows that the Irish taxes expended out of Ireland in the year 1860, amounted to £4,095,453; and that in 1861, they amounted to £3,970,715."

But even this direct drain of Irish money into England, under pretence of paying interest on a debt, represents very small part of the systematic plunder of the country. When to this is added the absentee rental, the interest paid out of incumbered estates to Jews in London, and the cost of manufactured articles and colonial produce which Ireland ought to manufacture—or import—for herself, we may begin to understand why the mass of the Irish people is always on the verge of starvation, and why the failure of the meanest kind of food throws them at once into the pangs of famine.

This is what befel in 1822. Alison, the Scotch historian of modern times, attributes the dreadful havoc of the Irish in this year entirely to "the contraction of the currency, and consequent fall of the prices of agricultural produce fifty per cent." But the Scotch historian does not mention that the grain-crop of 1821 had been carried off to England, to the amount of nearly two million quarters, (1,822,816,) and that of 1822, to the amount of more than one million quarters,* not to speak of countless herds of cattle, sheep, and swine. No wonder, then, if we see in Ireland perennial misery and beggary, with occasional paroxysms of murderous famine.

On the 27th of June, in this year, Sir John Newport, of Waterford, in his place in the House of Commons, endeavoring to awaken that assembly to some sense of the horrors which were to be seen in Ireland, described one parish in his neighborhood, where fifteen persons had already died of hunger; twenty-eight more, he said, were past all hope of recovery, and one hundred and twenty (still in the same parish) were prostrated by famine-fever;—and the same speaker mentioned another parish where the priest had gone round and administered extreme unction to every man, woman, and child, *all* in *articulo mortis* by mere starvation.†

* *Thom's Official Directory*, for 1853.

† In Cobbett's "Register" we find that writer's contemporary comment upon the debate in the House. He says: "Money, it seems, is wanted in Ireland. Now, people do not eat money. No, but the money will buy them something to eat. What? The food is *there*, then. Pray, observe this; and let the parties get out of the concern if they can. *The food is there;* but those who have it in their possession will not give it without the money. And we know that the food is there; for since this famine has been declared in Parliament, thousands of quarters of corn have been imported every week from Ireland to England."—*Register*, *July*, 1822. Mr. Cobbett, however, was not placing "the parties" in so embarrassing a position as he imagined, when he defied them to get out of it if they could. It has always been a matter of congratulation with English Ministers, that whether the Irish be starving or not, England can still draw from the country her full tribute of grain and cattle. In reading of all these transactions of 1822, one might almost imagine that he is reading of what befel twenty-five years later.

A certain Colonel Patrickson was quartered that season in Galway, with his regiment. He reports to his superior officer: "Hundreds of half-famished wretches arrive almost daily from a distance of fifty miles, many of them so exhausted by want of food that the means taken to restore them fail of effect, from the weakness of the digestive organs, occasioned by long fasting."* Official statistics were not then so much attended to as they have since been; but certain returns, such as they were, stated, that in the month of June, there were in Clare County alone, 99,639 persons subsisting on daily charity, and in Cork, 122,000.† We have no record of the estimated number of deaths in this hideous famine; and if we had any such estimate, compiled as it would be under the direction of the Irish authorities, by aid of their police, it would not be trustworthy. Neither are there any census-tables, showing the decrease of the population. In *Thom's Official Directory*, the population of the island in 1821, is given at 6,801,827; and there is no statement of the population afterwards for ten years.

Of course, there was again a good deal of extermination of tenantry; and some desperate men did certainly kill here and there an ejecting landlord or agent. It appears, also, that there were "nocturnal outrages;" men with faces blackened, and wearing shirts more or less white, did come to some houses in search of arms, to defend their lives, or to avenge their wrongs; but in all this there was no trace or tittle of political, seditious, or revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, the first thing that occurred to the British Government, to meet this great calamity, was a new and improved *Insurrection act*. This new act, together with another, for the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, was introduced and at once carried by Lord Castlereagh, then Marquis of Londonderry. It was almost the last public act of his evil life. On the 12th of August, in that same year, he executed justice upon himself by cutting his own throat with a knife. Never lived a more deadly foe of the human race, and especially of the country which gave him birth. He was almost as much hated in England as in Ireland; for he had been a warm supporter of the "Six acts," and of every measure of despotism. The body of the suicide, instead of being staked at Cross-Roads, was borne in solemn pomp to Westminster Abbey (where the bones of Henry Grattan must have shrunk aside,) and the Duke of Wellington and the proudest Peers in England were his pall-bearers;—but as the coffin was removed from the hearse to be carried into the Abbey, the multitudes around could not repress a hoot of execration, a long, loud and hideous yell of horror and hatred. The Tory historian, Alison, reluctantly records that "savage miscreants raised a horrid shout;" but future ages will probably pronounce, that in all the mob of London was no such dreadful miscreant as the man then borne to his grave.

It must not be omitted to state, that the Parliament of 1822—in addition to a Cöercion act and *Habeas Corpus* Suspension act, voted an appropriation of £500,000 for relief of Irish distress, by employing destitute people on public works. It by no means amounted to one-tenth part of the Irish money annually drained from Ireland into England, and applied to English purposes; and even this appropriation was, as usual, corruptly and absurdly expended by English officials, principally upon useless and unproductive works, like the unmeaning obelisk upon Killiney Hill. The British press, and speakers in Parliament at that period, as at a later date, spoke of this appropriation out of the Consolidated Exchequer, as so much alms given by England, and assumed immense credit for the generosity of the gift. Under this form and color, the transaction has passed into history. Sir Archibald Alison, of course, glorifies the magnanimity of England upon this occasion—"England no longer remembered the crimes of Ireland—thought only of her sorrows," and so forth. The Marquis Wellesley was Lord-Lieutenant this year; but although invested with terrible powers for the suppression of outrage and insurrection, he is not charged with exercising too savagely the extra legal authority with which the British

* Letter of Sir D. Baird to Sir H. Taylor, *Memoirs of Lord Wellesley*. VIII.

† Alison *History of Europe*, since 1815.

Parliament was so prompt to clothe him. Indeed, the Marquis, from the conciliatory and mild way in which he spared the suffering people, and from his courtesy towards the Catholic leaders, some of whom he entertained at the Castle, soon became unpopular with the Orange faction. The most prominent Orange agitator was then a certain Sir Harcourt Lees. He was a clergyman by profession, and held preferment in the Church; but occupied himself chiefly in discovering Popish plots for the massacre of Protestants, denouncing, in the newspapers, "O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil," and sending petitions to Parliament, praying to "put down Popery," and send O'Connell to the Tower. Sir Harcourt was slightly insane; but his morbid visions of Jesuit conspiracies, and wild stories from "Fox's Book of Martyrs," were well enough suited to excite the ignorant Orangemen of Dublin. These pestilent people soon began to suspect that Lord Wellesley was in league with "O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil;" and the city resounded with their imprecations. At length, on the night of the 14th of December, their rage broke out in the form of a riot at the theatre. Some ruffians threw a bottle and a piece of wood at the Vice-regal box, but failed to strike the Marquis. Three Dublin tradesmen were arrested, charged with participating in the riot, and indicted. The Grand Jury of Dublin, (all Orangemen,) ignored the bill. The Attorney-General, Mr. Plunket, then proceeded, *ex officio*, and sent them up for trial. As might have been anticipated, the jury would not convict; and in short, no person was ever punished for the "bottle riot."

The year 1823 is notable for the formation of the "Catholic Association." Its foundations were laid by Mr. O'Connell, in conjunction with Mr. Shiel, then a very young barrister, but already remarkable for a certain kind of polished, figurative, and antithetical rhetoric. These two gentlemen met at the house of a common friend in the Wicklow mountains; "and after exchanging their opinions," says Mr. Shiel, "on the deplorable state to which the Catholic mind had been reduced, and the utter want of organization in the body, it was agreed that they should both sign an address to the Irish Catholics," and inclose it to the principal people of that religion. The result of this procedure was for a time not very encouraging. "A very thin meeting," says Mr. Sheil, "which did not consist of more than twenty individuals was held at a tavern in Sackville street; and it was there determined that something should be done." The work, in truth, was difficult. The old alienation between the Catholic Peers and the democratic masses still subsisted. Old Lord Fingal, Lord Gormanstown, and others of the highest rank and influence, who would have been glad to accept emancipation even on the terms of the *veto*, were somewhat scandalized at the violence with which O'Connell and the famous Dr. Dromgoole repudiated that project of enslaving the Church. Yet a combination of all the sections and elements of the Catholic community, however difficult, was precisely the indispensable condition of effecting any very notable good to the cause. To this, then, O'Connell bent all the energies and resources of his mind. Happily the Earl of Fingal had a son, Lord Killeen, who not only did not share all the prejudices or apprehensions of his father, but longed to throw himself heart and soul into the movement by the side of O'Connell. Lord Killeen had good abilities, and was free from those habits of submission which the Catholic aristocracy had contracted at the period of their extreme depression. His example was soon followed by Lord Gormanstown, a Peer of ancient descent, and hitherto of retiring habits, so far as political agitation was concerned. He conceived that the course of the aggressive agitators had the effect only of irritating enmity; and, therefore, had very much secluded himself amongst his woods near Balbriggan. Next came in the Earl of Kenmare; who, though he did not formally join the association, (having an aversion to public appearance,)—sent in the authority of his name and his pecuniary contribution. From this time the union of the aristocracy with the rest of their countrymen was assured. Another and still more powerful element in the confederacy was the Catholic priesthood. The celebrated and very able and energetic Doctor Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, was

the first Prelate who openly joined the association—his potent pen was devoted to its service; and the whole world was long familiar with the signature "J. K. L., (the initials of his Episcopal office,) signed to many a vigorous pamphlet and letter. Other Bishops and the great body of the clergy soon became members of the association, and the movement which had begun so humbly swelled into a puissant and apparently-irresistible torrent of public opinion. O'Connell was at last in his element; and ably supported by Sheil and Wyse, labored continually to give a practical character to the meetings; and to bring under calm and well-considered discussion all great questions arising in the state.

In structure, the Catholic Association much resembled all the other political societies instituted by Mr. O'Connell. It consisted of members paying a guinea each year, and of associates paying one shilling. The executive consisted of a standing committee. The regular meetings were weekly each Saturday; and the proceedings consisted in the reading of correspondence, perfecting organization, the discussion of public questions which bore any relation to the cause, and deciding on petitions. There was little or no oratorical display at these weekly meetings; the members rather applying themselves to treat subjects of discussion with a moderate and business-like calmness, so as to develope facts and diffuse sound information. Still the proceedings attracted little attention during the first year. Indeed, Mr. Shiel informs us that "the association in its origin was treated with contempt, not only by its open adversaries, but Catholics themselves spoke of it with derision, and spurned at the walls of mud which their brethren had rapidly thrown up, which were afterwards to become *altæ mœnia Romæ.*" It was only in the course of the following year, that Mr. O'Connell instituted the new system of monthly subscriptions of one penny (which he called "Catholic Rent,") when it became evident both to friends and enemies how deep a hold the cause had upon the hearts of the Catholic masses, and how wide-spread was their determination to achieve their liberties. The Ministry began to take some alarm. The Cabinet at that time was extremely Anti-Catholic; Lord Liverpool being still First Lord of the Treasury and Premier; the Duke of Wellington, Master-General of the Ordnance; Lord Eldon, (an extreme example of the narrowest bigotry,) was Lord Chancellor; and Mr. Peel, (not yet Sir Robert,) was the Home Secretary. It is true that Canning, well understood to be a friend of the Catholic claims, was in the Ministry, but his place was that of Foreign Secretary, so that he could have little special influence upon that great question which was now agitating the three kingdoms, and at length disquieting seriously His Majesty's advisers; for, in truth, no phenomenon like this had ever been seen in Ireland before; within two years after its origin, the penny subscriptions to the rent averaged £500 a week, which represented half a million of enroled associates, and produced a fund quite sufficient to pay the expenses of defending men unjustly accused, to prosecute Orange violators of the law, (but this was generally a hopeless enterprise,)—to pay the expenses of Parliamentary and election agents, and even to afford considerable appropriations for the support of Catholic schools for the poor.

But not even these evidences of imposing numbers and close organization so much alarmed the Government, as the determined attitude taken by some of the clergy, and the bold writings of Doctor Doyle. He broached doctrines which not only startled the "Protestant Ascendancy," but even affected the nerves of some of the Maynooth Professors. In his letter to Mr. Robertson, after speaking of the possibility of a rebellion and a French invasion, he says: "The Minister of England cannot look to the exertions of the Catholic priesthood; they have been ill-treated; and they may yield for a moment to the influence of nature, though it be opposed to grace. The clergy, with a few exceptions, are from the ranks of the people; they inherit their feelings; they are not, as formerly, brought up under despotic governments; and they have imbibed the doctrines of Locke and Paley more deeply than those of Bellarmine, or even of Bossuet, on the divine right of kings. They know much more of the principles of

the Constitution than they do of passive obedience. *If a rebellion were raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of excommunication would ever be fulminated by a Catholic Prelate.*"

This announcement produced some consternation ; and to counteract the effect of such perilous declarations from a Bishop, Lord Wellesley, it was said, applied to Maynooth ; and from Maynooth (which receives money from the Treasury,) was, in fact, issued a protest ; from which it was known that the students and Doctor Crotty, the President, dissented altogether. It bore, however, the names of five professors of theology ; and the persons who were chiefly instrumental in getting it up were two old French doctors of the Sorbonne ; who had belonged, in their own country, to the old *régime* ; "and, with a good deal of learning, imported into Ireland a very strong relish for submission." * The publication of the five professors produced no effect whatever ; the people and clergy now saw the most eminent of their Prelates in the ranks of the association ; and Doctor Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, not only joined that body, but sometimes used very energetic language, tending to excite his people to be zealous in the cause. "The contemplation of the wrongs of my country,"—he exclaimed, in his stately cathedral in Marlborough street —"the contemplation of the wrongs of my country makes my soul burn within me."

It is needless to say that the progress and power of the Catholic Association excited the Orangemen of Ireland to frenzy ; Sir Harcourt Lees saw visions, and dreamed dreams ; and many petitions were sent to Parliament "to put down Popery," and save the Protestant State from O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil. Ministers, indeed, began to perceive that they must yield; and that emancipation could not be far off. It had, in its favor, not only the entire Catholic population of Ireland, but also in England, a small but very wealthy and influential group of nobles and gentry of that ancient faith, who, of course, expected their own restoration to civil rights from the success of the movement, then in such rapid progress. The Dissenting population of the North of Ireland, it must be said, to their credit, were favorable to the claims of the Catholics, although their grandfathers had gladly submitted to the Test and Corporation acts, which excluded Nonconformists from most offices, rather than make common cause with their fellow-sufferers, the Catholics, to shake off the yoke of the Ascendancy. O'Connell had often appealed to them to give him their moral aid in his struggle ; representing to them that the great reform he sought was a breaking down of *all* barriers of exclusion under pretext of men's religious belief ; that if the last penal laws which oppressed the Catholics were dashed to the earth, the last penal laws which injured and insulted Dissenters, must come down along with them ; and if the Catholics and Nonconformists of Ireland were once united in the assertion of their rights, there would soon be an end of tithes, and church-rates, and Minister's money, and every other paltry imposition which bolstered up the "Ascendancy." Language like this had its effect, a large proportion—and that the most educated and enlightened—of the Presbyterians, gave their entire sympathy to the Catholic movement ; and if but few amongst them aided it actively, they at least remained passive, and left all the fanatical howling, all the pious imprecations and vaticinations of wrath to come, to the Orange Grand Masters, and raving rectors and curates.

But amongst the forces which were now giving impetus to the Catholic cause, must also be classed the English Reformers, and their powerful organs at the press. Indeed, during this whole controversy, nothing was more observable than the great literary superiority of the advocates of the Catholics, and the utter nullity of anything which was attempted on the other side, in the shape either of argument or satire. Most of the wisest and wittiest pens of the two islands, were wielded in favor of emancipation. Trenchant reasoning from Jeffrey, in the Edinburgh *Review*—the *piquant* humor of Sidney Smith, in "Peter Plymley's Letters" —the brawny might of William Corbett,

* Sheil's Sketches: *Catholic Leaders.* Mr. Sheil gives at full length what he calls "the Sorbonne manifesto ;" and adds, that "it was laughed at by the Irish priesthood."

who wherever tyranny and intolerance showed their head smote it amain with his knotted club;—the exquisite satire of Moore, like a rapier of the finest edge, that cut clean and drew blood, and often with the lightest and most graceful movement, as if in play, searched the very vitals of some villain in high places and made him howl;—Sheil's brilliant shafts of wit shot from the *New Monthly Magazine;*—all these were aimed at the monster called Protestant Ascendancy in Church and State; and there was nothing of the kind to oppose them—nothing but the raving letters of Sir Harcourt Lees and his friends, or the bitter spite of the Tories in *Blackwood* and *Fraser* and the *Quarterly.*

However, if the Government had but little to say for itself in the literary way, it could still produce acts of Parliament and compose indictments. Early in 1825, Mr. Goulburn, then Secretary for Ireland, brought into Parliament and carried through both Houses a bill for suppression of "Unlawful Associations in Ireland." This law was, of course, aimed against the existing Catholic Association, which was not at all "unlawful." Immediately when it passed, the association, under the legal advice of O'Connell, dissolved itself—it was no longer in existence—the law was satisfied—and then immediately constituted itself again, under the title of the New Catholic Association. This was an usual expedient of O'Connell, through his long series of agitations, in avoiding the penalties of penal enactments. He boasted that he could "drive a coach and six through an act of Parliament;" and the practice of evading or practically annulling such tyrannous laws cannot certainly be condemned, seeing that the Irish people would at any time have been justified (if they had the needful force) in openly breaking, defying, and resisting them. This law against the Catholic Association was never in fact enforced, nor any enforcement attempted; and it continued its proceedings precisely as before, until emancipation was secure.

But while the Government thus made a show of cöercion on the one hand, they had on the other prepared a bill for granting the Catholic claims in a certain stinted and very guarded manner; and the bill for this purpose—which happily never became law—is, indeed, an instructive sample of British statesmanship with respect to Irish affairs. It proposed to admit Catholics, both in England and in Ireland, to Parliament and to municipal corporations; but provided for Ireland two very important safeguards for the perpetuation of English supremacy in that island. In the first place, the entire class of county voters having freeholds worth forty shillings, were to be disfranchised. These made the great bulk of the rural voters. The other measure was to pension the Catholic clergy. The bill was prepared under the inspiration of Sir Robert Peel—this shrewd statesman had perceived when in Ireland, that the large increase of the *Regium Donum* to Presbyterian ministers had had the effect of quieting down the republican aspirations and quelling the "French principles" which had made those clergymen nearly all rebels in 1798; and that whatever influence they exercised over their flocks was now exerted in favor of "loyalty," that is, of British dominion. And as for the Catholic clergy, we have in fact seen that the only members of that body who came to the rescue of British loyalty against Dr. Doyle's audacious declaration, were five professors of an institution endowed by the State. He prudently calculated that to salary them all would buy them away from their people, and give England an efficient corps of clerical detectives in the interest of the British Government. Accordingly, this bill provided, that they were to be paid out of the Treasury at the rate of £1,000 to each bishop; £300 to a dean; £200 to a parish-priest, and £60 to a curate. It was a scale somewhat in proportion to the tariff of rewards which had been offered for the *discovery* of Catholic clergymen, and which had kept the "priest-hunters" in good business for many years. It may be thought that times had greatly altered for the better; yet the *intention*, in the latter case, was quite as deadly hostile to the Irish people and their clergy as it had been in the former—and so they felt it; for both priests and people were resolutely opposed to this bribe, and most desirous for the defeat of the bill. It was defeated. After passing the Lower House,

it encountered most infuriated opposition in the Lords; and the Duke of York made a speech of the intensest malignity, which had the more serious effect, as he was heir presumptive to the Crown of England. He declared in the most solemn manner that he never would consent to allow the claims of the Catholics—"*never, so help him God!*" On the second reading in the House of Lords the bill was defeated.

There was at this time in London a very imposing deputation of Irish Catholics. O'Connell and Sheil had been requested by the Catholic Association to go over and demand to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons against the bill for suppression of the "Unlawful Associations in Ireland." The motion that they should be heard was made by Mr. Brougham; but was rejected; and that part of their mission failed. Several distinguished gentlemen had been associated with the deputation; amongst others, Mr. O'Gorman and Sir Thomas Esmonde. They were very warmly welcomed and courteously entertained by many leading Whigs, Brougham, Burdett, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Duke of Sussex, the "Liberal" member of the royal family.

An incident occurred during the discussion upon Mr. Brougham's motion to hear O'Connell and Sheil at the bar, which gave occasion to one of the very few imprudent things which Peel committed in his Parliamentary life. He was opposing the motion with much vehemence, and denouncing the association as a treasonable body; alluding to a friendly address which it had presented to the venerable patriot Archibald Hamilton Rowan; "he became heated with victory," says Mr. Sheil, "and cheered, as he was repeatedly, by his multitudinous partizans, turned suddenly towards the part of the House where the deputies were seated, and looking triumphantly at Mr. O'Connell, with whom he forgot for a moment that he had been once engaged in a personal quarrel, shook his hand with scornful exultation, and asked whether the House required any better evidence than the address of the association '*to an attainted traitor.*'" This language was held to be in very bad taste; and Mr. Brougham made a fierce and damaging reply. The incident, however, showed in very strong light the bitter feeling of Sir Robert Peel towards the Catholics.

Before the deputation quitted London, the other bill for emancipation, with payment of the clergy and disfranchisement of forty-shilling freeholders, was pending. These two conditions were called the "wings" of the bill; and the deputies, especially Mr. O'Connell, had much conversation with leading Whig politicians upon the terms of the proposed measure, and upon the way in which it might, probably, be received in Ireland as a final settlement. Those Whig politicians were naturally desirous that the measure should pass, wings and all—for they cared nothing about the independence of the Church, or the rights of electors. What they thought of was, that some Irish Catholic members coming into Parliament would be an accession of force to their party, and might carry them into office. Mr. O'Connell did not then, probably, so fully know as he afterwards came to know—that British Whigs regard all Irish questions solely with a view to the interests of the Whig party. The courtesies also, and the persuasive phraseology of those courtly "Liberals," and of the English Catholics, who were all for the bill, certainly imposed somewhat upon O'Connell's mind; insomuch that he is known to have signified to some principal Whig statesmen his willingness to take the bill as it stood, with the two offensive "wings." The fortunate loss of the measure in the House of Lords prevented any evil consequences arising from this unaccountable weakness; and when the deputation returned to Ireland, and found what was the state of feeling amongst the Catholics; and when O'Connell found that his complying disposition was very likely to injure his popularity and his power for good, he very promptly and frankly retracted, and took his position again with his countrymen. It had been well, indeed, if he had firmly held his ground against both those Wings to the last.

CHAPTER LIV.

1825—1829.

Action of the Catholic Association—Waterford Election—Louth Election—Change of Ministry—Canning Premier—Lord Anglesea Viceroy—The "New Reformation"—Pope and Maguire—Death of Canning—Goderich Cabinet—Catholic Petition for Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts—Acts Repealed—Clare Election—O'Connell Returned—Its Results—Suppression of Catholic Association—Peel and Wellington Prepare Catholic Relief Bill—Rage of the Bigots—Reluctance of the King—O'Connell at the Bar of the House—Passage of the Emancipation Act—Disfranchisement of the Forty-Shilling Freeholders—Abstract of the Relief Act—The New Oath—Meaning and Spirit of the Relief Act.

The Catholic Association continued its operations and extended its organization, with even greater vigor and success than before. It had a machinery which extended not only into every county but into every parish. Its funds were given to employ lawyers to protect the people in cases of extreme oppression; and in such cases as the wrecking of a chapel, or an Orange riot in the North—cases which the magistrates at petty and quarter-sessions had been in the habit of treating upon the general principle that Papists had no rights which Protestants were bound to respect, their worships were now sometimes thunderstruck by the apparition of clever barristers or attorneys from Dublin, who not only knew more law than the whole bench of justices, but were attended by newspaper reporters, sure to publish abroad to the world any too-outrageous instance of magisterial partizanship. But the machinery of the association, both central and provincial, was capable of being employed with more striking effect in the elections of representatives in Parliament; and its efficiency began to be proved in the general election of 1826. It was resolved in the association that all its efforts should be concentrated upon favoring the return of certain liberal Protestants (seeing that Catholics were not eligible,) for some counties which had been up to that time controlled absolutely by a few great families of the old colonial aristocracy. The Beresfords, for example, had long represented Waterford in the person of some member of their family; the idea of opposing the Beresford interest in that county seemed the wildest dream; and the Beresford, who was Marquis of Waterford, naturally thought that he did not more clearly own the demesne of Curraghmore than he owned the representation of his county. At the election of 1826, Lord George Beresford was boldly opposed by Mr. Villiers Stuart, another large proprietor of the county, and a friend to the Catholic claims. The latter was supported by the parochial organizers and by the Catholic clergy, and won his election, to the intense mortification of the house of Curraghmore, and perfect consternation of the whole Protestant interest.

While society in Dublin was much agitated by the progress of this contest in the South, news arrived in that city of a still more stirring nature: Louth County was in like manner, held to be an apanage of the two noble houses of Foster and Jocelyn; their titles were Oriel and Roden. Lord Oriel was that John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons at the time of the Union, with whom this history has already had much to do; all his life a high placeholder, and bitter opponent of the Catholics. The politician of the family was now John Leslie Foster, who had long sat in Parliament as one of the members for the county, and consistently on every occasion, resisted the slightest concession to the Catholics. The Jocelyns had as their nominee for the other seat, Mr. Fortescue, a politician of the same deep Orange hue. At the election in 1826, there presented himself to the people to ask their suffrages, a Mr. Dawson, a retired barrister of some fortune, who was favorable to the enfranchisement of six millions of his countrymen. He was attended to the polls by immense multitudes of the worthy forty-shilling freeholders, who marched with him into Dundalk with green banners flying in the wind. The contest was close; for the influence of the great landlords was nearly irresistible, unless at mortal peril. It needed all the energy of the local managers of the association to bring up the voters, and get them to defy those potent despots. Mr. Sheil went down from Dublin as counsel for Dawson; in short, at the close of the poll, Dawson was declared duly elected; Mr. Foster was the second member,

and Fortescue, nominee of Lord Roden, stood defeated.

Some few other successes of a similar character, showed what the association could do. The effect of such events upon the public mind in England was very great. As for the "Ascendancy" faction in Ireland, it was as usual in a foam of rage; the great family interests—the mighty Orange houses which had been long a rock and strong tower to Protestant monopoly and religion, were now, as it seemed, to be assailed, not by sap or mine, but by open storm and escalade. The Protestant mind of that day could not help believing that there was some Jesuit conspiracy at work in this matter, and that the Waterford election was won virtually by the Pope of Rome. Sir Harcourt Lees demanded of Parliament whether his vaticinations would be at length listened to—Popery "put down," and O'Connell sent to the Tower.

Early in the first session of the new Parliament, Lord Liverpool, the Premier, was struck with paralysis. He was a helpless and timorous creature; afraid to read his letters in the morning, lest they should bring news of an insurrection in some part of the country; and his only idea of government was to disturb nothing, to reform nothing, (sufficient unto the day being the evil thereof,) and only praying that all mankind might remain precisely as it was, for his day. In short, he was a "Conservative" of the stupidest sort.* On his death, which followed very soon, Mr. Canning, who had been Foreign Secretary in his administration, was sent for by the King, and received his commands to form a Cabinet. But Mr. Canning, only a month before, had made a powerful speech in favor of Catholic Emancipation; the King, therefore, must have known that in making this statesman his Prime Minister, he was taking an almost irrevocable step towards that clearly-inevitable consummation. Accordingly, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, and other Tory members of the outgoing Cabinet, refused to serve with Mr. Canning; who, thereupon, formed a Ministry which was generally in favor of concession. Lord Wellesley was succeeded in the Viceroyalty of Ireland by the Marquis of Anglesea, formerly Earl of Uxbridge, a very brilliant cavalry officer, but not much of a statesman. The Chief Secretary was Lord Francis Leveson Gower.

When Lord Anglesea arrived in Ireland, he found the Ascendancy faction in high excitement. The very Orangemen began to perceive the ominous signs of the times. They were making preparations to celebrate with great pomp the grand Orange anniversary of the 12th of July; being resolved, if they could not much longer trample on their fellow-countrymen, to insult them to the last. As the time approached, however, Lord Anglesea prohibited by proclamation the customary procession in Dublin, and the garlanding with Orange lilies the statue of King William in College Green. In Ulster, however, the anniversary was celebrated with even more than the usual show of insolent triumph. In every town and village the brethren assembled in great numbers, marched from town to town, all flaunting with purple and orange sashes, generally halting in the midst of districts inhabited by Catholics, firing a volley over their houses, and playing "The Protestant Boys," and "Croppies Lie Down."

The prohibition of the Dublin procession, and other alarming signs of an approaching compromise with Jezebel—for such was held to be the meaning of the threatened admission of Papists to Parliament and the Corporations—aroused all the "No-Popery" animosities of their hereditary oppressors; and the clerical agitators projected a "New Reformation." If the Catholics could but be convinced of their idolatry and superstition, (which seemed so manifest to those clerical persons,) it was thought that they could no longer persist in their audacious pretensions. In general, this new scheme of proselytism was carried on by mere ribald abuse of everything held sacred in the ancient religion, and by repeating the old stories out of "Fox's Martyrs;" but certain of the new reformers challenged public discussion with the most learned Catholic theologians in every diocese; and at first some

* His order of Conservatism is admirably characterized by Paul Louis Courier, who, speaking of one of Lord Liverpool's character, said: "If he had been present on the morning of the creation he would have cried: *Mon Dieu! conservons le chaos!*

of these challenges were promptly met by Catholic clergymen, who thought, on their side that their religion could lose nothing, and might gain much by public exposition and defence of its tenets. Several oral discussions took place accordingly, of which the most notable was that between a Rev. Mr. Pope, an English clergyman, and Father Maguire, a parish priest of Leitrim County. The bold acceptance of the challenge by "Father Tom," was thought by his own partizans rather unfortunate, as he had never debated in public, though known to be a learned theologian, while Mr. Pope was a practiced controversialist. The discussion was to take place in Dublin; each champion to defend three articles of his own and assail three of his adversary's faith. The occasion excited intense interest. Not only the public room where the meeting took place, but all Sackville street was thronged with eager sympathizers. As the two disputants argued within the building, thousands of minor "oral discussions" were taking place on the streets, and the talk of Dublin carmen was of Two Sacraments and of Seven. This scene lasted many days: the debate was carried on with sufficient courtesy: Father Maguire proved himself a master of theological learning, and Mr. Pope of controversial declamation: and the affair ended, as might have been expected—that is, Catholics were convinced that Mr. Maguire had demolished the Protestant religion, and Protestants were satisfied that Mr. Pope had not left Popery a leg to stand on. Nobody was converted on either side.

Many other similar discussions, in which laymen sometimes bore a part, raged in each province of the island, and generally rather inflamed intolerance than advanced any good cause; the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle disapproved of them, and soon interdicted the clergy of his diocese from engaging in them. So did the Archbishop of Armagh, and then the other Bishops. Soon not a priest could be found to accept a challenge—and their opponents took this as a plain proof that the Catholic religion was afraid of the light of day. They eagerly pressed their invitations, but in vain. They urgently offered to their Catholic friends to prove the Mass a plain sacrifice to idols, and Purgatory a lamentable infringement on the prerogatives of Hell—the Catholic priests would no longer strip for this polemical prize-ring; although still ready and willing to expound their faith by the old methods of theological argument.

The year 1827 was remarkable for the first great example of the emigrant Irish in every foreign country, and in every colony taking an active part in the struggle for liberty of their friends at home. And the sympathy and substantial aid were not confined to Irishmen alone; nor even to Catholics alone. The bold attitude of O'Connell; the mighty power he had created and directed; the vigor and wisdom of that agitation now so evidently shaking the deep-rooted and broad-based structure of the British Empire, attracted the admiration of the world. The powerful French press occupied itself warmly in the struggle; and from French Catholics, as well as from Americans of all religions, came addresses and subscriptions to the Catholic Association. Multitudinous meetings of "Friends of Ireland" were held in all considerable American cities; and a large part of the business of the association began to be reading foreign correspondence, and receiving addresses from not only France and America, but from various German States, from Italy, from Spain, even from British India. All these things, while they violently irritated the national pride of the English, suggested to them at the same time the impossibility of continued resistance, in so very bad a cause.

Mr. Canning died in August, after a very short tenure of office. He had to contend with a compact and very acrimonious opposition, consisting not only of the Tories, but of the aristocratic party of the old Whigs, headed by Lord Grey—a party which was jealous of Canning, because it sincerely believed him an interloper upon the prescriptive right of a few great families to govern the country.*

* Canning was a man of strong passions and high spirit, with great talent for satire; and of course had made many enemies—and without enemies, no man is entitled to have friends. He had been a Tory too, and had written pungent squibs in the "Anti-Jacobin" against "French principles;" for example the very clever satire of the "Needy Knife-Grinder" In one of these *jeux d' esprit*, he had contrasted the statesmanlike qualities of certain Tory Lords with

"——The temper of Grey
And treasurer Sheridan's promise to pay."

But the head and the heart of this venomous opposition was Sir Robert Peel, who saw that Canning was destined, if his government lasted, to carry the great measure of Catholic Emancipation, and who was determined, if possible, to supersede him and carry that inevitable measure himself—a policy not unfamiliar to this prudent statesman, which he afterwards pursued in the other signal case of the repeal of the Corn laws. Mr. Canning, too, was in failing health, and had lost most of the original energy of his nature. Peel, therefore, "hounded him to death," as Lord George Bentinck long afterwards bitterly declared in Parliament.

Mr. Canning was succeeded by Lord Goderich, a statesman of little talent or influence, who did not succeed in forming a Ministry which could hold together; and in January 1828, this feeble administration gave place to the Duke of Wellington as Premier Minister, and Sir Robert Peel as Secretary for the Home Department—both of them avowed and inveterate enemies of the liberties of Catholics. The Duke, also, was still sincerely and consistently resolute to refuse all concession; while his prudent colleague had already determined to be converted at the right moment, and to have the credit of effecting a revolution which he saw to be inevitable. In this new Cabinet was Lord Palmerston; a man who never cared for Whig or Tory, Catholic or Protestant, or the rights or wrongs of any class, sect or nation, but was always ready to bear a hand, and that efficiently, in the current events which were for the time being the order of the day.

On the opening of the session of 1828, the Catholic Association was prepared with a petition, signed by 800,000 Catholics, praying—not for any rights of their own or relief for themselves,—but for repeal of the Test act and Corporation act, which had excluded Protestant Dissenters from office for a century and a half. This idea was O'Connell's; but the petition—as he long afterwards delighted to proclaim—was drawn up by the hand of Father L'Estrange, a Carmelite friar. This was an incident well calculated to produce a fine dramatic effect—the proscribed and oppressed Catholics petitioning for the rights of the much *less* proscribed and oppressed Nonconformists! but it is fair to add that many petitions poured in this session from Protestants of all sects in favor of the Catholic claims—so that there was, at least, an appearance of mutual good will, and an universal aspiration towards liberty, equality, and fraternity. The picture was somewhat marred, however, by multitudes of petitions vehemently deprecating all concession to Catholics; and these latter came from the most influential quarters in the three kingdoms of Ireland, England, and Scotland. The British Universities were especially stirred by apprehension and alarm for the Protestant interest; and the corporations, particularly that of Dublin, felt that all was lost if a man of Seven Sacraments became alderman or town councillor.

In that session the Test act and Corporation act were in fact repealed. The measure was introduced by Lord John Russell, a statesman who, then and always, professed "Liberal" principles, and aspired to lead the party of what is called "Progress," but being essentially narrow-minded has often shown himself actuated by the blindest bigotry and intolerance. His measure was carried, chiefly on account of the languid opposition made to it by Sir Robert Peel, who was then in a *transition* state, and was making up his mind to be converted himself to Liberal principles, and even to snatch from Lord John Russell and the Whigs, the credit of carrying the grand Whig measure of that age. The act repealing the Test and Corporation acts became law in April; and a few weeks after, on the secession of several members from the Cabinet, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, then member for Clare County, was brought in to fill a vacancy in the administration, as President of the Board of Trade. This vacated his seat for Clare, until he should be reëlected; and he immediately issued his address to the Clare electors, nothing doubting that he would be at once replaced in his seat; having large influence in the county, and most of the larger landed-proprietors being his political and personal friends. Mr. Fitz-

It was generally believed that Lord Grey did not forget this; and that it contributed very much to envenom his opposition to Canning's Ministry.

gerald was a highly honorable and liberal gentleman, and a warm friend to Catholic Emancipation. He was, moreover, the son of that steady Anti-Union patriot, Mr. Prime-Sergeant Fitzgerald, who had spoken at the bar meeting against the Union, and had been thereupon degraded from his office by the Government. He was, therefore, in some sort, a martyr to patriotism; and his son had good reason to count not only on his own possessions and influence in his county, but also on his personal merit and the traditions of his family, for a warm support in Clare.

The celebrated Clare election followed; one of the most momentous transactions in the modern history of Ireland, and, indeed, of the other island also. It was no merely local contest for one seat in Parliament; it was the making up of a decisive issue between the millions of oppressed Catholics, and that potent and insolent "Ascendancy," which had so long trampled upon them in their own land.

At first, however, it was not foreseen what a sharp turning point this Clare election was destined to prove in history. The Catholics had passed a resolution at one of their aggregate meetings, to oppose the election of every candidate who should not pledge himself against the Duke of Wellington's administration. Now here was a proven friend to those Catholics, who had always voted in their favor, actually a member of that administration, and seeking election at the hands of an Irish constituency. The question was, should that worthy gentleman be opposed by the whole power of the association? And whom could they hope to put in his place who would be a better friend to them than Vesey Fitzgerald? An incident now occurred, which gave much additional importance to this question. Lord John Russell, charmed with his own success in repealing the Test and Corporation acts, swelling with self-confidence, as usual, and never doubting that he was about to be the great "Liberal" leader, wrote a letter to Mr. O'Connell, suggesting that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington in the case of the repeal of Test and Corporation acts, had been so fair and noble, as to entitle his grace to the gratitude of "Liberals;" and that they, the said Liberals "would consider the reversal of the resolution which had been passed against his Government, as evidence of the interest which the Irish people felt, not only in the great question peculiarly applicable to that country, but in the assertion of religious freedom throughout the *empire*."* That is to say, the Whig party of the "empire" would take it very kind, if Mr. O'Connell and the Catholic Association would put aside the consideration of their own country and their own rights, and use their power so as to benefit that *party*. This resembles extremely the many other occasions on which the Whigs of the "Empire" have endeavored to stifle Irish questions, and turn Irish organizations for national purposes to the service of an English faction, which always courted the Catholics when out of office, and always spurned and oppressed them when in power.

And Mr. O'Connell's greatest weakness, (as we have seen in the last chapter,) both then and since, was his too-credulous reliance upon the fair professions of that treacherous party, which he had so often occasion to describe as "the base, brutal, and bloody Whigs." On the present occasion, Mr. O'Connell can scarcely be censured for lending an ear to the suggestion of the Whig—that Mr. Fitzgerald's election should go unopposed; for O'Connell himself did not yet foresee what a potent engine this Clare election would become in his hands. Therefore, he proposed in the association, that the resolution should be suspended.

But O'Connell did not fully appreciate how deeply his countrymen abhorred both Wellington and Peel, of both of whom, in the capacity of Chief Secretary, Ireland had bitter experience. His motion was vehemently and successfully opposed. After some debate, the original resolution was left standing; and the association remained committed to oppose the return of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. Mr. O'Connell had reason to rejoice in his failure to rescind that resolution.

Clare, then, was to be contested; and the next question was, who was to be put forward against Fitzgerald? The association pitched upon Major Mac Namara, one

*See Shiel's Sketches—*The Clare Election.*

of the proprietors of the county, a Protestant, of course, but descended of ancient Irish stock, very friendly to the Catholics; a man of but little weight of character, whose principal care and ambition, seem to have been to dress and wig himself after the pattern of George IV., whom he personally resembled; for the rest, a good landlord, an excellent magistrate, and protector of the poor and oppressed. But this personage, though a friend to his Catholic countrymen, was still more a friend, as it turned out, to his neighbor Vesey Fitzgerald. He allowed many days to elapse, without sending an answer to the association; and as Clare was at a great distance from Dublin, in those days of slow traveling, much anxious delay was thus created. Doubts and rumors began to prevail, not only as to the acceptance of the candidacy, but as to the disposition of the priests of Clare, to act warmly with the association against so estimable and popular a gentleman. Mr. O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele were sent post to Clare, to inquire into the dispositions of priests and people, and to bring an answer, if possible, from Major Mac Namara. O'Gorman Mahon came back in two days; the Major's family lay under such obligations to Mr. Fitzgerald, that he could not think of opposing him. Meanwhile, the "Ascendancy" party, as well as the Liberal Protestants of Clare, were actively engaged in working for the candidate already in the field; and boasting that no gentleman in the county would stoop so low as to accept the patronage of the Catholic Association. Those gentlemen of the county, was soon to receive a lesson.

There was earnest consultation one night at O'Connell's house, in Merrion Square; next day Dublin City was startled, and soon all Ireland was aroused, by an address from *O'Connell himself*, to the electors of Clare, soliciting their suffrages, affirming that he was qualified to be elected and to serve them in Parliament, although he would never take the oath, (that the Mass is idolatrous,) "for," continued he, "the authority which created those oaths, (the Parliament,) can abrogate them; and I entertain *a confident hope* that if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies *will see the necessity* of removing from the chosen representative of the people, an obstacle, which would prevent him from doing his duty to his King and to his country." At last all the world, friends and foes, saw in one moment what was to be the meaning of the Clare election.

Several members of the association were at once sent down to Clare, in order to excite the people, and prepare them for the great event; also to arouse the spirit of the priests, and induce them to use their influence with the tenantry. The great family "interests," the O'Briens, the Vandeleurs, the Fitzgeralds, the Mac Namaras had, as they thought, organized and drilled their numerous tenantry into proper discipline. They considered the people who lived on their estates almost in the light of serfs; and it was a principle then in Ireland, that if any gentleman interfered with another's tenants, by canvassing them, in order to induce them to vote against their landlords, the interference was to be resented as a personal affront. But a power was now moving these masses, on which those respectable gentlemen had not calculated—the profound and sweeping passion of a highly impulsive and imaginative people, thoroughly aroused by every feeling that could appeal either to their manhood, or their religious enthusiasm—stimulated by the exhortations of priests whom they loved, and inspired by the name and renown of the redoubtable champion who promised to deliver them. All this together, made up such a mass of concentrated power, as was sure to test severely the discipline of the great estates, and the traditionary deference paid by tenants to their landlords.

Mr. Steele and O'Gorman Mahon undertook to canvass the county; and Steele intimated beforehand, his readiness to fight any landlord who should feel himself aggrieved by interference with his tenants. Then they traversed the county, making the most earnest and impetuous appeals to the people; addressing them at all hours, and in all places—in the chapels after Mass, on the hill-sides, in the village markets, by day and by night, until it was clear that the generous and gallant people, were fully resolved to brave this one good time, the ut-

most vengeance of landlord-wrath, and carry the "Man of the People" triumphantly to the door of Parliament.

The famous Father Maguire traveled all the way from Leitrim, that he might help to swell the excitement. John Lawless, (or as he was usually named honest Jack Lawless,) was then editor of a newspaper in Belfast, called the *Irishman;* he left his newspaper to other hands, and hurried to Clare, to put his fiery leading articles, into the form of fiery speeches. The town of Ennis, which had a population of eight thousand, contained thirty thousand human beings, on the day when O'Connell's green carriage was expected in that place. Green flags waved from the windows; priests and agitators addressed multitudes from a balcony or a flight of steps; and the excitement of expectation was at its highest. Yet there was not the slightest appearance of turbulence or disorder. On the contrary, throughout all the exciting canvass, and still more exciting days of the actual poll, old family feuds were suspended, or terminated forever. There was no drunkenness, no angry language, and no man ventured (so strong was public opinion) to raise a hand against another upon any provocation. O'Connell, at length, appeared, with two or three friends; and there was one continuous shout from thirty thousand throats. Women cried and laughed; strangers who had never seen one another, wrung each other's hands; and from every window ladies (Mr. Shiel says, "of great beauty,") waved hands and handkerchiefs. No wonder that such a tempest of patriotic zeal, whirled away Mr. Fitzgerald's own tenants out of the hands of their marshaling bailiffs; nor that one wave of O'Connell's arm, left Mr. Vandeleur deserted by his whole army of freeholders. Sir Edward O'Brien's feudal pride was mortally hurt by the defection of his people, and he shed tears of vexation; but his son, William Smith O'Brien, then member for Ennis, though his family pride may have been hurt by such a result, was not inconsolable, being, indeed, a contributor to the "Catholic Rent," and one who at all times, valued justice and fair dealing more highly than the broad acres and high towers of Drumoland.

The details of an election contest, even that of Clare in 1828, need not be related at length. Sir Edward O'Brien proposed Mr. Fitzgerald, who was seconded by Sir Augustus Fitzgerald. O'Connell was proposed by O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele, both proprietors in the county. The speeches were made; the poll proceeded; and at its close the numbers stood, for O'Connell, two thousand and fifty-seven; for Fitzgerald, one thousand and seventy-five. After an argument before the assessor, Mr. Keating, in which it was contended that a Catholic could not be legally returned, the objection was overruled, on the ground that it rested with the Parliament itself, on the oath being tendered and refused, to exclude a representative, and O'Connell was proclaimed duly elected.

It is somewhat difficult, at this day, fully to comprehend the profound impression which this event produced throughout Ireland, as well as in the other island. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, though deeply mortified, took his defeat with a gentlemanlike calmness; but the great proprietors of Clare County, who had supported him, could not conceal their ominous apprehensions. "Where is all this to end?" was a question frequently put in his presence; to which he replied only by looks of gloom and sorrow. In fact, the worthy Protestant "Liberals," disciples and followers of Grattan and Ponsonby, had accustomed themselves to regard the Catholic claims as their affair—*they* were the Parliamentary patrons of the Irish Catholics, and had never dreamed of the possibility of their clients taking the case into their own hands; not only throwing off all dependence upon them, but even flinging aside so decisively one of the most distinguished of their advocates, and coming in their proper person to thunder at the doors of Parliament. Still more fearful and terrible to them was the example of independence now set by the voting tenantry—the hereditary family "interests" were no longer omnipotent; and the end of the world seemed at hand. The exultation of the Catholic people of Ireland was unbounded. O'Connell traveled back to Dublin in the midst of one continued triumphal procession. Mr. Lawless, the Belfast editor, was escort-

ed, on his return to Belfast, by enormous multitudes of the peasantry. Through the plains of Meath they passed in peaceable triumph, and through the southern part of Monaghan ; but in this region the Orangemen were strong, armed, resolute, and infuriated ; and a vast concourse of armed Protestants, excited by the harangues of their preachers, and prayerfully determined to resist this triumph of "Jezebel," at least in *their* county, were assembled at Ballybay, and showed a stern purpose of opposing the passage of Mr. Lawless and his followers. It needed all the exertions of the Catholic clergy, and the friendly expostulations of General Thornton, military commandant of the district, to prevent a collision, and induce the multitudinous escort of Mr. Lawless to disperse and go to their homes. For a week or two there were serious apprehensions of collision, and of civil war ; and large numbers of troops were hastily sent over from England. It was even formally proposed in the Catholic Association that a run should be made on the banks, with a view of disorganizing society and opening the way for armed revolution ; but these counsels were rejected.

The actual results of this election are well known, and may be shortly summarized. The Duke of Wellington, who had a few months before declared that "he could not comprehend the possibility of placing Roman Catholics in a *Protestant* Legislature with any kind of safety; as his personal knowledge told him that no King, however Catholic, could govern his Catholic subjects without the aid of the Pope ;" this Duke, the consistent and conscientious opponent of Catholic liberties, and who had taken office expressly to defeat their claims, became suddenly converted, and felt that the choice lay between Catholic Emancipation and civil war. As for Sir Robert Peel, he had already divined the course of events—his policy was clear ; and his conscience presented no serious difficulty. Lord Anglesea, the Lord-Lieutenant, though he had come over to Ireland with no friendly feeling towards the Catholics, had greatly altered his views, and now made no secret of his opinion that the time was come to settle the vexed question in the only way it could be settled—for which expression of opinion he was summarily removed from his government.

The Parliament met in February, 1829. The King's speech, prepared, no doubt, by Peel, recommended the suppression of the Catholic Association, *and* the subsequent consideration of Catholic disabilities, with a view to their adjustment and removal. As for the Catholic Association, there could be no difficulty about that ; it had done its work, and not waiting for the law to suppress it, dissolved itself at once—that is, nominally, for substantially the organization still subsisted, and could easily resume its usual business in case of necessity.

It was Sir Robert Peel who, on the 5th of March, moved for a Committee of the Whole House, "for consideration of the civil disabilities of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects ;" and the motion was carried, after warm debate, by a large majority.

And now arose the most tremendous clamor of alarmed Protestantism that had been heard in the Three Kingdoms since the days of James II. — the last King who had ever dreamed of placing Catholics and Protestants on something like an approach to equality. Multitudinous petitions, not only from Irish Protestants, but from Scottish Presbyteries, from English Universities, from corporations of British towns, from private individuals, came pouring into Parliament, praying that the great and noble Protestant State of England should not be handed over as a prey to the Jesuits, the Inquisitors and the *Propaganda*. Never was such a jumble of various topics, sacred and profane, as in those petitions ; vested interests—idolatry of the Mass—principles of the Hanoverian succession—the Inquisition —eternal privileges of Protestant tailors, or Protestant lightermen—our holy religion— French principles—tithes—and the Beast of the Apocalypse—all were urged, with vehement eloquence, upon the enlightened legislators of Britain.

What may seem strange, one has to admit that a great number of these frightened petitioners were truly sincere and conscientious. The amiable Dr. Jebb, Protestant Bishop of Limerick, for example, writes an earnest letter to Sir Robert Peel, on the 11th

of February, 1829, (so soon as he saw the course that matters were taking,) and says to him: "Infinitely more difficulties and dangers will attach to concession than to uncompromising resistance. . . . . In defence of all that is dear to British Protestants, I am cheerfully prepared, if necessary, as many of my order have formerly done, to lay down life itself." On the other hand, the good Dr. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, had uttered this prayer for O'Connell when he started for the contest in Clare: "May the God of truth and justice protect and prosper you!" What very different—what very opposite ideas of truth and justice had these two excellent Prelates!

Sir Robert Peel, however, had taken his part—the Catholics were to be emancipated; and by *him*. But the King would not yield, save at the last extremity. To assent to an act of justice, seemed to George IV., like the loss of his dearest heart's blood. He endeavored even to get rid of the Wellington Cabinet, and to form a new Ministry, which would pledge itself *not* to do justice. But in this he failed. Sir Robert Peel tells us: "At a late hour on the evening of the 4th of March, the King wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, informing him that His Majesty anticipated so much difficulty, in the attempt to form another administration, that he could not dispense with our services; that he must, therefore, desire us to withdraw our resignation, and that we were at liberty to proceed with the measures, of which notice had been given in Parliament."*

Mr. O'Connell, who had arrived in London, to claim his seat for Clare, *as a Catholic*, finding that there was now a Government pledged to emancipation, having *carte blanche* for that purpose, decided not to present himself for the present, lest it should embarrass the administration.

The Emancipation act was forthwith introduced; it was prepared by Sir Robert Peel; it contained neither the provision for *veto*, nor that for bribing the priests; but it was accompanied by a certain other act, as fatal, perhaps, as either of those, namely, for disfranchisement of all the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland. Sir Robert was determined at least, not to yield this point. It was the forty-shilling freeholders, who had humbled the Beresford domination in Waterford, and destroyed the Foster monopoly in Louth; it was the forty-shilling freeholders who had carried O'Connell triumphantly to the head of the poll in Clare; and by destroying that whole class of voters, Peel, hoped very reasonably, not only to render the remaining voters more amenable to corrupt influences, but also to take away the motive, which had heretofore existed, for granting leases to small farmers, and thus in good time, to turn those independent farmers into tenants-at-will. He had his own profound reasons for this—which will fully appear hereafter.

The debates on the Relief bill were, as might have been expected, very violent and bitter. The fanatical section of English and Irish Protestantism, was deeply moved. In the mind of those people, all was lost; and Sir Robert Peel and the Duke, were almost directly charged with being agents of the Pope of Rome. However, the bill passed through its two first readings in the Commons; and the third reading was passed on the 30th of March, by a majority of thirty-six. Next day it was carried to the House of Lords; and on the 2d of April, its second reading was moved by the Duke of Wellington, who made no scruple to urge its necessity, in order "to prevent civil war." Sir Robert Peel, in his argument for the law, had been less explicit and straightforward than the Duke — he had only said the measure was needful, to prevent great dangers and "public calamity." †

After violent debates in the House of Lords, lasting several days, the bill was passed a third time, and passed by a major-

* *Memoirs.* By the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Bart. Published by the trustees of his papers, Lord Mahon and Right Honorable Ed. Cardwell, M. P. London: 1856.

† Sir Robert Peel, in his letter to Doctor Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, in February, said: "It is easy to blame the concessions that were made in 1782, and in 1793; but they were not made without an intimate conviction of their absolute necessity in order to prevent *greater dangers*." Sir Robert says again: "I can with truth affirm, that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829, I was swayed by *no fear*, except the fear of public calamity."—*Memoirs*, by Sir Robert Peel.

ity of one hundred and four. It then received the royal assent; and what is called Catholic Emancipation, was an accomplished fact.

O'Connell, in the meantime, presented himself at the bar of the House of Commons, claiming to take his seat as member for Clare. This was before the passage of the bill into a law. But an election petition was pending, sent forward by certain electors of Clare, against the validity of his return. The investigation of this petition consumed time; but, at length, the committee reported Mr. O'Connell duly elected. The Emancipation act was now passed, and was the law of the land. O'Connell, thereupon, held himself entitled to go in and take his seat, subject only to the new oaths. For this purpose, he repaired to the House, on the 15th of May, was introduced in the usual form by Lords Ebrington and Duncannon, and walked to the table to be sworn by the Clerk. But Sir Robert Peel, had prudently provided against this in the new law; which admitted only those who should, "*after the commencement of that act* be returned as members of the House of Commons," to take their seats under the new oaths. It was a mean piece of spite; and its special object was, to give Sir Robert an opportunity of snubbing O'Connell one last time, before yielding finally to his imperious demand.

Accordingly, the Clerk of the House tendered to the new member the now-abrogated oaths—one being the oath of Supremacy, (namely, that the King of England is head of the Church,) and the other, "that the Sacrifice of the Mass is impious and idolatrous," and so forth. He refused to take these oaths: he was then heard at the bar of the House, where he claimed his right to sit and vote: his claim was dissallowed by a vote: the old oaths were once more tendered to him: he read over the stupid trash in an audible voice; then said, raising his head, that he declined to take that oath, because "one part of it he knew to be false, and another he did not believe to be true." A new writ was then issued to hold an election for the County Clare.

The series of measures called "Emancipation" consisted of three acts of Parliament. The first, an act for suppression of the Catholic Association, as an illegal and dangerous society; the second an act for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders *in Ireland* (not in England, where that qualification was retained)—and third, the Relief act proper, abolishing the old oaths against transubstantiation, &c., and substituting another very long and ingenious oath (for Catholics only) testifying allegiance to the Crown; promising to maintain the Hanoverian settlement and succession; declaring that it is no article of the Catholic faith "that Princes excommunicated by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects; that neither the Pope nor any other foreign prince has any temporal or civil jurisdiction within the realm; promising to defend the settlement of property as established by law; solemnly disclaiming, disavowing, and abjuring 'any intention to subvert the present church establishment as settled by law;' and engaging never to exercise any privilege conferred by that act 'to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government.'"

The act admitted Catholics, on taking this oath, to be members of any lay body-corporate, and to do corporate acts, and vote at corporate elections; but not to join in a vote for presentation to a benefice in the gift of any corporation.

The act further most formally affirmed and preserved the great principle of Protestant Ascendancy, by specially excluding Catholics from the high offices of Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor; the former being the officer who makes nearly all appointments in Ireland, and exercises the royal power to pardon—or *not* to pardon; the latter being the person who decides on the guardianship of minors, and orders in what religion they are to be brought up, in the absence of *express* directions from their parents. The Lord Chancellor also has control over the commissions of magistrates, and cancels them at his pleasure, thus controlling, in a very great degree, the administration of justice.

Bearing in mind these important provisions and exceptions—and, further, that the Anglican Church still continued the established religion of the land, and still devoured

the Catholic people by its exactions—it is tolerably clear that by the Relief bill Catholics were not quite half emancipated.

But the most fatal blow to the liberties of the Irish people was the contemporaneous act for disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders; and for raising the county qualification to £10 a year—five times the qualification required in England. Only seventeen members of the House of Commons voted against this grievous injustice. It was introduced by Sir Robert Peel, on the ostensible ground that there was too great a disposition on the part of Irish landlords to divide their land into minute portions; that the franchise was a mere instrument with which the landed aristocracy exercised power and control over the elections; and that this control had lately passed into the hands of the priests, (which was worse,) and he cited as an example what had lately taken place in Louth and Monaghan and Waterford. In other words, he would disfranchise those small farmers *because* they had shown themselves capable of defying landlord control and acting independently. Amongst those who opposed this measure were Lord Duncannon, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Huskisson. Their argument was, "If the forty-shilling freeholders had been corrupt, *like those of Penrhyn*, their disfranchisement might be defended; but the only offence of the persons against whom the bill was directed had been that they exercised their privilege honestly and independently, according to their conscience."*

It is singular that O'Connell said not a word at any meeting, nor wrote any letter, protesting against this wholesale abolition of the civil and political rights of those to whom he owed his election for Clare. He thus consented by his silence to see cut away from under his own feet the very groundwork and material of all effective political action in Ireland; and often, afterwards, had occasion, as Ireland also had, to lament the impotence and futility of all patriotic effort for the real advancement of their country, in consequence of the destruction of the forty-shilling freeholders. Many thousands of these freeholders, and of their children, are now working on canals and railroads in America. The new and cheap ejectment laws were in full force; and were soon to act with fatal effect.

We can now appreciate in some measure the true *spirit* in which "Catholic Emancipation" was effected. It was "to avert civil war" said the Duke of Wellington; it was "to avoid greater dangers" said Sir Robert Peel. It was emphatically *not* to do justice, nor to repair a wrong. In the words of an eminent French writer on Irish affairs † nothing is more certain, than that neither the King nor his Ministers intended to do an act of justice and reparation towards the Catholics; the bill of 1829 was nothing else than a concession wrested from them by *circumstances;* which the King would never have consented to, if he had found Ministers decided—even at the cost of a civil war, to perpetuate an iniquity of three centuries, and which his Ministers would never have proposed if they had not apprehended that civil war, in the interest of the Protestant establishment itself. Now when a concession has been extorted by force, and is not a spontaneous homage to truth and justice, those who grant it may, perhaps, respect it as to its mere letter; but certainly they will not loyally comply with its spirit. When we see their practical application of it, it is evident that they desire to hold back with one hand what they have been obliged to bestow with the other; and that deeply regretting the necessity they have had to obey, when that necessity becomes less urgent, they observe only so much of their engagement as is needful to save them from the charge of perjury. Hence comes it also that there is so little gratitude manifested for this concession—and in truth, those may dispense with gratitude who owe only to fear, "*a little justice and a little freedom.*"

* Account of Debate in *Annual Register* for 1829.

† *Le Pere Perraud. Etudes sur l'Irlande contemporaine.*

CHAPTER LV.

1829—1840.

Results of the Relief Act—O'Connell Rëelected for Clare—Drain of Agricultural Produce—Educated Class of Catholics Bought—The Tithe War—Lord Anglesea Viceroy—O'Connell's Associations——Anglesea's Proclamations—Prosecution of O'Connell—National Education—Tithe-Tragedies—Newtownbarry—Carrickshock—Change of Dynasty in France—Reform Agitation in England—What Reform Meant in Ireland—Cholera—Resistance to Tithe—Lord's Grey's Cöercion Act—Abolition of Negro Slavery—Church Temporalities Act—Repeal Debate—Surplus Population—Surplus Produce—Tithe-Carnage at Rathcormack—Queen Victoria's Accession—Three Measures Against Ireland Poor Law—Tithe Law—Municipal Reform—Castle Sheriffs.

IMPERFECT and stinted and guarded as the Catholic Emancipation act was, it was, nevertheless, felt in Ireland to be a great triumph and noble achievement of O'Connell, who at once rose to the highest pinnacle of popular favor. The Catholics almost worshipped him, as their Heaven-sent deliverer; and the partizans of the good old traditionary Protestant Ascendancy thought the end of the world was at hand. The sword brandished in the hand of Walker's statue, standing upon a lofty column on a bastion of Derry walls, fell down with a crash, and was shivered to pieces, upon the very day when His Majesty, George IV., placed his signature on the Emancipation act; which he did not do, however, without having first broken and trampled upon a pen which was handed to him for that purpose, in a highly dramatic manner, and with the most perfect mimicry of deep feeling. Sir Harcourt Lees, for his part, thought the time was now at last surely come to "put down Popery" by act of Parliament, and to send the "Arch-Agitator" to the Tower.

As for O'Connell himself, and the more thoughtful amongst his friends and supporters of the Catholic Association, they saw too well that little or nothing was gained. Not only was their civil and political inferiority maintained and formally rëasserted; but the great body of brave farmers, who had frightened the "empire" by their independence, was swept out of civil existence at a blow. It at once became evident to O'Connell that there was no salvation for Ireland but in a repeal of the odious and fraudulent Union. On his return to Ireland, as if sensible that what had been already effected for his country was rather apparent than real, he declared openly that the next victory to be achieved must be the repeal of the Union. Both at Ennis and at Youghal he made speeches enforcing the necessity of this great measure, and promising never to rest until it should be accomplished; a pledge which, indeed, he labored all his life to redeem.

On the passage of the law disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, orders had been at once sent to Ireland to commence a "registration" of those who still retained the franchise, possessing a freehold of £10 yearly value. This haste was for the purpose of acting as soon as practicable upon Irish elections, and, if possible, defeating O'Connell when he should again present himself in Clare under the new writ. He was not opposed, however, on his second election at Clare, and was again sent back to Parliament, with all the qualifications required even by the new law. He did not at once take his seat, as Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of June.

This year, Ireland was said to be in an "alarming" state—there was "crime and outrage" in several counties, and especially in Tipperary. In fact, the old exaction of tithes not only continued to be enforced, but was pressed with even increased rigor, seeing that Papists had become so insolent. The consequence was the most natural in the world—some tithe-proctors were forced to eat their processes, and also had their ears cut off. The Tipperary magistrates assembled in great alarm, and demanded the immediate application of the "Insurrection act," for they could not understand how people should thus resist payment of their lawful tithes, unless there were a conspiracy to subvert the Protestant government and bring in the Pope.

In truth, there was throughout the island, a very unsettled and uneasy condition of the popular mind. Men were told that they were "relieved" and "emancipated," but they felt no advantage from it whatsoever. They tried to feel pride in the victory, which they were assured they had

won over a British Ministry ; but in the meantime, they found themselves very generally disfranchised ; and what was worse—landlords were refusing to make new leases of farms, and were breaking the existing leases where they could ; having no longer the motive to rear up a small freehold population for the hustings. The chairmen of quarter-sessions, and the sheriffs and bailiffs, were busy with their ejectments ; and pauperism began extensively to prevail. The seasons, indeed, had been for some time rather favorable ; and grain and cattle were abundant ; but the British system had now been so well established in our island, that all this wealth of bounteous nature flowed off instantly to England, and the price of it also. All went the same way. The export of agricultural produce to England out of Ireland, had grown so enormous within the past few years, that it had been judged expedient in 1826, to place that trade "on the footing of a *coasting trade*." In other words, no custom-house accounts were to be kept of it ; and the amount of it was thus concealed for many years. In that year, 1826, however, the exports to England, had been to the value of almost eight millions in corn and cattle. It was but small benefit to the Irish people to have favorable seasons and plenteous harvests ; their wealth not only made itself wings and flew to England ; but as tenancy-at-will now became *the fashion*, landlords increased rents in proportion to increased produce ; and then went to England—the centre of political action and fashionable life, to spend those improved rents. For all this there was no remedy in emancipation.

It soon became evident also, that the effects of the Relief act would be disastrous in another respect. Parliament and the Judicial Bench being now opened, (always with the exception of the place of Lord Chancellor,) to aspiring Catholics of the educated class, *their* interests and sympathies became separated from those of their countrymen. Undoubtedly, this result had been calculated by the prudent statesman who accomplished the Relief measure ; and his plan succeeded but too well. That plan may by described in general terms, as a plan for corrupting the higher classes, and extirpating the lower ; and emancipation, disfranchising the latter, and offering bribes to the former, was admirably calculated to buy over to the British interests, such as aspired to the offices and emoluments dispensed by England, and to make them forget the duty they owed to their own countrymen, and the honor and welfare of their native land. Since that day, therefore, we have seen constantly more and more of the higher class of Catholics, in various positions *helping* England to govern—that is to pillage and depopulate—this ill-fated island. Since that day, have been many Catholic members of Parliament ;—they have solicited places for useful constituents—Catholic Attorney-Generals—they have packed juries to "do the King's business." Catholic judges—they have sat complacently on the bench, and permitted those juries to be packed, and pretended to try their fellow-countrymen before those packed juries, to glut the vengeance of a government, which cannot bear to be disquieted while clearing off its "surplus population." In other words, those members of Parliament, attorney-generals and judges, have sold themselves for money and station, to a Government which they know to be the mortal enemy of their countrymen and kinsmen, and have abandoned those countrymen and kinsmen to certain slaughter and extermination.

Such have been the substantial results of the "Relief Measures" of 1829 ; and O'Connell had good reason for his conclusion, that no effectual service could be rendered to the country, short of annulling the union with England.

The discontent and disappointment of the people, (who found that emancipation did not save them from starvation,) found vent in occasional deeds of violence ; and, always for the old reasons—ruthless seizures for tithe, and wholesale ejectment of tenants. Many thousands of farmers, now found themselves emancipated, but disfranchised, and in imminent danger of being ejected and thrown out on the highways. They were capable by law of holding high office, but exposed, in fact, to see their children perishing by hunger and hardship. The crimes committed in Ireland, have nearly

always one specific character, and one obvious motive and provocation ; their victims have been almost uniformly tithe-proctors, who seized upon the small store of the poor —or landlords or agents who cleared estates —or incoming tenants, who rented farms from which others had been ejected. Murders for money, from jealousy, or in personal quarrel, have been at all times, much more rare in Ireland than in England ; and, indeed, the lamentable acts of violence which did occur, were generally perpetrated by men who had not previously known the doomed victim ; and in obedience to the decree of a secret society. The hapless people of the country had long felt and experienced that the laws were made not for them but against them ; they had long been accustomed to see law at one side, and justice at the other ; they could not perceive why there should be any law, compelling them to pay clergymen whom they never saw, and at whose services they would shudder to assist ; nor why there should be a law to fling them out from the little farm, which they had improved and rendered fertile by the sweat of their brows. Hence the series of secret combinations, with their own judicial sentences and desperate executions. These proceedings, however, always drew down upon the peasantry of the neighborhood, a most ferocious and disproportionate vengeance, and formed the excuse for keeping Arms acts and Insurrection acts almost in permanence.

The grievance of tithes, and the whole of that monstrous iniquity, called the Established Church, seemed to be felt by the people, with even more intensity of irritation, since they were told that they were now "emancipated," and that there was an end of Protestant Ascendancy. What this emancipation might be, they did not well understand, and knew no other result from it, than that they were deprived of their franchise, and could, therefore, get no more leases. And they thought that they saw Protestant Ascendancy all around them as rampant as ever. Protestant Ascendancy was always at their doors ; it entered their cabins, and carried off their pans and pots, their calves, and pigs, to satisfy a Protestant rector ; Protestant magistrates (who were in the great majority,) were always ready to browbeat them from the bench, and to send policemen to search their beds for concealed arms ; Protestant jurors always met them in the courts of justice, and proved to them that the laws of the land were not for them. If sometimes, therefore, these people desperately took the law into their own hands, or even associated together, to be a kind of law unto themselves, and executive also—dismal as such a state of society certainly is, the whole blame of it rests upon that unjust and savage system of dealing with Ireland, which was called "government," and of which, a faint outline only has been traced in these pages.

King George IV. died in 1830 ; and was succeeded by his brother King William IV. ;—an event of little or no interest to Ireland.

The next year was occupied in England, by a most energetic agitation for a Reform in Parliament ;—an affair which also concerned Ireland extremely little. The Reform was to consist chiefly in disfranchising old boroughs, which had become ruinous and almost uninhabited ; and giving the franchise to large centres of population, which had never returned members of Parliament before. Excitement on this question ran very high throughout the other island, but did not extend in any great measure to Ireland, whose proportions of representation had been fixed by the act of Union. O'Connell and the other Catholic and Liberal Irish members, all supported the "Reform" Ministry, and helped to carry the measure in 1832 ; imagining, probably, that Ireland would thereby establish a claim upon the popular party in England, for support and friendly sympathy in asserting her own rights—an expectation which was signally disappointed.

On the 4th of February, 1830, Parliament opened, but was soon dissolved, and a new election took place. This time, O'Connell abandoned Clare, and achieved another brilliant victory over the Beresford interest at Waterford. A considerable number of Catholics now entered Parliament for the first time ; O'Gorman Mahon for Clare, Richard More O'Ferrall for Kildare, Lord Killeen for Meath, &c. Mr. Smith O'Brien

continued to represent Ennis ; and was a most attentive and industrious member of Parliament ; acting on most questions with the Whig party, and sincerely cherishing the delusion, (which he afterwards had to give up,) that Whigs were more friendly to right and justice in Ireland, than Tories.

In the beginning of 1830, the Duke of Northumberland was Lord-Lieutenant. On the change of Ministry, the Marquis of Anglesea, was again sent over as Viceroy ; and Lord Plunket was made Lord Chancellor, an office which he discharged with great ability for many years. He had by this time forgotten that the Union was a nullity and a fraud, which his sons were to be sworn to resist and annul. One of his sons became a Bishop by the gracious appointment of the King. Yet Mr. Plunket was right in denouncing the Union as a nullity and a fraud ; and if he had been thoroughly honest, he would now have been found by O'Connell's side, demanding the restoration of an independent Irish Legislature.

During the course of this year, there was established a "Society of the Friends of Ireland." It was nothing but the Catholic Association under another name ; and its object was to agitate the repeal of the Union. But the course pursued by Mr. O'Connell, since the Relief act had occasioned violent irritation in England, amongst both Whigs and Tories. That, after so generous and noble a concession as emancipation was represented to be—which was to have fully satisfied the Irish people, and filled them with rejoicing "loyalty"—that, instead of gratitude and loyal contentment, there should immediately spring up a new and acrimonious agitation, openly aiming at the "dismemberment of the empire," seemed to those Whigs and Tories, an example of the basest ingratitude. O'Connell, too, whose deportment in Parliament was perfectly dignified and business-like, when he came to Ireland, and found himself the centre of a great meeting of his countrymen, often used violent and denunciatory language concerning political opponents ; and even sometimes turned into ridicule, some grave and reverend Tory, or some sneaking and intriguing Whig.

In short, it was decided by the administration, all liberal as it was, to put a stop to the "Arch-Agitator's" exciting proceedings ; and as the "Friends of Ireland" fell, undoubtedly, under the former act, for suppressing illegal associations, the Viceroy was instructed to "proclaim it under that act, and threaten prosecution." The society was, as usual, at once dissolved, and was at once succeeded by the "Anti-Union Association." O'Connell omitted no opportunity of insisting upon a restoration of the Irish Parliament, and demonstrating the necessity of that measure—which made him more popular and powerful in Dublin, than he had ever been before. For it was in Dublin chiefly that the repeal spirit then existed ; the country-people, and the provincial towns, were not yet aroused on that question ; but the metropolis appreciated it at once. There was to be held on the 27th of December, a great assembly and procession of the trades of Dublin, with the express object of complimenting Mr. O'Connell for his advocacy of an Irish Parliament. The bands were to form at Phibsborough, in the suburbs of Dublin, and march with their banners and *insignia* into the city, to O'Connell's house ; where they were to present him with an address. This procession of peaceful and unarmed men, appeared to Lord Anglesea, too perilous a thing to be permitted, with due regard to the peace of the city ; and he issued a proclamation absolutely forbidding the assembly. This, of course, implied an intention of dispersing it by force. By O'Connell's advice, therefore, the meeting was not held.

This was but the beginning of a long contest between the Arch-Agitator and the Marquis of Anglesea, the former, using every legal device and contrivance, to make for the people some occasion of meeting, and expressing their sentiments, and the Marquis regularly laying on the heavy hand of power, and menacing unarmed citizens with military violence. Mr. O'Connell was unmeasured enough in the terms of very natural resentment, which he applied to Lord Anglesea, and the whole Whig government, whom he characterized, as "base, brutal, and bloody Whigs." But while he could use indignant language, the Lord-Lieutenant had all the practical advan-

tages in such a contest; he had his sheriffs and juries at hand, and the court of King's Bench always open—so that anything was an "illegal and dangerous association" which he might choose to prosecute;—he had the garrison of Dublin constantly ready for action; and besides these things, the noble Marquis opened O'Connell's letters in the Post Office, as well as letters addressed to him, in order that he might know who were his correspondents, what were his designs, and what were his resources. The Marquis had the letters always resealed with the utmost care, with counterfeited seals, so that the persons receiving the letters should not suspect they had been opened and so be put on their guard.*

The next name under which Mr. O'Connell made his association appear was the Irish Volunteers, for repeal of the Union; but this had no better fate than the rest. When it was "proclaimed," however, and commanded not to meet, Mr. O'Connell, for once, did not submit. He said—and this was true—that a proclamation could not make law; and pledged himself, as a lawyer, that his organization was perfectly legal, as it was. He, therefore, and many of his usual attendants, went and held the meeting. Thereupon, O'Connell, together with Mr. Lawless, Mr. Steele, Mr. Barrett, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Clooney, and two or three others, were forthwith arrested, and brought before magistrates, where they were required to give bail. On issuing from the magistrate's office, the Arch-Agitator found a great crowd in the streets; made them a speech, of course—"Yesterday," he exclaimed, "I was only half an agitator—to-day I am a whole one. Day and night will I now strive to fling off despotism, to redeem my country, to repeal the Union."

The prosecution proceeded; and as Mr. O'Connell knew perfectly well that he could have no chance before a Castle jury properly arranged, which would be sure to find him at once guilty of whatever he should be charged withal, he dexterously delayed the striking of the jury, and gained time. The Orange party was in vehement excitement; and it need scarcely be added that in England all parties were charmed with the idea of having the loud-tongued agitator locked up in a jail for a misdemeanor. After some ingenuity in pleading, O'Connell allowed judgment to go by default upon several of the counts; that is, substantially pleaded guilty on those counts. He knew he might as well do so, as he would be arraigned before a sure jury; and all the world waited till he should be called up for sentence. But he was never called up for sentence. It happened just then that the Whig Ministry was straining every nerve to secure a good majority for their Reform; and O'Connell, and those others whom he could influence, or who would be revolted by any severity exercised towards him, were not allies to be thrown away for the sake of gratifying the Orangemen. For that time, therefore, legal proceedings against the agitator went no further.

The year 1831 was marked by the establishment of the national system of education in Ireland, in pursuance of a bill introduced by Lord Stanley. Two years after, (1833,) the grants of public money for the education of the poor, which had previously been enjoyed by the Kildare Place School Society and other proselytizing institutions, were intrusted to the Lord-Lieutenant, to be expended on the instruction of children of all sects, under the superintendence of commissioners appointed by the Crown, and called "Commissioners of National Education." Two years afterwards, (1835,) these commissioners were incorporated with power to hold lands. The ostensible principles of this new establishment were "Liberal;"

* The Marquis of Anglesea is first on the list of letter-spies, which was laid before Parliament in 1844. But that list extends over a period of only eleven years. It was avowed by Ministers that the Post Office *espionnage* had existed long before Lord Anglesea's time—as it certainly existed long after that of Earl de Grey, in 1843. Earl de Grey is the last of the letter-spies mentioned in the return. That return, however, has taken care not to inform us *whose* letters were thus opened and copied. It only gives a list of the Viceroys, Chancellors, Archbishops, and Lord-Justices, who did order such manipulations of letters, and the years in which they so ordered it. It appears that such warrants were constantly in existence for ten years out of the eleven; but we are not informed as to the numbers of the persons whose correspondence was thus investigated; nor any of their names. O'Connell was, of course, one; and it was in the very height of the contest waged with O'Connell to put down his several associations that the Marquis of Anglesea is first returned as a letter-spy.

there was to be no interference with the religious creed of any pupil ; and clergymen of each denomination were to be allowed the opportunity of giving religious instructions to the children of their respective faiths.

But practically the Government took good care that, both on the first establishment of the board and ever since, the great majority of the commissioners should be Protestants. The scheme was intended to take into the hands of the British Government the formation of the minds of young Irishmen, and the moulding of their first impressions, in such a way that they might forget they were Irish, and feel and think as like English children as possible. Their reading lessons have been carefully edited to this end ; most of them by Dr. Wheatley, an Englishman, and others by Mr. Carlisle, a Scotchman. The intention was not so much to convert Catholic children as to denationalize them.

It had been for long ages prohibited to the Irish Catholics to be educated at all, under heavy penalties. When these penal laws had disappeared, and the British Government found that the Irish were very desirous to educate their children, that Government resolved, if they must be taught, to teach them itself, and especially to keep them as much as possible ignorant of the history of their own country—a very prudent and politic design, if it could only have been accomplished.

For the rest, these national schools have been tolerably well conducted ; but in districts where the population is of mixed religions, Catholic children, for the most part, have received no benefit from them, on account of the objections of the Catholic clergy against mixed education. In other districts, where Catholics form the whole population, these objections did not practically apply.

In 1850, there were nearly five thousand schools under this board, and five hundred and eleven thousand two hundred and thirty nine scholars.

The tithe war raged violently this year—the people were becoming more and more indisposed to pay Protestant rectors, especially in the South of Ireland, where those rectors often have no flocks. On the banks of the Slaney, on the very border between Wexford and Carlow County, and at the foot of the stately Mount Leinster, stands the little town of Newtownbarry. On the 18th of June, 1831, this usually quiet village was the scene of a bloody tithe-tragedy. The Rev. Mr. McClintock would have his tithe ; and by aid of the police and yeomanry, he had seized the crops and goods of several persons in the neighborhood. These things were to be auctioned in Newtownbarry market-place on the market-day. Before that day anonymous written notices were sent to many persons in the country, requesting them to come in and *attend* the sale of their neighbors' pigs, beds and kettles. Considerable numbers of people attended in consequence, but not armed : their object being only to keep all persons back from bidding at this auction. It was known that large crowds had come in and that the forced sale must almost certainly produce a collision. But the Rev. Mr. McClintock would have his rights. The property seized was brought into town guarded by a large force of constabulary, who were to be supported, if needful by another large force of yeomanry. The sale opened ; the people pressed forward, and kept away, by a show of intimidation, the few who might have been disposed to purchase. At last, the police attacked the unarmed multitudes ; were seconded with great alacrity by the yeomanry ; and very soon thirteen slain men and twenty wounded were lying in their blood on the street of Newtownbarry. No person was ever brought to punishment for this slaughter. Indeed, it was felt by the Orange party, that the Rev. Mr. McClintock had only shown proper spirit in vindicating his right—that this course of intimidation had gone too far—and that it was time an example should be made ; more moderate persons, however, even of the Established Church, could not but think it unfortunate that ministers of religion should so often have to wring their blood-stained dues out of the very vitals of parishioners who hate them and all their works

Six months after the affair of Newtownbarry, befel the other tithe-slaughter of Carrickshock. Certain moneys were due for

tithe to the Rev. Hans Hamilton, rector of Knocktopher, in the County Kilkenny; a process-server was sent out to serve the needful documents, and this functionary was protected by a large force of armed police. The people assembled in considerable and still-increasing numbers, their object being to get hold of the bailiff and force him to "eat the latitats"—papers of that nature being supposed in those parts to be the natural food of process-servers. Menacing crowds of country-people gathered around the line of march of the officer and his escort; and when they arrived at a bare and desolate tract called the Common of Carrickshock, traversed by a lane which is bordered by a low wall, in most places broken down, the demands of the people to have the process-server delivered up to them became pressing and loud. At length, a young man sprang into the lane, seized the process-server, and endeavored to carry him off, out of the hands of his protectors. He was instantly shot dead. Then there was a general onslaught—the people had armed themselves with a species of short pikes, and they fell upon the police with fury. Eleven of the constables were killed, and a good many of the people also; but the legal documents were not served that day. It was fast becoming evident that some measures must be adopted to prevent these sanguinary collisions.

In England the resistance of the Irish to levies for tithes was, as usual, represented as the evidence of a deep Popish conspiracy to overturn the Protestant Church; and the Whigs were almost as much excited by this idea as the Tories. The voluminous Tory historian, Alison, discovered indeed, for once that "the Pope's influence in Ireland" was on the present occasion beneficial: inasmuch as "The Vatican threw off the mask, and measures were commenced evidently intended to destroy the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and open the door to the replacing of the Catholic faith in these realms." Thus, English Whigs drew off in some measure from their association with the Irish Catholics; and this weakened the party of reform. The Cholera, also, raged all through the summer of 1832; and this, according to the same historian, was another beneficial event, as it sensibly abated the reform mania.

The King, however, in a speech from the Throne, recommended attention to the question of tithes; and a committee of the Lords was appointed to investigate and report upon it. They reported in favor of commuting the tithe to a charge upon land. In the debate on reception of this report, it was stated that the arrears of tithes due but not recoverable in the four dioceses of Ossory, Leighlin, Cashel, and Ferns, were computed at £84,954. A law was, in the meantime, proposed and carried by Government, authorizing an issue from the consolidated fund of a large sum of money for relief of those clergymen who could not collect their tithes. A part of the county Tipperary was also proclaimed under the Cöercion act then pending; and Lord Grey was preparing a still more stringent Cöercion act for the next year.

Mr. O'Connell vehemently opposed the grant from the consolidated fund, which was accompanied by an authority to *levy* the amount due, in order to repay the advance. This was, in fact, the Government assuming upon itself the function of the tithe-proctor and the bailiff, with the aid of all the troops and police; and it was plainly intended to make a few salutary examples of slaughter. Throughout the Parliamentary discussions on these questions, there does not appear to have been the slightest intention on the part of either party to relieve Ireland from the burden of the Established Church; all their anxiety was how to insure to the clergy their income out of the pockets of the people in some way which it would be impossible to resist or evade. On the other hand, O'Connell declared in Parliament—"The Irish people are determined to get rid of tithes, and get rid of them they will."

But the resistance of the farmers was carried on peacefully; and generally consisted in deterring purchasers at tithe-sales by the demonstration of a resolute public opinion. The same force operated to prevent neighbors from aiding to remove crops or other things, even in case they should have been nominally sold. It cannot be denied that this force was nothing but a very manifest intimidation, and would have been

quite unjustifiable if the claim for tithe had been just.

The next year Lord Grey brought forward his Cöercion bill, and the Tories not only supported it with alacrity, but hailed it with joy, as a proof that the most "liberal" of English reformers had come round to *their* policy for the government of Ireland; and, in fact, since that day English Tories and English Whigs have generally been in the most gratifying accord upon cöercion bills for Ireland. However, they may differ upon other matters, they are an unit whenever it is a question of dragooning the Irish.

The Cöercion acts are all very like one another; but this one contained the new provision that the Viceroy might suppress and disperse *any meeting* which he should deem dangerous to the public peace. The bill contained the usual powers and penalties—the Lord-Lieutenant might "proclaim" any district—all persons in proclaimed districts to remain within doors from one hour after sunset until sunrise, and also to abstain from attending any meeting whatsoever. No meeting was to be held, even to petition Parliament, without ten days' previous notice to the Lord-Lieutenant, and his sanction to hold such meeting. The proclaimed districts were to be subject to martial law; every offender was to be tried before a court-martial; and all officers of justice and military on duty were (in such proclaimed district,) to have authority to enter houses at any hour and search for arms. The writ of *Habeas Corpus* was to be suspended for three months after the arrest of any person, as respected that person.

These atrocious provisions for torturing the people, and for repressing even all open and peaceful expressions of opinion, continued to be the law of the land for five years. This law was then succeeded by another law of the same kind; and that by another and another. It might be supposed that the British Parliament might as well pass a perpetual Cöercion act for Ireland at once, and take away altogether the writ of *Habeas Corpus;* but such a measure as this would be supposed to be too abhorrent to the spirit of the British Constitution. The Cöercion acts, therefore, are all proposed for a limited time, and a hope is regularly expressed, by the member of the Government who introduces one of them, that the time is approaching when these "exceptional" measures will be no longer needful to the good-government and well-being of Ireland.

In the same session, Parliament passed the act for abolishing negro slavery in the British West Indies, and appropriated twenty millions sterling to compensate the planters. Of course, the money was borrowed, and added to the national debt; and England and Ireland have been paying the interest on it ever since.

"The Church Temporalities act" for Ireland, was passed in the year 1833. It was introduced by Lord Althorpe, and became law on the 30th of July. His lordship stated the entire revenue of the Irish Church at £732,000 sterling. The new act abolished ten Bishopries, by consolidating their sees with sees adjoining. The consolidation was to take place gradually, on the death of Bishops. "Church-rates" were abolished. The revenues of the sees which were to remain in existence were diminished; and the Church property of the suppressed sees, together with the saving by diminished revenues, were estimated as creating a fund of £3,000,000, to be vested in a board of "Ecclesiastical Commissioners," to be expended for strictly ecclesiastical purposes; the principle being that no Church property could be alienated from its legal owners, and that the country was not to be relieved of any part of the burden of this enormous establishment. Accordingly, the people were not at all benefited by this act; even the abolition of "Church-rates" was only a boon to the landlords, who immediately raised the rents to their tenants-at-will.

Next was introduced and passed another bill, appropriating one million sterling to the parsons, in compensation for the tithes due and unpaid for three years.

In 1834, O'Connell commenced seriously the work of repeal of the Union, in Parliament. His first move was a proposal to appoint a committee to inquire into the conduct of Baron Smith, one of the Irish

judges, whom he accused of introducing politics into his charges from the bench. The committee was refused; because it was held that an Irish judge could not avoid the subject of politics in his judicial addresses, seeing that Irish "crimes" were almost wholly of a political character. On the 23d of April, O'Connell formally brought forward in Parliament, the question of repealing the Union. There followed a debate of four days. His chief opponent was Mr. Spring Rice, (afterwards Lord Monteagle,) who labored to prove that Ireland had largely profited by the Union; and was at that moment enjoying exemption from several specific taxes which pressed upon Great Britain. In truth, according to his statistics, Ireland was growing rich, or at least ought to be, in consequence of the generous forbearance of the English people and Government, in burdening the other parts of the empire with imposts, which she had not to pay.

But, notwithstanding statistics, the notorious truth was, that England was becoming always richer, and her people more luxurious in their style of living, while Ireland was fast sinking into destitution. The Irish rents spent by absentee-proprietors now amounted to more than four millions. Manufacturers in Ireland, (with the single exception of linen,) no longer existed. Extermination of tenantry, (or as the people were now always termed, "surplus population,") had increased to a dreadful extent; and those who had means to emigrate were flying from the country in wild terror. A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1833—the writer being no other than Sir Archibald Alison—states that the emigration in 1831, from Ireland, amounted to eighteen thousand. The writer adds: "No reason can be assigned why it should not be one hundred and eighty thousand." From this time the leading idea of English statesmen and economists was, to devise some way of getting rid of the "surplus" people.

Yet while the people were said to be surplus, the island in which they lived was steadily and rapidly increasing her export of provisions; the export of grain and cattle into England, which had amounted in 1826, to nearly eight millions sterling, had now been augmented by about one-half; and this wasting process—shipping off men in one direction, and the food they had raised in another—went on developing itself, as we shall see, until the export of the surplus people reached three hundred thousand a year, and the export of the surplus food amounted to at least twenty millions sterling—Ireland being the only country known in ancient or in modern times, which had these two kinds of "surplus" for export at one time. It was so plainly demonstrated, however, in Parliament, by Mr. Spring Rice and other speakers, that the country was prospering under the Union, that O'Connell's motion was at once voted down. On the same occasion, the House of Peers not only rejected the proposition unanimously, but addressed the King, declaring their firm resolution to maintain the "integrity of the empire."

Various efforts were made in this and the following year to force upon Parliament some just measure for the reduction of the Irish Church Establishment. Mr. Ward, an English member, was especially zealous in this cause; but as these proposals were steadily resisted, and came to nothing whatever for several years, we need not occupy ourselves with them here. The Church bill of Mr. Ward, contained what was called the "Appropriation clause," for devoting to state purposes, and the general improvement of the country, the funds to be curtailed from the wealth of the Church. This was the great stumbling-block to the Tories, and to the House of Lords; and the measure was abandoned.

The last scene of tithe-carnage, was enacted at Rathcormack, a village in Waterford County. It was on the 18th of December, 1834. Seizure had been made upon the stackyard of a poor widow, to pay the Protestant rector. Her neighbors became strongly excited; and assembled in crowds, with the apparent purpose of resisting the abstraction of the property. A narrow lane, or *boreen*, led up from the highroad to the widow's place. In this lane, the people had overturned a wagon to block up the way, and seemed resolved to defend their barricade. The officers of the law ap-

proached, well supported by armed men, both police and military. There was some parley; stones were thrown; the Riot act was read; and then orders were given to fire. A destructive volley was poured in upon the unarmed crowd, many of them fell, killed and wounded; and his reverence carried off, over the bleeding corpses, his tithe of the widow's sheaves. The excitement and indignation aroused by this "Rathcormack massacre," were profound and wide-spread. The combinations amongst the peasantry to resist tithe-sales, and to prevent all persons from purchasing, at their own proper peril, became more organized and formidable. Doctor MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, writing a public letter at this time to the Duke of Wellington, thus expresses himself: "All the united authorities, and the Senate, can never annex the conscientious obligations of law to enactments that are contrary to right, reason, and justice. And hence, the stubborn and unconquerable resistance of the people of Ireland to those odious acts—I will not call them *laws*—which have forced them to pay tribute to the teachers of an adverse creed. I shall freely declare my own resolve. I have leased a small farm, just sufficient to qualify me for the exercise of the franchise. After paying the landlord his rent, neither to parson, proctor nor agent, shall I consent to pay, in the shape of tithe, or any other tax, a penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this, or any other country." It may well be supposed, that such a declaration as this, coming from a reverend dignitary of the Catholic Church—affirming that the Church laws were no laws, and that he himself would deny and defy them, greatly aggravated and encouraged the organized resistance of the people. If an attempt had been made to levy tithe from the Archbishop's farm, no man in the diocese would have dared to bid for his corn-sheaves.

King William IV., died in June, 1837, and Queen Victoria reigned in his stead; a disastrous reign to Ireland.

Within the first three years of this Queen's reign, three measures of great importance were passed for Ireland; all brought forward under pretext of Concession and Liberalism; but all marked in reality with the invariable, inevitable stamp of mortal enmity towards the people of our country. These were, the *Poor Law*, the *Tithe Law*, and the *Law for Municipal Reform.*

Poor laws had become at once necessary in England, on the supression of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII. In Catholic times, and according to Catholic ideas, alms-giving was a Christian duty; from that moment it had to become a tax. Those monasteries had been endowed by charitable and religious people mainly for the relief of the poor; but when their lands came into possession of King Henry's courtiers, the poor immediately began to be regarded as public enemies to be suppressed. The poor man had been a brother, whom it was a privilege and duty to console; he became one of the "dangerous classes," to be well watched, to be often punished, and to be forever degraded and disgraced. The first English Poor law (27 Henry VIII.,) prohibited alms-giving under heavy penalties; and as for "sturdy beggars"—"a sturdy beggar is to be whipped the first time, and if he again offend, he shall suffer death as a felon and an enemy of the commonwealth." The fourteenth of Elizabeth provided that these terrible sturdy beggars "should for the first offence be grievously whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about; for the second, be deemed as felons; and for the third, suffer death as felons without benefit of clergy." Innumerable amendments and alterations have been made since those days in the English system of Poor laws, by which, although these ferocious punishments were mitigated, the principle was maintained, of treating the poor as enemies, and making charity a compulsory tax.

All this system had been hitherto unknown in Ireland—as it is still unknown in France and Spain. Poor men had been always with us, and that in plenty; but no "able-bodied paupers," by profession. If a third of the population was sometimes in a half-starving condition for half the year, the others, who had more comforts around them, shared generously with their suffering neighbors, and thought they were doing God ser-

vice. Christian charity was not yet worked by machinery, nor exacted by sheriff's officers. In short, poor as the Irish were—and they were only poor because the English ate them out of house and home—their whole nature and habits were totally abhorrent to the idea of Poor laws. But it was now the settled design of the British Government to fasten upon them this plague; and for two principal reasons—first, to obtain absolute control, through their own officials, of the great mass of the poor, who might otherwise be turned into elements of revolutionary disturbance; second, to aid and encourage the extermination of the "surplupos pulation"—thus coming in aid of the new code of cheap and easy ejectment—for when there should be great poor-houses in every district to receive the homeless people, landlords would have the less hesitation in turning out upon the highways the population of whole townlands at once. Besides, the immense patronage which the new system would place in the hands of the Government—a patronage to be chiefly exercised amongst the class a stage or two removed above the very poor themselves, would give to that Government, in every "Poor-Law Union," a very extensive control over the interests and whole way of life of the farming class.

A person named Nicholl, a Scotchman, was sent to make a tour in Ireland, and to report on the distresses of the poor. After a journey of a few weeks, in a country quite unknown to him, this man made a report. He saw much suffering and privation; and reported that during half the year, there were five hundred and eighty-five thousand persons, with two millions three hundred thousand *more* depending on them, in a state of utter destitution. He took care to report nothing of the reason of this destitution; namely, the drain of Irish produce to England. Upon the report of this Scotchman, a measure was prepared and introduced by Lord John Russell, to establish an universal system of Poor laws; a board of commissioners, and distribution of the island into "Unions." It was in vain that O'Connell, many Catholic Bishops, many Protestant Irishmen, even, opposed this dreadful law. It was carried by large majorities, and became law in July, 1838. Two years later there were one hundred and twenty-seven Unions marked out and constituted; fourteen immense Poor Houses, built like prisons, had been built, and the others were in rapid progress. Ireland has been blistering and festering under this British pestilence ever since that day. One of the first consequences of it was a large increase in the number of ejectments. The ejected people, when they had no money to emigrate, could only take refuge in these Poor law jails, bid adieu to all decency and independence, and become paupers forever, cursing the cruel "charity" that prolonged their miserable existence.

The second of these measures was the Tithe bill; passed in May, 1838. It *abolished* Church tithes in Ireland; that is to say, it converted them into a charge upon the land; called tithe rent-charge, payable in the first place to the parsons by the landlords, and then leviable on the tenants by distress, along with the rent. Thus, the parsons were relieved from the necessity of coming into immediate collision with the farmers, and raising bloody riots to come at their tenth sheaf and tenth potato. The tithe was, in fact, confounded with the rent, and put into a form impossible to be resisted or evaded. In return for the additional security and tranquillity thus assured to the clergymen, and for the saving of their heavy expenses to proctors and tithe-farmers, they were made to submit to a deduction of twenty-five per cent. upon the amount claimed by them. On the whole it was a profitable change for the parsons, who have been better paid since that time than they had been for many years before. The people were assured that they were relieved from the "tithe;" and the Church was supposed to have escaped the *odium* of this shocking imposition; but, at the same time, many a poor family saw its last bed carried off by the landlord's bailiffs, to pay "tithe rent-charge." Nothing can demonstrate in a more offensive manner the savage resolution of the British Government and people to make us pay for support of that alien church, or die.

The third great measure which signalized the first years of Queen Victoria, was the

Municipal Reform act. The Emancipation act had been quite inoperative in giving to Catholics their rightful place in the corporations. A Municipal Reform bill had been introduced into Parliament, in 1836, by O'Loghlen, then Attorney-General. He had stated in his speech, that "although the whole number of corporators in Ireland were thirteen thousand, and although since 1792, the corporations had been nominally open to Catholics, not more than two hundred had been admitted." The municipal bodies also, being quite free from popular control, and all other control, had become quite as conspicuous for corruption as for Protestantism; and independently of the claims of the Catholics, some cleansing process was absolutely needful amongst those dens of iniquity. The principle of the new bill was to give to the inhabitants of the towns (subject to a qualification according to rating,) the power to elect town councillors, and thus infuse a popular element into the little close boroughs of municipal jurisdiction.

A Municipal Reform bill had been within a few years enacted for England; and another object of the Government was to assimilate, as far as was prudent, the Irish institutions of this kind with the English. One great difficulty, however, at once presented itself. Some of the functions of municipal officers were connected with the administration of justice. The mayor is a magistrate. What is of still graver importance, the sheriff of a corporate city is the officer who has charge of the list of qualified *jurors* in that city, and who summons a certain number of them to serve at each assize or commission. If such sheriff should be a Catholic, there was reason to fear that he might not exercise due vigilance in keeping Catholics off those juries which might have to try "political offences"—a large and essential department of what is called "government" in Ireland.

Violent opposition was made to the bill, on this and other grounds; and it was thrown out by the House of Lords. The agitation, however, was quite vehement on the subject in Ireland; and the demand for corporate reform grew loud. While the Marquis of Normanby was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he did not prevent and repress political meetings, as he was invested with power to do; and the Whig Ministry soon found they could not calculate on Catholic support, (which they needed,) without some measure of this character. During the three years, 1837–8–9, the bill underwent several modifications, and was several times passed by the Commons and thrown out by the Peers. At last, it took its final shape, and was introduced by Lord Morpeth, on the 14th of February, 1840. In his bill, the amount of *rating* fixed as the qualification for voters was £8. When it was sent up to the Lords, they insisted upon the qualification of a £10 rating; and with this change it was accepted by the Commons, and became law.*

The Municipal Reform act would have been indeed an invaluable concession of right and equity to Ireland; and we should here be called upon to greatly modify or retract very much of the bitter reflections which have been made upon the deadly hostility shown by all British Governments against the Irish people, but for one circumstance. A clause of the new act, not only renders all the rest comparatively worthless, but provides with deliberate malignity for the subversion of all law and justice in Ireland. It enacts that the sheriff shall not be elected by the Town Councils, as in England, but appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant. That is to say, the Town Councils were to be allowed to submit certain names to that functionary, amongst whom they should pray him to appoint their sheriff; and if none of the names pleased him, the nomination was to rest with him—that is to say, the officer who had charge of the jury-lists, and whose special duty it is to take care that his fellow-citizens are fairly represented in the jury-box, was to be, not an elected servant of the people, but a creature of the Castle and the Crown. There is no occasion for hesitation or delicacy in affirming, that the intention of this clause was to enable the Crown to pack its juries with the utmost certainty, and to destroy a political opponent at any time, under a false pretence of law. To what deadly use

* 3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 118.

this provision has been turned will be but too evident throughout the later history of the country. In the meantime, however, the Catholic townsmen of Ireland took their place in the municipal bodies, and in such municipal business as had no reference to the administration of justice. O'Connell was elected first Catholic Lord Mayor of Dublin; and took much state in his scarlet cloak and gold chain; but at the same moment was nominated a sheriff, whose business it was to secure a jury that would send this Lord Mayor to jail on the first occasion when the Castle might desire to imprison him as a criminal.

These three measures were the first fruits of Whig legislation for Ireland, in the three first years of Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER LVI.

1840—1843.

Spirit of Legislation for Ireland—More Spying in the Post Office—Savings' Banks—"Precursor Society" Support to the Whigs—Whigs Go Out—Peel Comes In—Repeal Association—Export of Food—Extermination—The Repeal Year—Corporation Debate—The Younger Nationalists—New "Arms Bill"—O'Brien Moves for Inquiry—Preparations for Cöercion—All England against Repeal—Monster Meetings—Mallow—Tara—Mullaghmast—Clontarf—Proclamation.

We can now appreciate, in some measure, the spirit and motive of all the legislation for Ireland after "Emancipation." Catholics having been admitted into Parliament and into the Corporations, it became necessary, in the interest of British domination, to take securities against the employment of the new franchises for any Irish purpose. By the "National Education" system provision was made for stifling all national sentiment in the young. By the Poor law, the life or death of certain millions of the people was placed at the disposal of British officials. By the Tithe law the impositions of the Established Church were rendered inevitable. By the Municipal law the perpetual packing of juries was made certain. Every enactment of the British Parliament was expressly designed and admirably calculated to nullify altogether the sentiments and aspirations of the Irish people, and to subject their whole way of life to the will and the interests of England. The police force had been gradually converted into a standing army, under the absolute control of the Castle. The Post Office *espionnage* had been systematized and perfected. Government officers were trained to open letters and re-seal them, without showing any trace of their manipulation; and Her Majesty's Lords-Lieutenant read the correspondence of all suspected persons. In 1834, it was Mr. Secretary Littleton, (afterwards Lord Hatherton,) who inspected men's letters. In 1835, it was Lord Mulgrave, (afterwards Marquis of Normanby,) who discharged this needful office. The next year it was the same noble marquis, and the Irish Secretary, Mr. Drummond—the man who scandalized the whole British interest in Ireland by a casual observation of his, (which, however, he did not mean,) that "property had its duties as well as its rights." It was this Mr. Drummond who was the spy upon our correspondence both in 1836 and 1837. In the same year, 1837, it appears that both Lord Chancellor Plunket, one of the Lords-Justices, and Doctor Whateley, Archbishop of Dublin, a member of the Privy Council, had a curiosity to know what Mr. O'Connell and others might be writing about to their friends. They, therefore, gave directions that the letters to and from that gentleman, and all the other gentlemen named in their orders, (we are not told who they were,) should be opened in the Post Office, softening the seals, or envelopes, by a cunning application of steam, then copied for the study of those functionaries, and then sealed up again with great skill. In 1838, Lord Morpeth, (afterwards Lord Carlisle,) had the opening of our letters. In 1839, the Marquis of Normanby, Lord Ebrington, and General Sir T. Blakeney, one of the Lords-Justices. In 1840, Lord Ebrington again freely indulged his curiosity.*

When to all these methods of inspection and control, we add the immense police force—about thirteen thousand men, well-armed and scientifically distributed over the whole island—with their complete code of

* Parliamentary Return. Session of 1845. Papers relating to Mazzini.

signals for communicating from station to station, with blue lights, red lights, and other apparatus—when we add the numerous corps of *detectives*, (a sort of institution in which Great Britain is unmatched in all the world,) and when we remember the Disarming acts and Cöercion acts always in force,* it is easy to understand how the unfortunate Irish nation, bound hand and foot, muzzled, disarmed, and half starved, could but writhe helplessly under the lash of its greedy tyrant. Yet the pictures of these engines of subjugation is not complete, without an account of the *savings' banks*. These institutions were the only means left to industrious and frugal people by which they could safely invest their savings. Manufacturing industry was out of the question ; land in small lots was not to be had ; even leases for lives or years were no longer obtained, (for there was now no use for small freeholders at the hustings,) and those who could save a little money could do no better than deposit it in the savings' bank of the nearest town. The system of savings' banks had been introduced from Scotland into Ireland in 1810. Soon after it had been made a Government institution, and the rate of interest was fixed by law : the depositors were allowed £3 0s. 10d. per cent. ; and the savings' bank was bound to invest the whole of the money deposited with it in the *Government funds*. Thus the small savings of every industrious artizan and of every prudent maid-servant were in the hands of the Government ; and their value depended upon the value of the Government funds—that is, on the credit and stability of the existing British system. This was a substantial security against revolution—because every depositor felt that his little all depended on the tranquillity of the state : in other words, on the peaceful perpetuation of the hateful system, which was really making beggars of them all.

It must be admitted that in so very helpless a condition of the country, it was a difficult task for even the most powerful and popular agitator to produce any movement that would be really formidable to the enemy's Government, or would exert any serious pressure upon their action. O'Connell was, for several years, in a state of manifiest perplexity and indecision. He always knew and felt, it is true, that the repeal of the Union—the destruction of the British Empire—was the only salvation for his country. But that British Empire was now on its guard at all points. Besides, the governing faction at that moment was Whig ; full of fine, liberal professions ; always employed in some fraudulent pretence of friendly legislation for Ireland ; and even courting him and his influence for its own party purposes. It is not to be wondered at, then, that when the Liberal Lord Melbourne was Prime Minister, and the more than Liberal Lord Normanby and Lord Ebrington were Viceroys of Ireland, who were willing to distribute a large share of the Government patronage on his recommendation, (whilst they inspected his letters in the Post Office,) it cannot be thought strange that he held in abeyance for a time the real and rightful claims of Irish nationhood, and gave a certain qualified support to the "Liberal" administration, which bestowed profitable offices on his friends. It was at this period that the Tories accused the Government of truckling to O'Connell, and that the thorough-going nationalists of Ireland accused O'Connell of trafficking with the Whigs ; and, in fact, this was the most questionable part of his whole political career.

Yet, O'Connell was too much devoted to the cause of his country to sell it to any English party. He insisted no longer on the restoration of a native legislature, but loudly claimed "justice to Ireland," and affected to believe that these Whig statesmen would consent to such justice. Thereupon, he established a new agitating association, which he called by the peculiar name of "Precursor Society," in the beginning of 1839. The meaning of the name was, that Ireland was now making a last appeal for "justice," and that if this were still denied, the existing society was but the precursor of a new and universal agitation for repeal of the Union. In the meantime, all the influence of the organization was to be used in support of the Whig administration.

*Lord Grey's Cöercion act remained in force till 1839. It was soon succeeded by another Cöercion act.

"What am I here for?" exclaimed O'Connell, at a meeting of the 6th of March, 1839; "What am I here for? To call on all Ireland *to rally round the Ministry;* to call for my two millions of enroled Precursors."

Lord Normanby, while in secret he pried into everybody's letters, omitted in public none of the usual arts of popularity. He procured places for Catholic lawyers; he dismissed from the commission of the peace Colonel Verner, and other outrageous Orange magistrates, for publicly celebrating that ruffianly slaughter called Battle of the Diamond; he received Catholic notabilities at the Castle with distinguished courtesy; he made excursions through the provinces, and liberated from the jails great numbers of prisoners who were either unjustly confined, or undergoing punishment for trifling offences. At length, English opinion became inflamed against him; and Lord Brougham (who had entirely abandoned all pretence to liberalism, when Ireland was in question,) moved a vote of censure against Lord Normanby in the House of Lords, on the express ground of an abuse of patronage and of the pardoning power. It appeared on the debate that his lordship had, between November, 1837, and the 31st January, 1839, released eight hundred and twenty-two prisoners—but not without inquiry into their cases, and not without rejecting appeals for clemency amounting to nearly as large a number. The vote of censure passed, however. Lord Normanby retired from the Vice-royalty, and was succeeded in 1839 by Lord Ebrington, another Liberal, who lost no time in commencing his duties as Post Office spy; which, indeed, he continued faithfully to discharge during the whole period of his government.

The "Precursor" Association continued its meetings at the Corn Exchange, on Burgh Quay, and Mr. O'Connell, regularly once a week, while he demanded justice to Ireland, called on the people to sustain the Whig Government.

This anomalous political situation ended in November, 1841. The Whig administration went out; and Sir Robert Peel, the proved and inveterate enemy of Ireland and of the Catholics, became Prime Minister. There was to be no more patronage at the disposal of the Corn Exchange; no more pretext for affecting to expect justice for Ireland at the hands of an English Government; and the Precursor Society merged into the *Repeal Association.*

For the next two years, this new organization attracted but little attention in England, or even at home. The country had become so much accustomed to Mr. O'Connell's successive forms of agitation, that it would have surprised nobody if the Repeal Association had been upon any morning "proclaimed" out of existence—or if its versatile author had again changed its name and character, and called it the "Liberal Association," or "Justice to Ireland Association." But, in truth, no person could be more fully sensible than Mr. O'Connell that there was no justice for Ireland save in national independence. For full thirty years he had constantly avowed this creed; and if he had waived the claim for awhile, it was only to aid and encourage the Whigs in granting what he called "instalments" of justice, which might strengthen the nation to demand and enforce all that was due, or in putting "good men" into office, who, he said, were certainly better than bad men. Now, at last, he felt himself standing upon the only plain and honest principle, engaged in the only agitation by which his countrymen would be really stirred and fired to the very hearts' core.

Nothing important took place during these two years. Mr. O'Connell was now Lord Mayor of Dublin, and held his *levees* in state at the Mansion House, while the Lord-Lieutenant was studying his private letters to find matter of accusation against him. The people were pleased to see their chosen chief adorned with the splendid corporate *insignia*, so long appropriated by the "Ascendancy," and did not yet perceive how firmly, instead of that old "Ascendancy," British domination was fastened upon them.

In 1843, more than three million quarters of grain were exported out of Ireland into England; besides, almost a million head of live stock, including horned cattle, sheep and swine. *

* *Thom's Official Directory.* This is quite an under-esitmate.

In 1843, extermination of tenantry was sweeping and destructive; and the emigration of "surplus population" from Ireland reached nearly one hundred thousand.

From a Londonderry newspaper, of this year, we extract an advertisement, signed by one M'Mullin, "Emigration Agent," which will show what was going on throughout Ireland better than particular details could do:—

NOTICE.—A favorable opportunity presents itself, in the course of the present month, for Quebec, to gentlemen residing in the Counties of Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, or Fermanagh, who wish to send out to the Canadas *the overstock tenantry* belonging to their estates—as a moderate rate of passage will be taken, and six months' credit given for a lump sum to any gentleman requiring such accommodation, &c.

The mode in which the overstock tenantry are persuaded in Ireland to embark for America, is ejecting them, and pulling down their houses. And in 1843, and many years before, and every year since, this process has been going on so extensively and notoriously that there will be no further occasion to refer to it, until we arrive at what the British call the "Famine."

In 1843, the rental of Ireland, carried off to be spent abroad, amounted (according to Mr. Smith O'Brien's estimate,) to five millions sterling; and the peasantry, whose industry created all the wealth of the country were proverbially known throughout the earth as "the worst fed, the worst clothed, and the worst housed peasantry in Europe."

The poor-houses, which had been built under the new law, were all full; the farmers were paying their tithes to the landlords, with no possibility of escape; for the bailiffs were always at the door, and the tithe was levied along with the rent; the "national schools" were teaching Irish children that there is no such thing as nationality, and that it is a blessed privilege to be born "a happy English child." Thus, the mature and highly-elaborated policy of the enemy towards Ireland was in full and successful operation at every point, when, in the spring of 1843, O'Connell announced that it was the *repeal year*, and proceeded to infuse into that movement an energy and power greater than any of his organizations had ever possessed, even in the days of the old Catholic Association

First, he asked for three millions of enroled repealers in the Repeal Association; and confidently promised, and, perhaps, fully believed, that no English administration would venture to resist that great measure so enforced. The more thoroughly to arouse the people, he declined to go over to London to take his seat in Parliament, (many other members following his example,) and resolved to hold multitudinous meetings in every corner of the island.

First, he moved in the Dublin Corporation a resolution, for the adoption of a petition to Parliament demanding a repeal of the union with England — that is to say, demanding back the Irish Parliament, which had been extinguished in 1800; so that Ireland should once more have her own House of Peers and House of Commons; the Sovereign of England to be also Sovereign of Ireland. His speech was masterly, and covered the whole case. He cited the ablest jurists to show that the so-called Union was in law a nullity; reminded his audience of what was at any rate notorious and never denied—that, supposing the two Parliaments competent to pass such an act, it had been obtained by fraud and open bribery; an open market of bribery, of which the accounts are extant—viz., £1,275,000 paid to proprietors for the purchase of nomination boroughs, at £15,000 per borough, (which seats were immediately filled by English officers and clerks) — more than one million sterling expended on mere bribes; the tariff being quite familiar, £8,000 for an Union vote, or an office worth £2,000 a year, if the member did not like to touch the ready money; twenty Peerages, ten Bishoprics, one Chief Justiceship, six Puisne Judgeships; not to count regiments and ships given to officers in the army and navy; all dispensed as direct payment for the vote. He reminded them that the right of holding public meetings to protest against all this was taken away during the time the Union was in agitation; that county meetings, convened by High Sheriffs of counties, as in Tipperary and Queen's County, were dispersed by troops; martial law was in force, and the *Habeas*

Corpus suspended; that, in 1800, the number of soldiers concentrated in that small island, was one hundred and twenty-nine thousand, as "good lookers-on;" that, notwithstanding all intimidation, seven hundred thousand persons had petitioned against the measure; and, notwithstanding all enticements, only three thousand had petitioned for it, most of these being Government officials, and prisoners in the jails. If he had stopped here, most persons would think it enough—*that* was a deed which at the earliest possible moment must be undone and punished.

But he did not stop here; he went into all the details of ruined trade and manufactures since the Union—immensely-increased drains in the shape of absentee-rents and surplus-taxation—frauds in subjecting Ireland to a charge for the *English* national debt, and even charging to Ireland's special account the very monies expended in bribes and military expenses for carrying the Union; which, he said, was about as fair as "making Ireland pay for the knife with which Lord Castlereagh cut his throat;"—injustice in giving Ireland but one hundred members in the House of Commons, while her population and revenue entitled her to one hundred and seventy-five; and, above all, the injustice of fixing the qualification of *electors* of these members much higher in Ireland, the poorer country, than in England.

This is a sketch only of the case for repeal of the Union;—the necessity for some remedy or other was only too apparent in the poverty and wretchedness which moved and scandalized all Europe.

The petition for repeal was adopted by a vote of forty-one to fifteen in the Corporation; and a similar petition, shortly after, by the Corporation of Cork. Hitherto the English press, and Irish press in the English interest, looked on with affected or real indifference and contempt.

O'Connell then left Dublin for the provinces. Then began the series of vast open-air meetings, to which the peasantry, accompanied by their priests, repeal wardens, and "temperance bands," flocked in numbers, varying from fifty thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand—(we take the reduced and disparaging estimate of enemies; but the repeal newspapers put up the Tara meeting to four hundred thousand.) Of course, the orator always addressed these multitudes, but though his voice was the most powerful of his day, he could not be heard by a tenth of them. Neither did they come to hear; they were all well indoctrinated by local repeal wardens; had their minds made up; and came to convince their leader that they were with him, and would be ready at any time when called upon.

But all was to be peaceable; they were to demand their rights imperatively; they were, he assured them, tall men and strong; at every monster meeting he had around him, as he often said, the materials of a greater army than both the armies combined that fought at Waterloo. "But take heed," he cried, "not to misconceive me. Is it by force or violence, bloodshed or turbulence, that I shall achieve this victory, dear above all earthly considerations to my heart? No! perish the thought forever. I will do it by legal, peaceable, and constitutional means alone—by the electricity of public opinion, by the moral combination of good men, and by the enrolment of four millions of repealers. I am a disciple of that sect of politicians who believe that *the greatest of all sublunary blessings is too dearly purchased at the expense of a single drop of human blood.*"

Many persons did not understand this sort of language. The prevailing impression was, that while the Repeal Association was, indeed, a peaceful body, contemplating only "Constitutional agitation," yet the parade of such immense masses of physical force had an ulterior meaning, and indicated that if the British Parliament remained absolutely insensible to the reasonable demands of the people, the association must be dissolved; and the next question would be, how best and soonest to exterminate the British forces. Many who were close to O'Connell expected all along that the English Parliament and Government never would yield; and these would have taken small interest in the movement, if it was never to go beyond speeches and cheers.

Meanwhile, nothing could be more peaceful, orderly, and good-humored than the

meetings. Father Mathew's temperance reformation had lately been working its wonders; and all the people were sober and quiet; repeal wardens everywhere organized, and an "O'Connell Police," with wands; and any person of the whole immense multitude who was even noisy, was instantly and quietly removed. The Government, indeed, soon took alarm, or affected to do so, for the peace of the country; and they sent large forces of armed constabulary to bivouac on the ground; but there never was the slightest excuse for interference.

The movement of the people, throughout this whole summer, was profound and sweeping; it carried along with it the Catholic clergy, though in many cases against their will; but they were of the people, bound up with the people, dependent on the people, and found it their best policy to move not only with the people, but at their head. The Catholic Bishops and Archbishops gave in their adhesion, and began to take the chair at meetings; the French and German press began to notice the struggle, and eagerly watch how England would deal with it. At last, on April 27th, Mr. Lane Fox, a Tory member of Parliament, gave notice, "That it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to put an end to the agitation for repeal"—and on the same day Lord Eliot, Chief Secretary for Ireland, gave notice of a bill "for the regulation of *arms* in Ireland." At the same moment the funds fell one and a half per cent.

The first threat of cöercion brought important accessions to the ranks of the repealers; and the monster meetings became now more monstrous than ever; but, if possible, even gayer and more good humored.

Mr. O'Connell affected to treat very lightly all these menaces of violence. His sarcasm was bitter, his reason irrefragable, his array multitudinous in its peaceful might; but, in the meantime, Lord Eliot was preparing his Arms bill; and on the 9th of May, the Duke of Wellington, in the Lords, and Sir Robert Peel, in the Commons, declared that all the resources of the empire should be exerted to preserve the Union; and Sir Robert Peel added, quoting Lord Althorpe, that, deprecating civil war as he did, he should hold civil war preferable to the "dismemberment of the empire." Mr. Bernal, [Osborne,] instantly asked Sir Robert, as he cited Lord Althorpe's words, "whether he would abide by another declaration of that noble lord—namely, that if all the members for Ireland should be in favor of repeal, he would consider it his duty to grant it?" And Sir Robert replied: "I do not recollect that Lord Althorpe ever made any such declaration; but if he did, *I am not prepared to abide by it.*"

At this point, issue was joined. The majority of the Irish nation desired to undo the Union with England; but England declared, that if all Ireland demanded that measure, England would rather drown the demand in blood.

The new association for repeal contained many men of great ability and influence. Mr. Shiel, indeed, though he had publicly declared himself in favor of repealing the Union, had desisted from all active agitation after the Catholic Relief bill. He never entered at all into this new repeal movement, perhaps, because he knew it meant war, and knew O'Connell would never fight; perhaps, because he chose to identify himself with the higher class of Catholics, who thought enough had been done, and "called it freedom when themselves were free;" perhaps, because, he was somewhat intolerant of O'Connell's autocratic sway—for, like every great leader of a democracy, the agitator was a most despotic disciplinarian in ruling the movement he had created. Up to the time of the Ministerial declaration against repeal in April, very few members of Parliament were actual members of the association; but amongst them was Henry Grattan, member for Meath, who brought to its ranks an illustrious name, if nothing else of great value. O'Brien still stood aloof.

But within this same association there was a certain smaller association, composed of very different men. Its head and heart was Thomas Davis, a young Protestant lawyer of Cork County, who had been previously known only as a scholar and antiquarian; a zealous member of the Royal Irish Academy, and of the Archæological Society. In the autumn of '42, he and his

friend Dillon had projected the publication of a weekly literary and political journal of the highest class, to sustain the cause of Irish nationhood, to give it a historic and literary interest which would win and inspire the youth of the country, and, above all, to conciliate Protestants by stripping the agitation of a certain suspicion of sectarianism, which, though disavowed by O'Connell, was naturally connected with it by reason of the antecedents of its chief.

So commenced the *Nation* newspaper; which, for several years, was, next to O'Connell, the strongest power on the national side. Its editor was Mr. Duffy, but Thomas Davis was its chief writer. By his ardent temperament, amiable character, and high accomplishments, he soon gathered around him a gifted circle of educated young men, both Protestant and Catholic, whose headquarters was the *Nation* office, and whose chief bond of union was their warm attachment to their friend. It was the one grand object of these men—and it was grand—to lift up the Irish cause high above both Catholic claims and Protestant pretensions, and unite all sects in the one character of "Irishmen," to put an end to English domination. Their idea was precisely the idea of the United Irishmen; although their mode of action was very different. Mr. Davis and his friends soon received the nickname of "Young Ireland," which designation they never themselves assumed, nor accepted.

O'Connell knew well, and could count, this small circle of literary privateer repealers; he felt that he was receiving, for the present, a powerful support from them—the *Nation* being, by far, the ablest organ of the movement; but he knew, also, that they were outside of his influence, and did not implicitly believe his confident promises that repeal would be yielded to "agitation;" that they were continually seeking, by their writings, to arouse a military spirit among the people; and had most diligently promoted the formation of temperance bands, with military uniforms, the practice of marching to monster meetings in ranks and squadrons, with banners, and the like; showing plainly, that while they helped the Repeal Association, they fully expected that the liberties of the country must be *fought* for at last. O'Connell, therefore, suspected and disliked them; but could not well quarrel with them. Apparently, they worked in perfect harmony; and during all this "repeal year" few were aware how certainly that alliance must end. Personally, they sought no notoriety; and the *Nation* was as careful to swell O'Connell's praise, and make him the sole figure to which all eyes should turn, as any of his own creatures could be. O'Connell accepted their services to convert the "gentry" and the Protestants—they could not dispense with O'Connell, to stir and wield the multitudinous people.

It has been mentioned that on the same day when the Ministers declared, in the Queen's name, that the Union must, at all hazards, be maintained, Lord Eliot introduced a new "Arms bill" for Ireland. This new bill was recommended by Lord Eliot, in the House of Commons, by the remark, "that it was substantially similar to what had been the law in Ireland for half a century," (June 15th,) and again, (June 26th,) "He would ask the noble lord to compare it with the bill of 1838, and to point out the difference. In fact, this was milder." This mild act, then provided: That no man could keep arms of any sort, without first having a certificate from two householders, "rated to the poor" at above £20, and then producing that certificate to the justices at sessions, (said justices being all appointed by the Crown, and all sure men,) and then if the justices permitted the applicant to keep arms at all—they were to be registered and *branded* by the police. After that they could not be removed, sold, or inherited, without new registry. And every conversation respecting these arms in which a man should not tell truly whatever he might be asked by any policeman, subjected the delinquent to penalties. To have a pike or spear, "or instrument serving for a pike or spear," was an offence punishable by transportation for seven years. Domiciliary visits by the police might be ordered by any magistrate "on suspicion;" whereupon, any man's house might be broken into by day or night, and his very bed searched for concealed arms. Blacksmiths

were required to take out licenses, similar to those for keeping arms, and under the same penalties, in order that the workers in so dangerous a metal as iron might be known and approved persons. And to crown the code, if any weapon should be found in any house, or out-house, or stack-yard, the occupier was to be convicted unless he could prove that it was there without his knowledge.

Such had been "substantially the law of Ireland for half a century." The idea of arms had come to be associated in the people's minds with handcuffs, jails, petty-sessions, and transportation; a good device for killing the manly spirit of a nation.

The Disarming act passed into a law, of course, by large majorities. It was in vain that some Irish members resisted; in vain Mr. Smith O'Brien, then member for Limerick, moved that instead of meeting the discontent of Ireland with a new Arms bill, the House should resolve itself into a committee "to consider the cause of the discontent with a view to the redress of grievances." O'Brien, who was afterwards to play so conspicuous a part, was not yet a repealer—he had been for twenty years one of the most industrious members of Parliament, and was attached, on most questions, to the Whig party. His speech, however, on this motion, showed that he regarded it as a last effort to obtain any approach to justice in a British Parliament; and that if they still resolutely adhered to the policy of cöercion, and nothing but cöercion, he would very shortly be found by O'Connell's side.

He pointed out the facts which justified discontent—that the Union made Ireland poor, and kept her poor—that it encouraged the absenteeism of landlords, and so caused a great rental to be spent in England—that nearly a million sterling of "surplus revenue," over what was expended in the government of Ireland, was annually remitted from the Irish to the English exchequer—that Irish manufactures had ceased, and the profits on all the manufactured articles consumed in that island, came to England—that the tenantry had no permanent tenure or security that they would derive benefit by any improvements they might make—that Ireland had but one hundred and five members of Parliament, whereas, her population and revenue together entitled her to one hundred and seventy-five—that the municipal laws of the two countries were not the same—then the new "Poor law" was a failure, and was increasing the wretchedness and hunger of the people—and the right honorable gentleman (Sir R. Peel,) had now declared his *ultimatum;* he declared that "conciliation had reached its limits; and that the Irish should have an Arms bill, and nothing but an Arms bill." (Speech of July 4th, 1843.")

His facts were not disputed. Nobody in Parliament pretended to say that anything in this long catalogue was overstated; but the House refused the committee of inquiry; would discuss no grievances; and proceeded with their Arms bill.

It has been said, indeed, that these excessive precautions to keep arms out of the hands of the Irish people, testified the high esteem in which the military spirit of that people was held in England; and in this point of view the long series of Arms acts may be regarded as a compliment. In truth, the English had some occasion to know that the Irish make good soldiers. In this very month of July, 1843, for example, a British general fought the decisive battle of Meeanee, by which the Ameers of Scinde were crushed. While the bill for disarming Ireland was pending, far off on the banks of the Indus, Napier went into action with less than three thousand troops against twenty-five thousand; only four hundred of his men being "British" soldiers; but those four hundred were a Tipperary regiment, the Twenty-second—and they did their work in such style as made the gray old warrior shout aloud, "magnificent Tipperary."

Along with the new Arms act, several additional regiments, mostly of English and Scotch troops, were sent to Ireland; and several war-steamers, with a fleet of gun-brigs, were sent to cruise round the coast. Barracks began to be fortified and loop-holed; and police-stations were furnished with iron-grated windows. It was quite evident that the English Government intended, on the first pretext of provocation, to make a salutary slaughter.

In the meantime, the vast monster meetings continued, with even intenser enthusiasm, but always with perfect peace and order. "Whom are they going to fight?" O'Connell would exclaim: "We are not going to fight them. We are unarmed; we meet peacefully to demand our country's freedom. There is no bloodshed, no drunkenness even, or ill-humor. Hurrah for the Queen, God bless her!"

The speeches of O'Connell at these meetings, though not heard by a fourth of the multitudes, were carefully reported, and flew over all Ireland, and England too, in hundreds of newspapers. So that probably no speeches ever delivered in the world had so wide an audience. The people began to neglect altogether the proceedings of Parliament, and felt that their cause was to be tried at home. More and more of the Irish members of Parliament discontinued their attendance in London, and gathered round O'Connell. Many of those who still went to London, were called on by their constituents to come home or resign.

Sir Edward Sugden was then Lord Chancellor of Ireland; and he began offensive operations on the British side, by depriving of the Commission of the Peace all magistrates who joined the Repeal Association, or took the chair at a repeal meeting. He had dismissed in this way about twenty, including O'Connell and Lord French, usually accompanying the announcement of the *supersedeas* with an insolent letter; when Smith O'Brien wrote to him that *he* had been a magistrate for many years, that he was not a repealer, but could not consent to hold his commission on such humiliating terms. Instantly his example was followed by many gentlemen; who flung their commissions in the Chancellor's face, sometimes with letters as insulting as his own. And now O'Connell brought forward one of his grand schemes. It was, to have all the dismissed magistrates appointed "arbitrators," who should hold regular courts of arbitration in their respective districts—all the people pledging themselves to make no resort to the Queen's magistrates, but to settle every dispute by the award of their arbitrators. This was put into operation in many places, and worked very well.

In reply to questions in Parliament, as to what they were concentrating troops in Ireland for, Peel and Wellington had said they did not mean to make war or attack anybody, but only to maintain the peace of the country.

It was very obvious that all England, and men of all parties and creeds in England, were fully resolved to resist, at any cost of blood and havoc, the claim for a repeal of the Union; and it must be admitted to have been a strange weakness on the part of O'Connell, if he really believed that the same sort of "agitation" which had extorted the Relief bill, could now cöerce the prosperous and greedy British nation to yield up its hold upon Ireland. That Relief act, it must be remembered, was a measure for the *consolidation* of the "British Empire;" it opened high official position to the wealthier Catholics and educated Catholic gentlemen; and thus separated their interest from that of the peasantry. But it was of the peasantry mainly that the Government had any apprehension; and British Ministers felt that Catholic Emancipation would place this peasantry more completely in their power than ever.

Besides, emancipation had a strong party in its favor, both amongst Irish Protestants and in England; and in yielding to it England made no sacrifice, except of her ancient grudge. To her it was positive gain. O'Connell did not bethink him that when his agitation should be directly aimed at the "integrity of the empire," and the supremacy of the British in Ireland, it would be a different matter.

One fact showed very plainly that Englishmen, of all sorts, regarded this repeal movement as a mortal stab aimed at the heart of the empire—the English Catholics were as bitterly hostile to Ireland, on this question, as the highest "No-Popery" Tories. Thus, Lord Beaumont, an English Catholic Peer, who owed his seat in the House to O'Connell, thought himself called upon to denounce the repeal agitation. "Do you know who this Beaumont is?" asked O'Connell, at his next meeting. "Why, the man's name is Martin Bree, though he calls himself Stapleton. His grandfather married a Stapleton for her fortune, and then changed the name.

He was a Stapleton when I emancipated him. I beg your pardon for having emancipated such a fellow."

For the last twenty years, the English press has mocked at the whole repeal movement; and in Parliament it was never mentioned save with a jeer. In the summer of 1843, they neither laughed nor jeered. Sir James Graham, earnestly appealing to the House, to refuse O'Brien's motion of inquiry, exclaimed :—

"*Any hesitation* now, *any delay* and *irresolution*, will multiply the danger an hundred-fold. If Parliament expresses its sense in favor of the course pursued by Government, Ministers have every *hope* that, with the confidence of the House, they will be enabled to triumph over all difficulties. I appeal, then, to both sides—not to one, but to both—I appeal to both sides, and say, if you falter now, if you hesitate now in repressing the rebellious spirit which is at work in the struggle of repeal, *the glory of the country is departed*—the days of its power are numbered; and England, this all-conquering England, must be classed with those countries *from whom power has dwindled away*, and present the melancholy aspect of a falling nation."

To refuse a Committee of Inquiry was reasonable enough; because Parliament, and all the people—men, women, and children—already knew all. The sole and avowed idea of the Government was, that to admit the idea of *anything* being wrong, would make the repeal movement altogether irresistible. The various projects now brought forward in England, showed the perplexity of that country. Lord John Russell made an elaborate speech for conciliation; but the meaning of it seemed to be merely that it was no wonder Ireland was unquiet, seeing *he* was out of power. The grievance of Ireland, said he, in effect, is a Tory Ministry. Let her be ruled by us Whigs, and all will be well. Lord Brougham also gave it as his opinion, that "you must purchase, not prosecute, repeal." The *Morning Chronicle*, (Whig organ,) in quite a friendly spirit, said: "Let us have a *perfect* Union; let us know each other; let the Irish judges come circuit in England; and let the English judges occasionally take the same round in Ireland," and so forth. "Is it absolutely certain," asked the *Westminster Review*, "that we can beat this people?" And the *Naval and Military Gazette*, a high military authority, thus expresses its apprehensions :—

"There are now stationed in Ireland, thirty-five thousand men of all arms; but widely scattered over the island. In the event of a rebellion—and who can say that we are not on the eve of one?—we feel great solicitude for the numerous small detachments of our gallant soldiers. . . . It is time to be up and doing. We have heard that the order and regularity of movement displayed by the divisions which passed before Mr. O'Connell, in review order, *en route* to Donnybrook, lately, surprised many veteran officers, and led them to think that some *personal* training, in private and in small parties, must be practiced. The ready obedience to the word of command, the silence while moving, and the general combinations, all prove organization to have gone a considerable length. In these trained bands our soldiers, split up into detached parties, would find no ordinary opponents; and we, therefore, hope, soon to learn that all small parties have been called in, and that our regiments in Ireland are kept together and complete. That day, we fear, is near when '*quite peaceably*,' every repealer will come armed to a meeting to be held simultaneously as to day and hour, all over the island, and then try to cut off quite peaceably every detachment of Her Majesty's loyal army."

What contributed to disquiet the British exceedingly was, that great and excited repeal meetings were held every week in American cities; meetings not only of Irish born citizens, but of natives also—and considerable funds were remitted from thence to O'Connell's repeal exchequer.

"If something is not done," said Colonel Thomson, in the *Westminster*, "a fleet of steamboats from the United States will, some fine morning, be the Euthanasia of the Irish struggle."

We might cite many extracts from the press of France, exhibiting a powerful interest in what the French conceived to be an impending military struggle.

Take one from the Paris *Constitutionnel:*

"When Ireland is agitated—when, at the sound of the powerful voice of O'Connell, four hundred thousand Irish assemble together in their meetings, and pronounce, as if it were by a single man, the same cry, and the same word, it is a grand spectacle, which fills the soul, and which, even at this distance, moves the very strongest feelings of the heart, for it is the spectacle of an entire people who demand justice — of a people who have been despoiled of everything, even of the means of sustenance, and yet who require, with calmness and with firmness, the untrammeled exercise of their religion, and some of the privileges of their ancient nationality."

Now nobody, either in France or in the United States, would have given himself the trouble to watch that movement with interest, if they had not all believed that O Connell and the Irish people meant to fight. Neither in America nor in France had men learned to appreciate "the ethical experiment of moral force." Clearly, also, the English expected a fight, and were preparing for it, and greatly preferred that mode of settling the difficulty, (having a powerful army and navy ready,) to O'Brien's method—inquiry, discussion, and redress—seeing that they were wholly unprovided with arguments, and had no idea of giving redress.

It is also quite as clear that the Irish people then expected, and longed, and burned for battle; and never believed that O'Connell would adhere to his "peace policy" even in the last extremity. Still, as he rose in apparent confidence, and became more defiant in his tone, the people rallied more ardently around him; and thousands of quiet, resolute men, flocked into the repeal cause, who had hitherto held back from all the agitations, merely because they had always believed O'Connell insincere. They thought that the mighty movement which now surged up around him had whirled him into its own tempest at last; and that "the time was come."

No speech he ever uttered roused such a stormy tumult of applause as when, at Mallow "monster meeting," referring to the threats of cöercion, and to an anxious Cabinet council which had just been held. He said:—

"They spent Thursday in consulting whether they would deprive us of our rights, and I know not what the result of that council may be; but this I know, there was not an Irishman in the council. I may be told that the Duke of Wellington was there. Who calls him an Irishman? If a tiger's cub was dropped in a fold, would it be a lamb? But, perhaps, I am wrong in anticipating; perhaps I am mistaken in warning you. But is there reason to caution you? The council sat for an entire day, and even then did not conclude its deliberations, but adjourned to the next day, while the business of the country was allowed to stand still. What had they to deliberate about? The repealers were peaceable, loyal, and attached—affectionately attached—to the Queen, and determined to stand between her and her enemies. If they assailed us to-morrow, and that we conquered them—as conquer them we will one day—the first use of that victory which we would make would be, to place the sceptre in the hands of her who has ever shown us favor, and whose conduct has ever been full of sympathy and emotion for our sufferings. Suppose, then, for a moment, that England found the act of Union to operate not for her benefit—if, instead of decreasing her debt, it added to her taxation and liabilities, and made her burden more onerous—and if she felt herself entitled to call for a repeal of that act, I ask Peel and Wellington, and let them deny it if they dare, and if they did they would be the scorn and by-word of the world, would she not have the right to call for a repeal of that act. And what are Irishmen that they should be denied the same privilege? Have we not the ordinary courage of Englishmen? Are we to be trampled under foot? Oh, they shall never trample me, at least. I was wrong—they may trample me under foot—I say they may trample me, but it will be my dead body they will trample on, not the living man."

And a roar, two hundred thousand strong, rent the clouds. From that day, the meetings went on increasingly, in numbers, in regularity of training, and in highly-wrought

excitement; until at Tara, and at Mullaghmast, the agitator shook with the passion of the scene, as the fiery eyes of three hundred thousand upturned faces seemed to crave *the word.*

Whig newspapers and politicians in England, (the Whigs being then in opposition,) began now to suggest various conciliatory measures—talked of the anomaly of the "Established Church"—and generally gave it to be understood, that if *they* were in power they would know how to deal with the repeal agitation. At every meeting O'Connell turned these professions into ridicule. It was too late, now, he said to offer to buy up repeal by concessions, or good measures. An Irish Parliament in Collage Green: this was his *ultimatum.*

We approach the end of the monster meetings. Neither England nor Ireland could bear this excitement much longer. The two grandest and most imposing of these parades were at Tara and Mullaghmast; both in the Province of Leinster, within a short distance of Dublin; both conspicuous, the one in glory, the other in gloom, through past centuries, and haunted by ghosts of kings and chiefs.

On the great plain of Meath, not far from the Boyne river, rises a gentle eminence, in the midst of a luxuriant farming country. On and around its summit are still certain mouldering remains of earthen mounds and moats, the ruins of the "House of Cormac," and the "Mound of the Hostages," and the "Stone of Destiny." It is Temora of the Kings. On Tuesday morning, the 15th of August, most of the population of Meath, with many thousands from the four counties round, were pouring along every road leading to the hill. Numerous bands, banners and green boughs, enlivened their march, or divided their ordered squadrons. Vehicles of all descriptions, from the handsome private chariot to the Irish jaunting-car, were continually arriving, and by the wardens duly disposed around the hill. In Dublin, the "Liberator," after a public breakfast, set forth at the head of a *cortege,* and his progress to Tara was a procession and a triumph. Under triumphal arches, and amidst a storm of music and acclamations, his carriage passed through the several little towns that lay in his way. At Tara, the multitudes assembled were estimated in the *Nation* at seven hundred and fifty thousand; an exaggeration, certainly. But they were at least three hundred and fifty thousand. Their numbers were not so impressive as their order and discipline; nor these so wonderful as the stifled enthusiasm that uplifted them above the earth. They came, indeed, with naked hands; but the agitator knew well that if he had invited them, they would have come still more gladly with extemporaneous pikes or spears, "or instruments serving for pikes and spears." He had been proclaiming from every hill-top in Ireland for six months that *something was coming*—that repeal was "on the wild winds of Heaven." Expectation had grown intense, painful, almost intolerable. He knew it; and those who were close to him as he mounted the platform, noticed that his lip and hand visibly trembled, as he gazed over the boundless human ocean, and heard its thundering roar of welcome. He knew that every soul in that host demanded its enfranchisement at *his* hand.

O'Connell called this meeting "an august and triumphant meeting;" and as if conscious that he must at least seem to make another step in advance, he brought up at the next meeting of the Repeal Association, a detailed "plan for the renewed action of the Irish Parliament," which, he said, it only needed the Queen's writs to put in operation. The new House of Commons was to consist of three hundred members, quite fairly apportioned to the several constituencies; and, in the meantime, he announced that he would invite three hundred gentlemen to assemble in Dublin, early in December, who were to come from every part of Ireland, and virtually represent their respective localities. This was the "Council of Three Hundred," about which he had often talked before in a vague manner; but had evidently great difficulty in bringing to pass *legally.* For it would be a "Convention of Delegates,"—and such an assembly, though legal enough in England, is illegal in Ireland. Conventions, (like arms and ammunition,) are held to be unsuitable to the Irish character. For, in fact, it was a convention which proclaimed the independence of Ire-

land in Dungannon; and the arms and ammunition of the volunteer army that made it good, in 1782.

Two weeks after this, the London Parliament was prorogued; and the Queen's speech, (composed by Sir Robert Peel,) was occupied almost entirely by two subjects—the disturbances in Wales, and the repeal agitation in Ireland. There had been some rioting and bloodshed in Wales, in resistance to oppressive turnpike dues, and the like—there was a quiet and legal expression of opinion in Ireland, unattended by the slightest outrage, demanding back the Parliament of the country. The Queen first dealt with Wales. She had taken measures, she said, for the repression of violence—*and*, at the same time, directed an inquiry to be made into the circumstances which led to it. As to Ireland, Her Majesty said, there was discontent and disaffection, but uttered not a word about any inquiry into the causes of that. "It had ever been her earnest desire," Her Majesty said, "to administer the government of that country in a spirit of strict justice and impartiality"—and "she was firmly determined, under the blessing of Divine Providence to maintain the Union."

The little principality of Wales was in open revolt—*there* Ministers would institute inquiry. Ireland was quiet, and standing upon the law—*there* they would meet the case with horse, foot, and artillery; for all knew that was what the Queen meant by "the blessing of Divine Providence."

Again the agitator mustered all Connaught, at three monster meetings—in Roscommon, Clifden, and Loughrea. Again he asked them if they were for the repeal; and again the mountains and the sea-cliffs resounded with their acclaim. Yes; they were for the repeal; they had said so before. What next?

Leinster, too, was summoned again to meet on the 1st of October, at Mullaghmast, in Kildare County, near the road from Dublin to Carlow, and close on the borders of the Wicklow highlands.

This was the most imposing and effective of all the meetings. The spot was noted as the scene of a massacre of some chiefs of Offaly and Leix, with hundreds of their clansmen, in 1577, by the English of the Pale, who had invited them to a great feast, but had troops silently drawn around the banqueting-hall, who, at a signal, attacked the place and cut the throat of every wassailer. The hill of Mullaghmast, like that of Tara, is crowned by a rath, or ancient earthen rampart, inclosing about three acres.

The members of the town corporations repaired to the rath, in their corporate robes. O'Connell took the chair, in his scarlet cloak of alderman; and, amidst the breathless silence of the people, John Hogan, the first of Irish sculptors, came forward and placed on the Liberator's head a richly-embroidered cap, modeled after the ancient Irish Crown, saying: "*Sir, I only regret this cap is not of gold.*" Then the deep roar of half a million voices, and the waving of at least a thousand banners, proclaimed the enthusiasm of the people. Again O'Connell assured them that England could not long resist these demonstrations of their peaceful resolve—that the Union was a nullity—that he had already arranged his plan for the new Irish Parliaments—and that this was the repeal year.

In truth, it was time for England either to yield with good grace, or to find or make some law applicable to this novel "political offence," or to provoke a fight and blow away repeal with cannon. Many of the Protestants were joining O'Connell; and even the troops in some Irish regiments had been known to throw up their caps with "hurrah for repeal!" It was high time to grapple with the "sedition."

Accordingly, the Government was all this time watching for an occasion on which it could come to issue with the agitation, and on which all advantages would be on its side. The next week that occasion arose. A great metropolitan meeting was appointed to be held on the historic shore of Clontarf, two miles from Dublin, along the bay—on Sunday, the 8th of October. The garrison of Dublin amounted then to about four thousand men, besides the one thousand police; with abundance of field artillery.

Late in the afternoon on Saturday, when it was already almost dusk, a *proclamation* was posted on the walls of Dublin, signed by the Irish Secretary and Privy Council-

lors, and the Commander of the forces, forbidding the meeting; and charging all magistrates and officers, "and others whom it might concern, to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the law, in preventing said meeting."

"Let them not dare," O'Connell had often said, "to attack us!" The challenge was now to be accepted.

CHAPTER LVII.

1843—1844.

Why England could not Yield—Cost to Her of Repeal—Intention of Government at Clontarf—The "Projected Massacre"—Meeting Prevented—State Prosecution—O'Brien Declares for Repeal—Packing of the Jury—Verdict of *Guilty*—Debate in Parliament—Russell and Macaulay on Packing of Juries—O'Connell in Parliament—Speculation of the Whigs—Sentence and Imprisonment of "Conspirators"—Effects on Repeal Association—Appeal to the House of Lords—Whig Law Lords—Reversal of the Sentence—Enthusiasm of the People—Their Patience and Self-Denial—Decline of the Association.

British Government then closed with repeal; and one or the other, it was plain, must go down.

For this was, in truth, the alternative.

The British Empire, as it stands, looks vast and strong; but none know so well as the statesmen of that country how intrinsically feeble it is; and how entirely it depends for its existence upon *prestige*—that is, upon a superstitious belief in its power. England, in short, could by no means afford to part with her "sister island:"—both in money and in credit the cost would be too much. In this repeal year, for example, there was an export of provisions from Ireland to England of the value of £16,000,000. And between surplus revenue remitted to England, and absentee-rents spent in England, Mr. O'Connell's frequent statement that £9,000,000 of Irish *money* was annually spent in England, is not over the truth. These were substantial advantages, not to be yielded up lightly.

In point of national *prestige*, England could still less afford to repeal the Union, because all the world would know the concession had been wrung from her against her will. Whigs and Tories were of one mind upon *this;* and nothing can be more bitter than the language of all sections of the English press, after it was once determined to crush the agitation by force.

"A repeal, (says the *Times*,) is not a matter to be argued on; it is a blow which despoils the Queen's domestic territory—splinters her Crown—undermines, and then crushes, her Throne—exposes her to insult and outrage from all quarters of the earth and ocean; a repeal of the Union leaves England stripped of her vitality. Whatever might be the inconvenience or disadvantage, therefore, or even unwholesome restraint upon Ireland—although the Union secures the reverse of all these—*but even were it gall to Ireland*, England must guard her own life's blood, and sternly tell the disaffected Irish: You shall have me for a sister or a subjugatrix; that is my *ultimatum*."

And the *Morning Chronicle*, speaking of the act of "Union," says:—

"True, it was coarsely and badly done; but stand it must. As Cromwell's violence, with Machiavelli's perfidy, may have been at work, but the treaty, after all is more than parchment."

The first bolt launched, then, was the proclamation to prevent the meeting at Clontarf. The proclamation was posted in Dublin only an hour before dusk on Saturday. But long before that time thousands of people from Meath, Kildare, and Dublin Counties were already on their way to Clontarf. They all had confidence in O'Connell's knowledge of law; and he had often told them, (and it was true,) that the meetings, and all the proceedings at them, were perfectly legal; and that a proclamation could not make them illegal. They would, therefore, have most certainly flocked to the rendezvous in the usual numbers, even if they had seen the proclamation.

Many persons did not at first understand the object of the Privy Council in keeping back the proclamation to so late an hour on Saturday, seeing that the meeting had been many days announced; and they might as well have issued their command earlier in the week. One may also be at a loss to understand why the proclamation called not only upon all magistrates, and

civil and military officers to assist in preventing the assembly ; but also, "all others whom it might concern."

But the thing was simple enough : they meant to take O'Connell by surprise—so that he might be unable to prevent the assembly entirely, or to organize it, (if such were his policy,) for defence—and thus they hoped to create confusion and a pretext for an onslaught, or "salutary lesson." Besides, they had already made up their minds to arrest O'Connell and several others, and subject them to a state prosecution ; and the Crown lawyers were already hard at work arranging a case against him. It is quite possible that they intended, (should O'Connell go to Clontarf in the midst of such confusion and excitement,) to arrest him then and there ; which would have been certainly resisted by the people ; and so there would have been a riot ; and everything would have been lawful then. As to the "others whom it might concern," that meant the Orange Associations of Dublin, and everybody else who might take the invitation to himself. "Others whom it may concern !" exclaimed O'Connell. "Why, this is intended for, and addressed to Tresham Gregg and his auditory." *

Thus, the enemy had well provided for confusion, collision, and a salutary lesson. Lord Cloncurry made no scruple to term the whole of these Government arrangements "a projected massacre."

For O'Connell and the committee of the Repeal Association, there were but two courses possible—one to prevent the meeting, and turn the people back from it, if there was still time ; the other was, for O'Connell to let the people of the country come to Clontarf—to meet them there himself as he had invited them—but, the troops being almost all drawn out of the city, to keep the Dublin repealers at home, and to give them a commission to take the Castle and all the barracks, and to break down the canal bridge, and barricade the streets leading to Clontarf. The whole garrison and police were five thousand. The city has a population of two hundred and fifty thousand. The multitudes coming in from the country would, probably, have amounted to almost as many ; and that handful of men between. There would have been a horrible slaughter of the unarmed people without, if the troops would fire on them—a very doubtful matter—and O'Connell himself might have fallen. But those who have well considered the destinies of Ireland since that day, may reasonably enough be of the opinion that the death of five or ten thousand men at Clontarf, might have saved Ireland the slaughter by famine of an hundred times as many shortly afterwards.

The first course was the one adopted. The committee issued another proclamation, and sent it off by parties of gentlemen known to the people, and on whom they would rely, to turn back the crowds upon all the roads by which they were likely to come in. All that Saturday night their exertions were unremitting ; and the good Father Tyrrell, whose parishioners, swarming in from Fingal, would have made a large part of the meeting, by his exertions and fatigue that night, fell sick and died. The meeting was prevented. The troops were marched out, and drawn up on the beach and on the hill ; the artillery was placed in a position to rake the place of meeting, and the cavalry ready to sweep it ; but they met no enemy.

Within a week, O'Connell and eight others were held to bail to take their trial for "conspiracy and other misdemeanors."

O'Connell, on his side, laughed both at the "Clontarf war" and at the state trials. He seemed well pleased with them both. The one proved how entirely under discipline were the virtuous, and sober, and loyal people, as he called them. The other would show how wisely he had steered the agitation through the rocks and shoals of law. In this he would have been perfectly right, his legal position would have been impregnable, but for two circumstances—first, "conspiracy" in Ireland, means anything the Castle judges wish ; second, the Castle sheriff was quite sure to pack a Castle-jury —so that whatever the Castle might desire, the jury would affirm on oath, "so help them God !" The jury system in Ireland we shall have occasion, more than once, to explain hereafter.

* Rev. Tresham Gregg was then the Orange agitator, on whom had fallen the mantle of Sir Harcourt Lees.

For the next eight months, that is, until the end of May, 1844, the state prosecution was the grand concern around which all public interest in Ireland concentrated itself. The prosecuted "conspirators" were nine in number—Daniel O'Connell; his son, John O'Connell, M. P, for Kilkenny; Charles Gavan Duffy, Editor of the *Nation;* the Rev. Mr. Tyrrell, of Lusk, County Dublin, (he died while the prosecution was pending;) the Rev. Mr. Tierney, of Clontibret, County Monaghan; Richard Barret, Editor of the *Pilot*, Dublin; Thomas Steele, "Head Pacificator of Ireland;" Thomas M. Ray, Secretary of the Repeal Association; and Dr. Gray, Editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, Dublin.

During all the eight months of these legal proceedings, the repeal agitation continued to gain strength and impetus. The open-air meetings, indeed, ceased—Clontarf was to have been the last of them, owing to the approach of winter. But the new hall, which had been built as a place of meeting for the association, was just finished; and O'Connell, who had a peculiar taste in nomenclature, christened it "Conciliation Hall;" intending to indicate the necessity for uniting all classes and religions in Ireland in a common struggle for the independence of their common country.

On the 22d of October the new hall was opened in great form, and amidst great enthusiasm. The chair was taken by John Augustus O'Neill, of Bunowen Castle, a Protestant gentleman, who had been early in life a cavalry officer, and member of Parliament for Hull, in England. Letters from Lord French, Sir Charles Wolesley, Sir Richard Musgrave, and Mr. Caleb Powell, one of the members for Limerick County, were read and placed on the minutes—all breathing vehement indignation against the "Government," and pledging the warmest support. But this first meeting in the new hall was specially notable for the adhesion of Mr. Smith O'Brien. Nothing encouraged the people, nothing provoked and perplexed the enemy so much as this.

For O'Brien was not only a member of the great and ancient House of Thomond, but was further well-known as a man both of calmness and resolution. The family had been Protestant for some generations; and Smith O'Brien, though always zealous in promoting everything which might be useful to Ireland in Parliament, had remained attached to the Whig party, and was hardly expected to throw himself into the national cause so warmly, and at so dangerous a time.

It has been already related how this excellent and gallant Irishman had flung to the Lord Chancellor his Commission of the Peace, when that functionary began to dismiss magistrates for attending peaceful meetings. He now saw that the British Government had commenced the deliberate task of crushing down a just national claim in the blood of the Irish people. The letter in which he announced his adhesion was extremely moderate; and it produced the deeper impression upon that account. One passage of it is highly characteristic of the writer. He says:—

"Lest I should be led to form a precipitate decision, I availed myself of the interval which followed the close of the session to examine whether, among the Governments of Central Europe, there are any so indifferent to the interests of their subjects as England has been to the welfare and happiness of our population. After visiting Belgium, and all the principal capitals of Germany, I returned home impressed with the sad conviction that there is more human misery in one county in Ireland, than throughout all the populous cities and districts which I had visited. On landing in England, I learn that the Ministry, instead of applying themselves to remove the causes of complaint, have resolved to deprive us even of the liberty of discontent—that public meetings are to be suppressed—and that state prosecutions are to be carried on against Mr. O'Connell, and others, on some frivolous charges of sedition and conspiracy.

"I should be unworthy to belong to a nation which may claim, at least as a characteristic virtue, that it exhibits increased fidelity in the hour of danger, if I were to delay any longer to dedicate myself to the cause of my country. Slowly, reluctantly convinced that Ireland has nothing to hope from the sagacity, the justice, or the gene-

rosity of the English Parliament, my reliance shall henceforth be placed upon our own native energy and patriotism."

This chivalrous example, set by a man so justly esteemed, of course, induced many other Protestants to follow his example. The weekly contributions to the revenue of the association became so great as to place in the hands of the committee a large treasury, to be used in spreading and organizing the movement; arbitration courts decided the people's complaints, with general acceptation; and great meetings in American cities sent, by every steamship, their words of sympathy and bills of exchange.

It is not very certain that the "Government" was at first resolutely bent on pressing their prosecution to extremity. Probably they rather hoped that the show of a determination to put down the agitation somehow would cool the ardor both of demagogues and people. Plainly it had no such effect; and it was, therefore, resolved to pursue the "conspirators" to conviction and imprisonment, at any cost, and by any means.

The "state trials" then began on the 2d of November, 1843. These trials cannot be considered as really a legal proceeding, though invested with legal forms. It was a *de facto* government using its courts and tribunals and juries, and all the other apparatus of justice, to crush a political enemy, under the false and fraudulent pretence of a trial. Everybody understood from the first that there was here no question of pleading, or of evidence, or of forensic-rhetoric; and that all depended upon the *vote* of the jury; —which vote, however, was to be termed a "verdict."

A revisal of the special jury-list took place before Mr. Shaw, Recorder of Dublin, with a special view to these trials. The names, when passed by the recorder, from day to day, were then sent to the sheriff's office, to be placed on his book. Counsel were employed before the recorder to oppose, by every means, the admission of every Catholic gentleman against whom any color of objection could be thought of; yet, with all this care, a large number of Catholics were placed on the list. As the names were transferred to the sheriff's office, it happened that the slip which contained the largest proportion of Catholic names missed its way, or was mislaid; and the sixty-seven names it contained never appeared on the sheriff's book. This became immediately notorious, and excited what one of the judges called "grave suspicion."

In striking a special jury in Ireland, forty-eight names are taken by ballot out of the the jurors' book, in the Crown office. Then each party, the Crown and the traverser, has the privilege of striking off twelve—leaving twenty-four names. On the day of trial, the first twelve out of these twenty-four, who answer when called, are sworn as jurors. Now, so well had the sheriff discharged his duty in this case, that of the forty-eight names there were eleven Catholics. They were all struck off by the Crown, together with a great number of Protestants, whose British principles were not considered sure at the Castle, and a "jury" was secured on whose patriotic vote Her Majesty could fully rely.

These details respecting juries may not, perhaps, be very interesting to the general reader; yet the history of our country can by no means be understood without them. Ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth, juries have been merely one of the arms of British domination in Ireland, just as the troops and police, the detectives and spies are. The jury may be said to be the one point at which the government and the people touch one another; and if it be a real jury of the "neighborhood," as described in the law books, then can be easily appreciated that profound saying—"that the only use of a government is to make sure that there shall be twelve impartial men in the jury-box." But the English Government has never been able to sustain itself in Ireland, without making sure of the very opposite arrangement. And it has been said, with truth, that the real *Palladium* of the British Constitution in that land, is a packed jury and the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*. If Ireland truly and effectively possessed those two institutions, as England possesses them, the British power would not exist in our island three months.

The details of the trials are of small in-

terest. All knew how they would end. The Government, on this prosecution for "conspiracy," had not only its inevitable jury, but its Post Office spies at work, by whose means the "authorities" had spread out before them every morning all the correspondence of all the traversers, and of all their counsel and attorneys; no small advantage in dealing with conspiracy—if there had been a conspiracy.

Early in February the trials ended; and when the Chief Justice in his charge to the jury argued the case like one of the counsel for the prosecution, and so far forgot himself as to term the traversers' counsel "the gentlemen on the other side," there was more laughter than indignation throughout the country. The jury brought in their verdict of GUILTY—of course. O'Connell addressed a letter to the people of Ireland, informing them that "the repeal" was now sure; that all he wanted was peace, patience, and perseverance; and that if they would only "keep the peace for six, or at most, for twelve months, repeal was certain." In the meantime, he and his friends were appointed to come before the Court on a certain day in May, to receive sentence.

Immediately on the verdict being knowu in London, there arose in Parliament a violent debate on the state of Ireland. The Whig party, being then out of place, and who saw in this whole repeal movement nothing but a machinery by which they might raise themselves to power, affected great zeal for justice to Ireland, and even indignation at the conduct of the trials. It is almost incredible, but remains on record, that Lord John Russell used these words:—

"Nominally, indeed, the two countries have the same laws. Trial by jury, for instance, exists in both countries; but is it administered alike in both? Sir, I remember on one occasion when an honorable gentleman, Mr. Brougham, on bringing forward a motion, in 1823, on the administration of the law in Ireland, made use of these words: 'The law of England esteemed all men equal. It was sufficient to be born within the King's allegiance to be entitled to all the rights the loftiest subject of the land enjoyed. None were disqualified; the only distinction was between natural-born subjects and aliens. Such, indeed, was the liberality of our system in the times which we called barbarous, but from which, in these enlightened days, it might be as well to take a hint, that if a man were even an alien-born, he was not deprived of the protection of the law. In Ireland, however, the law held a directly opposite doctrine. The sect to which a man belonged, the cast of his religious opinions, the form in which he worshipped his Creator, were grounds on which the law separated him from his fellows, and bound him to the endurance of a system of the most cruel injustice.' Such was the statement of Mr. Brougham, when he was the advocate of the oppressed. But, sir, let me ask, was what I have just now read the statement of a man who was ignorant of the country of which he spoke? No; the same language, or to the same effect, was used by Sir M. O'Loghlen, in his evidence before the House of Lords. That gentleman stated that he had been in the habit of going the Munster circuit for nineteen years, and on that circuit it was the general practice for the Crown, in criminal prosecutions, to set aside all Catholics and all the Liberal Protestants; and he added, that he had been informed that on other circuits the practice was carried on in a more strict manner. Sir M. O'Loghlen also mentioned one case of this kind which took place in 1834, during the Lord-Lieutenancy of the Marquis of Wellesley, and the Attorney-Generalship of Mr. Blackburne, the present Master of the Rolls, and in which, out of forty-three persons set aside (in a cause, too, which was not a political one,) there were thirty-six Catholics and seven Protestants, and all of them respectable men. This practice is so well known, and carried out so generally, that men known to be Liberals, whether Catholics or Protestants, have ceased to attend assizes, that they might not be exposed to these public insults. Now, I would ask, are these proofs of equal laws, or laws equally administered? Could the same, or similar cases, have happened in Yorkshire, or Sussex, or Kent? Are these the fulfillment of the promise made

and engagements entered into at the Union?"

This sounds extremely fair. *Who would think that Lord John Russell was Prime Minister afterwards in* '48? Mr. Macaulay said, in the same debate, February 19, 1844:

"I do say that on this question, it is of the greatest importance that the proceedings which the Government have taken should be beyond impeachment, and that they should have obtained a victory in such a way that that victory should not be to them a greater disaster than a defeat. Has that been the result? First, is it denied that Mr. O'Connell has suffered wrong? Is it denied if the law had been carried into effect without those irregularities and that negligence which has attended the Irish trials, Mr. O'Connell's chance of acquittal would have been better?—no person denied that. The affidavit which has been produced, and which has not been contradicted, states that twenty-seven Catholics were excluded from the jury-list. I know that all the technicalities of the law were on the side of the Crown, but my great charge against the Government is, that they have merely regarded this question in a technical point of view. We know what the principle of the law is, in cases where prejudice is likely to arise against an alien, and who is to be tried *de medietate linguæ*. Is he to be tried by twelve Englishmen? No; our ancestors knew that that was not the way in which justice could be obtained—they knew that the only proper way was to have one-half of the jurymen of the country in which the crime was committed, and the other half of the country to which the prisoner belonged. If any alien had been in the situation of Mr. O'Connell, that law would have been observed. You are ready enough to call the Catholics of Ireland 'aliens' when it suits your purpose; you are ready enough to treat them as aliens when it suits your purpose; but the first privilege, the only advantage, of alienage, you practically deny them."

This orator, also, was a member of the administration in 1848; and he did not utter any of his fine indignation at the gross packing of juries which was perpetrated then. In 1848, however, these "Liberals" were *in*, not out; had resting upon them the responsibility of maintaining the British Empire; and, therefore, desired to hear no more of "justice to Ireland."

In the same debate, there was much ferocious language on the part of Tory members of the House: the infamous nature of the alleged conspiracy was dwelt upon, and the necessity of bringing to condign punishment that "Arch-Agitator," that "hoary criminal," who was endeavoring to overthrow the British Empire. In the midst of all this, O'Connell himself, the "hoary criminal," strode into the House. In a discussion upon the state of Ireland, *he* had had somewhat to say. First, he listened to the debate for a whole week, and then, amidst breathless silence, arose.

He did not confine himself to the narrow ground of the prosecution, but reviewed the whole career of British power in Ireland, with bitter and taunting comments. As to the prosecution, he treated it slightly and contemptuously.

"I have, at greater length than I intended, gone through the crimes of England since the Union—I will say the follies of England. I have but little more to say; but I have, in the name of the people of Ireland—and I do it in their name—to protest against the late prosecution. And I protest, first, against the nature of that prosecution; forty-three public meetings were held, and every one of them was admitted to be legal; not one was impeached as being against the law, and every one of them making on the calendar of crime a cypher; but by multiplying cyphers, you come, by a species of legal witch-craft, to make it a number that shall be fatal. *One meeting is legal, another meeting is legal, a third is the same, and three legal meetings, you say, make one illegal meeting.* The people of Ireland understand that you may oppress them, but not laugh at them. That, sir, is my first objection The second is the striking out all the Catholics from the jury panel. There is no doubt of the fact. Eleven Catholics were upon the jury panel, and every one of them was struck out."

All the world knew it. Nobody pretended to deny it, or publicly to excuse it; but what availed all this? The *ultimatum* of

England was, that the Union must be maintained at any cost, and by all means. And O'Connell was to return to Dublin by a certain day for judgment and sentence. His taunts and invectives against the whole system of Irish government were very welcome, and highly entertaining to English Whigs, who only looked to their own party chances. But no man in all England ever, for one moment, suffered the idea to enter his head, that Ireland was to be in any case permitted to govern herself.

And British Whigs could well afford to let O'Connell have a legal triumph, to the damage of British Tories, so long as the real and substantial policy of England in Ireland was pursued without interruption. As to this point, there must be no mistake —no British Whig or British Tory regarded the Irish question in any other point of view than as a question on which might occur a change of Ministry.

An army of fifty thousand men, including police, was all this while in full military occupation of the island. The Arms bill had become law ; and, in the registration of arms before magistrates under that act, those who were in favor of their country's independence were refused the privilege of keeping so much as an old musket in their houses for purposes of self-defence. *

The police-barracks were still further strengthened ; the detectives were multiplied ; the regular troops were kept almost constantly under arms, and marched to and fro with a view of striking terror ; improved codes of signals were furnished to the police for use by day and night—to give warning of everything they might conceive suspicious. With so firm a hold upon the island, the British Ministers might have thought themselves in a condition to abandon their questionable prosecution ; but they had the idea that O'Connell's power lay very much in the received opinion of his legal infallibility ; so they were resolved to imprison him, at any rate, for a short time—even though he should finally trample on their prosecution, and come forth in trimmph—as, in fact, he did.

On the 30th May, the "conspirators" were called up for sentence ; and were imprisoned in Richmond Penitentiary — a suburban prison at the south side of Dublin, with splendid gardens and handsome accommodations ; here they rusticated for three months, holding *levées* in an elegant *marquèe* in the garden ; receiving daily deputations, and visits from Bishops, from Americans, and from ladies. O'Connell still wrote once a week to Conciliation Hall, that repeal never was so sure, never so imminent, as now, if only the people would keep the peace.

The great multitudinous people looked on in some amaze. "Peace" was still the order ; and they obeyed ; but they much marveled what it meant, and when it would end.

Still it was doubtful whether the enemy's government had really gained much by their prosecution. Very considerable indignation had been excited, even amongst the reasonable Protestants, by the means which had been used to snatch this conviction. The agitation had rather gained than lost ; and many gentlemen who had held back till now, sent in their names and subscriptions. Smith O'Brien was now a constant attendant at the association ; and by the boldness and purity of his character, and by his extensive knowledge of public affairs, gave it both impetus and steadiness.

* Of the proceedings upon these applications for registry of arms at all the petty sessions of Ireland, we have no record, but to the Cork *Southern Reporter* we are indebted for the minute report of a session at Marcroom, in that county, which may be taken as a kind of sample.

"Maurice Dullea, Glaun—Applicant for leave to keep one gun.

"Mr. Gillman. Magistrate—Are you a repeal warden? I am not.

"Would you answer the question on your oath, if it were put to you? I would.

"Mr. Warren—The question should not be asked, unless it was known he had so acted. Admitted.

"John M'Auliffe, Millstreet—One pistol.

"Captain Wallace—Are you a repeal warden? I am, sir.

"Mr. M'Carthy O'Leary, Attorney—The man bears a most unimpeachable character.

"Mr. Warren—We cannot reject one repeal warden, and admit another. Rejected."

At the same sessions was made manifest the fact that the Protestant "gentry" of the country were providing themselves with a sufficient armament. For example, Mrs. Charlotte Stawell, of Kilbritton Castle, registers "six guns and six pistols," and Richard Quinn, of Skivanish, "nine guns, one pair pistols, two dirks, two bayonets, and one sword." No objection was offered against these persons keeping as many fire-arms as they chose! So worked the Disarming act.

Yet O'Connell and his friends were in prison, sentenced to an incarceration of one year; and it would be vain to deny that there was humiliation in the fact. True, the jury had been notoriously packed; the trial had been but a sham; and the sentence would probably be reversed by the House of Lords. Still there was Ireland represented by her chosen men suffering the penalties of crime in a jail. The island was still fully and effectively occupied by troops, as a hostile country; and all its resources were in clear possession of the enemy. Many began to doubt whether the "moral-force" principle of O'Connell would be found sufficient.

In truth, the repeal agitation, as a living and formidable power, was over from the day of imprisonment. The judgment of the Irish Court of Queen's Bench was brought up to the British House of Peers on Writ of Error; and on the 2d and 4th of September, the opinions of nine English judges were delivered, and the decision pronounced. Eight of the judges gave their opinion that the jury was a good jury, the verdict good, and the judgment good. It appeared, however, that Mr. Justice Coleridge dissented. Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor, then delivered his decision;—he agreed with the majority of the judges, and thought the judgment should stand, the packing of the jury being immaterial. He was followed by Lord Brougham—and nobody could doubt what would be the decision of that learned person—the jury was a good enough jury: some of the counts in the indictment might be bad; but, bad or good, the judgment of the Irish Court was to stand, and O'Connell was to remain in prison.

Lord Denman, Chief Justice of England, then arose. I have already told you that the whole Irish question was regarded in the British Parliament solely with reference to its affording a chance of turning out the Tory Ministry, and conducting the Whigs into power and place. We have seen, accordingly, the pretended indignation of Lord John Russell, and of Mr. Macaulay, against the packing of the juries. It may seem an atrocious charge to make upon judges and law lords—that they could be influenced by any other considerations than the plain law and justice of the case. But the mere matter of fact was, that the majority of the English judges were of the Tory party. Of the law lords, also, Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst was a violent Tory, and, moreover, an avowed enemy to Ireland. Lord Brougham was at that time a Tory, and, also, a well-known personal foe to O'Connell, having been often stung by the vicious taunts and sarcasms of that gentleman. But Lord Denman, Lord Cottenham, and Lord Campbell were Whigs; and Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell gave it as their opinion that the jury had been unfair and fraudulent—that no fair trial had taken place—and, therefore, that the judgment against the repeal conspirators should be reversed.

Now, it is to be observed that the British Government, by openly and ostentatiously striking off from the jury panel all Catholics, without exception, and all Protestants of moderate and liberal opinions, made proclamation that they knew the great mass of the people to be averse to them and their rule—avowed that they accounted that small remainder, out of whom they selected their jurors, to be the only "good and lawful men." These were the *vicinage* contemplated in the law books; and the repeal conspirators being arraigned, not before their countrymen, not even before one sect of their countrymen, but before chosen men carefully selected by the Crown out of one section of one sect, were told to consider themselves on their trial *per pais*. This, to be sure, amounted to an admission that nine-tenths of Irishmen desired the freedom of their country—but then it also amounted to a declaration that the English meant to hold the country, whether Irishmen would or not. On the reversal of the judgment, however, there was a show of high rejoicing in Dublin, and the prisoners were escorted from the jail through the city by a vast and orderly procession, to O'Connell's house. The procession marched through College Green; and just as O'Connell's carriage came in front of the Irish Parliament House, (the most superb building in Dublin,) the carriage stopped; the whole procession stopped; and there was a deep silence as O'Connell rose to his full height

and, pointing with his finger to the portico, turned slowly round and gazed into the faces of the people, without a word. Again and again, he stretched forth his arm and pointed; and a succession of pealing cheers seemed to shake the city.

The state trials, then, were at an end; and all the country, friends and enemies, Ireland and England, were now looking eagerly and earnestly for O'Connell's first movement, as an indication of his future course. Never, at any moment in his life, did he hold the people so wholly in his hand. During the imprisonment, both clergy and repeal wardens had labored diligently in extending and confirming the organization; and the poor people proved their faith and trust by sending greater and greater contributions to the repeal treasury. They kept the "peace" as their Liberator bade them; and the land was never so free from crime—lest they should give strength to the enemy.

It is impossible to record, without profound admiration, the steady faith, patient zeal, self-denial, and disciplined enthusiasm, which the Irish people displayed for these two years. To many thousands of those peasants the struggle had been more severe than any war; for they were expected to set at nought potent landlords, who had over them and their children power of life and death—with troops of insolent bailiffs, and ejecting attorneys, and the omnipresent police; and they did set them at nought. Every vote they give at an election might cost them house and home, land and life. They were naturally ardent, impulsive, and impatient; but their attitude was now calm and steadfast. They were an essentially military people; but the great "Liberator" told them that "no political amelioration was worth one drop of human blood."

They did not believe the formula, and in assenting to it often winked their eyes; yet steadily and trustfully, this one good time, they sought to liberate their country peacefully, legally, under the advice of counsel. They loyally obeyed that man, and would obey no other. And when he walked in triumph out of his prison, at one word from his mouth they would have marched upon Dublin from all the five ends of Ireland, and made short work with police and military barracks.

But O'Connell was now old, approaching seventy; and the fatal disease of which he was then really dying, had already begun to work upon his iron energies.* After his release he did not propose to hold the Clontarf meeting, as many hoped. He said nothing more about the "Council of Three Hundred," which the extreme section of nationalists were very desirous to see carried into effect; and the more desirous because it would be illegal, according to what passes for law in Ireland. Yet the association all this time was becoming more powerful for good than ever. O'Brien had instituted a "Parliamentary Committee," and worked on it continually himself; which, at all events, furnished the nation with careful and authentic memoirs on all Irish questions and interests, filled with accurate statistical details. Many Protestant gentlemen, also, of high rank joined the association in 1844 and 1845—being evidently unconscious how certainly and speedily that body was going to destruction.

In short, the history of Ireland must henceforth be sought for elsewhere than in the Repeal Association.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1844.

Decadence of Repeal Association — Land Tenure Commission — Necessity of Exterminating "Surplus Population"—Report of the "Landlord and Tenant Commission"—Tenant Right to be *Disallowed*—Farms to be Consolidated—People to be Extirpated—Methods of the Minister to Divide Repealers—Grant to Maynooth—Queen's Colleges—Secret Agent at Rome—American Slavery—Distraction in Repeal Ranks—Bill for "Compensation to Tenants"—Defeated—Death of Thomas Davis—The Famine — Commission of Chemists to Gain Time—Demands of Ireland—Of the Corporations—Of O'Connell and O'Brien—Repudiation of Alms—Cöercion Bill—Repeal of Corn Laws—Irish Harvests go to England—"Relief Measures"—Delays—Fraud—Havoc of the People—Peel's System of Famine-Slaughter Fully Established—Peel Resigns Office

During the two last years of the existence of the Repeal Association, it made no

* It was softening of the brain; and the physicians, after his death, pronounced that it had been in operation for two years at least.

progress whatever towards the attainment of its great object; which is equivalent to saying that it was going back. One of the first things proposed by Mr. O'Connell, after his release, in a secret meeting of the committee, was a dissolution of the body, in order to its reconstruction on a somewhat more safe and legal basis. This was his old policy, whenever his agitations had come in conflict with what the Government called "law," and it had generally answered its purpose, whilst those agitations were directed against penal laws, or tithes and church-rates, against something, in short, which was not vital to the existence of the British Empire. But he now found himself at last in front of a castle wall, armed and garrisoned, totally unassailable by any "agitation" yet invented. He could not make a single step in advance, upon that line; and he seemed to feel it. Yet the whole country was earnestly expecting that step in advance. The proposal to dissolve was combatted and was given up. He occupied his weekly speeches with collateral issues upon Parliamentary questions which were often arising—the "Bequests act," the "Colleges bill," the Papal Rescript negotiation, and the like;—all matters which would have been of moment in any self-governing nation, but were of next to no moment in the circumstances; or he poured forth his fiery floods of eloquence in denunciation, not of the British Government, but of *American slavery*, with which he had nothing on earth to do. He praised too much, as many thought, the sublime integrity and justice of the three Whig law lords who had voted for reversing his judgment. But the most significant change in his behavior was in the querulous captiousness he showed towards the *Nation*, and those connected with it, whom he now frequently rebuked as "rash young men," who would goad the country into a dangerous course.

In the meantime, the English press and people ceased, in a great degree, to speak of the repeal movement with alarm and horror—they seemed satisfied now that there was no danger in it, at least while O'Connell lived.

For, in fact, all this time, the steady policy of England towards her "sister island," was proceeding on the even tenor of its way quite undisturbed. Four millions sterling of the rental of Ireland was, as usual, carried over every year, to be spent in England; and the few remaining manufactures which our island had struggled to retain, were growing gradually less and less. The very "frieze," (rough home-made woolen cloth,) was driven out of the market by a far cheaper and far worse Yorkshire imitation of it. Some repeal artist had devised a "repeal button," displaying the ancient Irish Crown; the very repeal button was mimicked in Birmingham, and hogsheads of ancient Irish Crowns were poured into the market, to the utter ruin of the Dublin manufacturer. True, they were of the basest of metal and handiwork; but they lasted as long as "the repeal" lasted.

All great public expenditures were still confined to England; and in the year 1844, there was, quite as usual, Irish produce to the value of about fifteen millions sterling exported to England.

In 1843, the Government had sent forth the famous "Landlord and Tenant Commission," to travel through Ireland, collect evidence, and report on the relations of landlord and tenant in that country. The commissioners were all, without exception, Irish landlords. In '44, it traveled and investigated; and the next year its report came out, in four great volumes. The true function and object of this commission was to devise the best means of getting rid of what Englishmen called "the surplus population" of Ireland. Ever since the year 1829, the year of Catholic Emancipation, British policy had been directing itself to this end.

About the time of emancipation, when the small farmers, by the abolition of their franchise, were left more absolutely at the mercy of their landlords, it happened that new theories of farming became fashionable. "High farming" was the word. There was to be more grazing, more green cropping; there were to be larger farms; and more labor was to be done by horses and by steam. But consolidation of many small farms into one large one could not be effected without clearing off the "surplus

population;" and then, as there would be fewer mouths to be fed, so there would be more produce for export to England. The clearance system, then, had begun in 1829, and had proceeded with great activity ever after, but never with such remorseless fury as just after the year of the "monster meetings." The surplus population had appeared more than usually excessive and perilous in the form of those huge masses of powerful men, whom O'Connell's voice could call around him upon any hill in the island. Now, therefore, the "assistant barristers" were especially busy in decreeing ejectments, which they issued by whole sheaves. These formidable documents, once placed in the hands of sheriffs' officers, often came down upon the people with a more sweeping desolation than an enemy's sword and torch.

Whole neighborhoods were often thrown out upon the highways in winter, and the homeless creatures lived for a while upon the charity of neighbors; but this was dangerous; for the neighbors were often themselves ejected for harboring them. Some landlords contracted with emigration companies to carry them to America "for a lump sum," according to the advertisements cited before. Others did not care what became of them; and hundreds and thousands perished every year of mere hardship. The new Poor law was now in full operation, and workhouses, erected under that law, received many of the exterminated people; but it is a strangely significant fact, that the *deaths by starvation* increased rapidly from the first year of the Poor law. The Report of the Census Commissioners, for 1851, declares that while in 1842 the deaths registered as deaths by famine amounted to one hundred and eighty-seven, they increased every year until the registered deaths in 1845 were five hundred and sixteen. The "registered" deaths were, perhaps, one-tenth of the unregistered deaths by mere hunger.

Such, then, was the condition of Ireland in 1844–5; and all this before the "Famine"

Now, the "Landlord and Tenant Commission" began its labors in '44. The people were told to expect great benefits from it. The commissioners, it was diligently given out, would inquire into the various acknowledged evils that were becoming proverbial throughout Europe and America —and there were to be Parliamentary "ameliorations." This "commission" looked like a deliberate fraud from the first. It was composed entirely of landlords; the chairman, Lord Devon, being one of the Irish absentee-landlords. It was at all times quite certain that they would see no evidence of any evils to be redressed on the part of the tenants; and that if they recommended any measures, those measures would be such as should promote and make more sweeping the depopulation of the country. "You might as well," said O'Connell, "consult butchers about keeping Lent, as consult these men about the rights of farmers."

The report of this set of commissioners would deserve no more especial notice than any of the other reports of innumerable commissions which the British Parliament was in the habit of issuing, when it pretended to inquire into any Irish "grievance;" but that the report of this particular "Devon Commission" has become the very creed and gospel of British statesmen with regard to the Irish people from that day to this, and has often been cited by Secretaries for Ireland, as affording the fullest and most conclusive authority upon the relations of landlord and tenant in that island. It is the programme and scheme upon which the last conquest of Ireland was undertaken, in a business-like manner, twenty-four years ago; and the completeness of that conquest is due to the exactitude with which the programme was observed.

The problem to be solved was, how to get rid of the Irish people.

But, one of the strongest demands and most urgent needs of these people had always been permanence of tenure in their lands. O'Connell called it "fixity of tenure," and presented it prominently in his speeches as one of the greatest benefits to be gained by repealing the Union. It was, indeed, the grand necessity of the nation—that men should have some security —that they who sowed should reap—that labor and capital expended in improving

farms should, in part, at least, profit those who expended it. This would at once abolish pauperism, put an end to the necessity of emigration, supersede Poor laws, and prevent the periodical famines which had desolated the island ever since the Union. It is a measure which would have been sure to be recommended as the first, or, indeed, the only measure for Ireland by any other commission than a commission of Irish landlords.

In the northern Province of Ulster, there was, as before-mentioned, a kind of unwritten law, or established custom, which in some counties gave the tenant such needful security. The "Tenant-Right of Ulster" was the name of it. By virtue of that tenant-right, a farmer, though his tenure might be nominally "at will," could not be ejected so long as he paid his rent; and if he desired to remove to another part of the country, he could sell his "good-will" in the farm to an incoming tenant. Of course, the greater had been his improvements, the larger price would his tenant-right command; in other words, the improvements created by his own or his father's industry were his own. The same custom prevented rents from being arbitrarily raised in proportion to the improved value; so that in many cases which came within the knowledge of all lawyers' lands held "at will" in Ulster, and subject to an ample rent, were sold by one tenant-at-will to another tenant-at-will at full half the fee-simple value of the land. Conveyances were made of it. It was a valuable property, and any violent invasion of it, as a witness told Lord Devon's commission, would have "made Down another Tipperary."

The custom was almost confined to Ulster. It was, by no means, (though this has often been stated,) created or commenced by the terms of the Plantation of Ulster, in the time of King James I., but was a relic of the ancient free social polity of the nation,* and had continued in Ulster longer than in the other three provinces, simply because Ulster had been the last part of the island brought under British dominion, and forced to exchange the ancient system of tribe-lands for feudal tenures. Neither is "tenant-right" by any means peculiar to Ireland, but prevails in all countries formerly embraced by the feudal system, except Ireland alone.

The people of Ireland are not *idle*. They anxiously sought opportunities of exertion on fields where their landlords could not sweep off all their earnings; and many thousands of small farmers annually went to England and Scotland to reap the harvest, lived all the time on food that would sustain no other working men, and hoarded their earnings for their wives and children. If they had had tenant-right, they would have labored for themselves, and Tipperary would have been a peaceful and blooming garden.

In this stage of our narrative, a difficulty arises. It is hard to conceive it possible that noble lords and gentlemen, the landlords and legislators of an ancient and noble people, should deliberately conspire to slay one out of every eight—men, women, and little children—to strip the remainder barer than they were—to uproot them from the soil where their mothers bore them — to force them to flee to all the ends of the earth — to destroy that tenant-right of Ulster where it was, and to cut off all chance and hope of it where it was not. There is nothing but a patient examination of the facts and documents which can make this credible to mankind.

First, then, for the Report of the Devon Commission. As first printed, it fills four stupendous Blue Books. But it contained too much valuable matter to be buried, like other reports, in the catacombs which yawn for that species of literature. The secretary of the commission, therefore, was employed to abstract and condense, and present the cream of it in an abridgement. This had the advantage not only of condensation, but of selection; the commissioners could then give the pieces of evidence which they liked the best, together with their own recommendations.

This portentous abstract is called a "Digest of the Evidence," &c.; is published by authority; and has a preface signed "Devon."

Much of the volume is occupied with dis-

* See an article on the True Origin of Tenant-Right, written by Samuel Ferguson, in the *Dublin University Magazine* for May, 1848.

sertations and evidence respecting "tenant-right," which the North had, and the South demanded. The commissioners are clearly against it in every shape. They term it "unphilosophical;" and in the preface they state that the Ulster landlords and tenants look upon it in the light of a life insurance —that is, the landlord allows the sale of tenant-right, and the incoming tenant buys it, lest they should both be murdered by the out-going tenant. The following passage treats this tenant-right as injurious to the tenant himself:—

"It is even questionable whether this growing practice of tenant-right, which would *at the first view* appear to be a *valuable assumption* on the part of the tenant, be so in reality; as it gives to him, without any exertion on his own part, an *apparent property* or security, by means of which he is enabled to incur future incumbrance, in order to avoid present inconvenience — a practice which frequently terminates in the utter destitution of his family, and in the sale of his farm, when the debts thus created at usurious interests amount to what its sale would produce."

It appears, then, that in the opinion of these landlords, it is injurious to the tenant to let him have anything on the security of which he can borrow money;—a theory which the landlords would not relish if applied to themselves. Further, the commissioners declare, that this tenant-right is enjoyed without any exertion on the part of tenants. Yet they have, in all cases, either created the whole value of it by the sweat of their brows, or bought it from those who did so create it.

The commissioners "foresee some danger to the *just rights of property* from the unlimited allowance of this tenant-right."

But they suggest a substitute: "compensation for future improvements;" surrounding, however, that suggestion with difficulties which have prevented it from ever being realized.

Speaking of the *consolidation* of farms, they say:—

"When it is seen in the evidence, and in the return of the size of the farms, how small those holdings are, it cannot be denied that such a step is absolutely *necessary*."

And then, as to the people whom it is thus "necessary" to eject, they say:—

"*Emigration* is considered by the committee to be peculiarly applicable, as a remedial measure."

They refer to one of their tables, (No. 95, p. 564,) where—

"The calculation is put forward showing that the consolidation of the small holdings up to eight acres, would require the removal of about one hundred and ninety-two thousand three hundred and sixty-eight families." That is, the removal of about one million of persons.

Such was the Devon programme: Tenant-right to be disallowed;—one million of people to be *removed*—that is, swept out on the highways, where their choice would be America, the poor house, or the grave. We shall see with what accuracy the details were carried out in practice.

In affirming that there was a conspiracy of landlords and legislators to destroy the people, it would be unjust, as it is unnecessary, to charge all members of the Queen's Government, or all of the Devon Commissioners with a privity to that design. Sir Robert Peel knew how Irish landlords would inquire—and what report they would make —just as well as he knew what verdict a jury of Dublin Orangemen would give. Sir Robert Peel had been Irish Secretary. He knew Ireland well; he had been Prime Minister at the time of Catholic Emancipation; and he had taken care to accompany that measure with another, *disfranchising* all the small farmers in Ireland. This disfranchisement, as before explained, had given a stimulus and impetus to the clearance system. He had helped it by Cheap Ejectment acts. It had not worked fast enough.

The same Sir Robert Peel was now again Prime Minister in 1855, when the first of the reports was published by the Land Tenure Commission; and it at once opened to him a plan for the faster clearing off of the "Irish enemy," under the pretext of "ameliorations."

In the meantime, as the repeal movement was still considered formidable, and as Davis and the younger nationalists were earnestly laboring to give it more of a military organization, it became necessary to

take some measures for the purpose of dividing and distracting the repealers.

Danger was then threatening from the side of America, on the question of Oregon. True Irish nationalists, of course, hoped that this would end in a war; and the *Nation* gave unmistakable notification that in case of war about Oregon, the Americans might count upon a diversion in Ireland.

Suddenly Sir Robert Peel's Ministerial organs announced that there were "good measures," or what the English call "amelioration," in store for Ireland. And, in truth, three measures, having much show of liberality, were soon brought forward. They were all cunningly calculated to the great end—the breaking up of the Repeal organization. On the 2d of April, then, Sir Robert Peel "sent a message of peace to Ireland":—it was a proposed bill to give some additional thousands *per annum* to the Catholic College of Maynooth; and in the House of Commons, the Premier thus urged his measures:—

"I say this without hesitation, and recollect that we have been responsible for the peace of Ireland; you must, in some way or other, break up that formidable confederacy which exists against the British Government and British connection. I do not believe you can break it up by force. You can do much to break it up by acting in a spirit of kindness and forbearance, and generosity."

It was novel to hear these good words; and all knew they meant fraud. But the Premier continued:—

"There rises in the far western horizon a cloud, [Oregon,] small, indeed, but threatening future storms. It became my duty, on the part of the Government, on that day, in temperate but significant language, to depart so far from the caution which is usually observed by a Minister, as to declare publicly, that, while we were most anxious for the amicable adjustment of the differences—while we would leave nothing undone to effect that amicable adjustment—yet, if our rights were invaded, we were prepared and determined to maintain them. I own to you, that when I was called upon to make that declaration, I did recollect with satisfaction and consolation, that the day before *I had sent a message of peace to Ireland.*"

The object of the bill was to provide more largely for the endowment of Catholic professors, and the education of young men for the Catholic Church; and the Minister prudently calculated that it would cool the ardor of a portion of the Catholic clergy for repeal of the Union. It was forced through both Lords and Commons as a party question, though vehemently opposed by the intense bigotry and ignorance of the English nation. But the Premier put it to them in that irresistible form — vote for our measure, or we will not answer for the Union!

Another of the Premier's ameliorations was the College bill, for creating and endowing three purely secular colleges in Ireland, to give a good course of education without reference to religious belief. This also was sure to be regarded as a great boon by a portion of the Catholic clergy—while another portion was just as sure to object violently to the whole scheme; some, because it would place education too much under the control of the English Government; and others, because the education was to be "mixed,"—strict Catholics being much in favor of educating Catholic youth separately. Here, then, was a fruitful source of quarrel amongst repealers; and, in fact, it arrayed bishop against bishop, and O'Connell against "Young Ireland." The walls of Conciliation Hall rung with denunciations, not of the Union, but of "Godless Colleges," and of the "young infidel party."

But the Premier had another plot in operation. Protestant England had for ages refused to recognize the Pope as a Sovereign, or to send a Minister to the Vatican. It was still illegal to send an avowed Minister; but Sir Robert Peel sent a secret one. He was to induce His Holiness to take some order with the Catholic bishops and priests of Ireland, to draw them off in some degree from the repeal agitation. By what motives and inducements that agent operated upon the Pope, we can only conjecture; and one conjecture is this—Italy was then, as now, in continual danger of revolution. Within the year that had passed, England had demonstrated that she held in her hand the clew to all those Republican

conspiracies by her Post Office *espionnage;* and it was evident that the same Sir James Graham, who had copied the private correspondence of Mazzini and the Bandieras, and laid it before the King of Naples, could as easily have kept it all to himself. Highly desirable, surely, that "peace, law, and order," in Italy should secure so useful a friend.

In short, the Sacred College sent a rescript to the Irish clergy, declaring that, whereas it had been reported to His Holiness, that many of them devoted themselves too much to politics, and spoke too rashly in public concerning affairs of state—they were thereafter to attend to their religious duties. It was carefully given out in the English press, that the Pope had denounced Repeal; if he had done so, nobody would have minded it, because Catholics do not admit his jurisdiction in temporal affairs; and Quarantotti's interference about the *veto*, had been a significant warning. It was soon settled that the rescript had no such power, and presumed that it had no such intention, on the part of the Pope; yet a certain prudent reserve began to be observable in the repeal speeches of the clergy. So far, the Premier's Roman policy had succeeded.

The distraction in the repeal ranks was much aided at the same time by a certain well-meaning James Haughton, a repealer himself, but one who concerned himself more about the wrongs and rights of American negroes, than about those of his own countrymen. In O'Connell's perplexity as to his course, in the necessity which was upon him to appear to do something, he took hold of this slavery question, made some vehement speeches upon it, and sent back, with contumelious words, some money remitted from a Southern State, in aid of his repeal exchequer.

So far the Premier's plans were successful in breaking up the repeal movement. Religious disputes were introduced by the Colleges bill; and this held the Protestants aloof, and produced bitter altercation throughout the country. By the discussion on slavery, American alliance and cöoperation were checked; a great gain to the Premier; for the Americans, and the Irish in America, all looked forward to something stronger than moral force.

The Minister thought he might proceed, under cover of this tumult of senseless debate, to take the first step in his plan for the depopulation of Ireland, in pursuance of the "Devon Commission" report. Accordingly, his third measure for the "amelioration" of Ireland was a bill, ostensibly providing for "Compensation of Tenants in Ireland," but really calculated for the destruction of the last relics of tenant-right. We need not go through the details of the proposed measure; it is enough to observe, that Lord Stanley admitted that he contemplated the "removal of a vast mass of labor" from its present field. "In justice to the colonies," he would not recommend, as the Devon Commissioners did, merely that the whole of this vast mass should be shot out naked and destitute upon their shores; and his bill proposed the employment of a part of it on the *waste lands* of Ireland—of which waste lands there were four millions of acres, capable of improvement. A portion of the "vast mass of labor" removed from other places was to be set to work, under certain conditions, to reclaim these lands for the landlords.

The bill, though framed entirely for the landlords, did yet propose to interfere, in some degree, with their absolute rights of property. They did not choose that tenants should be presumed to have any right to "compensation," even nominally; or any other right whatever; and as for the waste lands, they wanted them for snipe-shooting. Accordingly, they resisted the bill with all their power; and English landlords, on principle, supported them in that resistance. On the other hand, the Irish tenants, with one consent, exclaimed against the bill, as a bill for open robbery and slaughter. A meeting of County Down tenants resolved that it would rob their class, (in one province, Ulster alone,) of £1,500,000 sterling. The *Nation* commented upon it under the title of "Robbery of Tenants (Ireland) bill." The opposition of the tenant class, and of the Repeal newspapers, would have been of small avail, but for the resistance—upon other grounds—of the landlords. The bill was defeated; Sir Robert Peel had to

devise some other method of getting rid of the "surplus population."

He was soon to be aided by a most efficient ally—the famine; and to tell how the famine helped Sir Robert Peel, and how Sir Robert Peel helped the famine, forms the whole history of the island for the next five years.

In the meantime, Thomas Davis died, in September, 1845, full of sad foreboding despondency, as he witnessed the gradual disintegration and discomfiture of that repeal movement, which had so many elements of power at first. The loss of this rare and noble Irishman has never been repaired; neither to his country nor to his friends. Before the grave had yet closed on Thomas Davis, began to spread awful rumors of approaching famine. Within the next month, from all the counties of Ireland came one cry of mortal terror. Blight had fallen on the crop of potatoes—the food on which five millions of the Irish people had been reduced to depend for subsistence; three millions of them wholly and exclusively. That winter of 1845–6 was the first season of Ireland's last and greatest agony of famine.

Lord Brougham, in his high-flown classical way, described the horrors of the famine in Ireland, as "surpassing anything in the page of Thucydides — on the canvas of Poussin—in the dismal chant of Dante." Such a visitation, falling suddenly upon any land, certainly imposes onerous duties upon its *de facto* government; and the very novelty of the circumstances, driving everything out of its routine course, might well excuse serious mistakes in applying a remedy to so monstrous a calamity. *First*, however, we are to bear in mind that all the powers, revenues, and resources of Ireland had been transferred to London. The Imperial Parliament had dealt at its pleasure with the "sister island" for forty-six years, and had brought us to this. *Second*, a great majority of the Irish people had been earnestly demanding back those powers, revenues, and resources; and the English people, through their Executive, Parliament and press, had unanimously vowed this must never be. They would govern us in spite of us, "under the blessing of Divine Providence," as the Queen said. "Were the Union *gall*," said the *Times*, "swallow it you must."

Well, then, whatsoever duties may be supposed to fall upon a government, in case of such a national calamity, rested on the English Government. We had no Legislature at home; in the Imperial Legislature we had but a delusive semblance of representation; and so totally useless was it, that *national* Irish members of Parliament preferred to stay at home. We had no authoritative mode of even suggesting what measures might, (in mere Irish opinion,) meet the case.

But we will see what was proposed by such public bodies in Ireland as still had power of meeting together in any capacity —the city corporations, for example, and especially the Repeal Association. It has been carefully inculcated upon the world by the British press, that the moment Ireland fell into distress, she became an abject beggar at England's gate—nay, that she even craved alms from all mankind. Many will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that *neither Ireland, nor anybody in Ireland, ever asked alms or favors of any kind, either from England, or from any other nation or people.* On the contrary, it was England herself that begged for us, asking a penny for the love of God to relieve the poor Irish. And further, constituting herself the almoner and agent of all that charity, *she*, England, took all the profit of it.

Before describing the actual process of the "Relief measures," it is well to consider what would be the natural, obvious, and inevitable course of conduct in a nation which was, indeed, one undivided nation: France, for example. If blight and famine fell upon the South of France, the whole common revenue of the kingdom would certainly be largely employed in setting the people to labor upon works of public utility; in purchasing and storing, for sale at a cheap rate, such quantities of foreign corn as might be needed, until the season of distress should pass over, and another harvest should come. If Yorkshire and Lancashire had sustained a like calamity in England, there is no doubt such measures as these would have been taken, promptly and liberally.

And we know that the English Government is not slow to borrow money for great public objects, when it suits British policy so to do. They borrowed twenty millions sterling to give away to their slaveholding colonists for a mischievous whim.

In truth, they are always glad of any occasion or excuse for borrowing money and adding it to the national debt; because, as they never intend to pay that debt, and as the stock and debentures of it are, in the meantime, their main safeguard against revolution, they would be well pleased to incur a debt of hundred millions more at any moment. But the object must be popular in England; it must subserve some purpose of British policy—as in the case of the twenty millions borrowed to free negroes—or the loans freely taken to crush the people of India, and preserve and extend the opium trade with China.

To make an addition to the national debt in order to preserve the lives of a million or two of Celts, would have seemed in England a singular application of money. To *kill* so many would have been well worth a war that would cost forty millions.

On the first appearance of the blight, the Government sent over two learned commissioners, Playfair and Lindley, to Ireland, who, in conjunction with Doctor (now Sir Robert,) Kane, were to examine and report upon potatoes generally, their diseases, habits, &c. This passed over the time for some weeks. Parliament was prorogued, and did not meet again till January.

In the meantime, the Corporation of Dublin sent a memorial to the Queen, praying her to call Parliament together at an early day, and to recommend the appropriation of some public money for public works, especially railways, in Ireland. A deputation from the citizens of Dublin, including the Duke of Leinster, the Lord Mayor, Lord Cloncurry, and Daniel O'Connell, waited on the Lord-Lieutenant, (Lord Heytesbury,) to offer suggestions as to opening the ports to foreign corn, at least for a time, stopping distillation from grain, providing public works, and the like; and to urge that there was not a moment to be lost, as millions of people would shortly be without a morsel of food. The reply of Lord Heytesbury is a model in that kind. He told them they were premature; told them not to be alarmed; that learned men had been sent over *from England* to inquire into all those matters; that, in the meantime, the inspectors of constabulary, and stipendiary magistrates, were charged with making constant reports from their several districts; that, in the meantime, there was "no immediate pressure on the market;" finally, that the case was a very important one, and it was evident "no decision could be taken without a previous reference to the responsible advisers of the Crown." In truth, no other answer was possible, because the Viceroy knew nothing of Sir Robert Peel's intentions. To wait for the report of learned men—to wait for Parliament—in short, *to wait;* that was the sole policy of the enemy for the present. He could wait; but he knew that hunger could not wait.

The Town Council of Belfast met and made suggestions similar to those of the Dublin Corporation, *but neither body asked charity.* They demanded that if Ireland was indeed an integral part of the realm, the common exchequer of both islands should be used—not to give alms, but to provide employment on public works of general utility.

The plea of the enemy for not being ready with any remedy, was the suddenness of the calamity. Now, it happened that nearly eleven years before, a certain "select committee," composed principally of Irish members of Parliament, had been appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the condition of the Irish poor. They had reported, even then, in favor of promoting the reclamation of waste lands; had given their opinion decidedly (being Irish,) that there was no real surplus of population, seeing that the island could easily sustain much more than its actual population, and export immensely besides. Nevertheless, they warn the Government that, "if the potato crop were a failure, its produce would be consumed long before they could acquire new means of subsistence; and then a famine ensues." *

* Report of the "Select Committee," 1836.

Yet, when the famine did ensue, it took "the Government" as much by surprise (or they pretended that it did,) as if they had never been warned.

Not only the citizens of Cork and Belfast, but the Repeal Association, also, had suggestions to make. Indeed, this last-named body was the only one that could pretend especially to represent the very class of people whose lives were endangered by the dearth. Let us see what *they* had to propose.

On the 8th of December, O'Connell, in the Repeal Association, said: "If they ask me what are my propositions for relief of the distress, I answer, first, *tenant-right*. I would propose a law giving to every man his own. I would give the landlord his land, and a fair rent for it; but I would give the tenant compensation for every shilling he might have laid out on the land in permanent improvements. And what next do I propose? *Repeal of the Union.*" In the latter part of his speech, after detailing the means used by the Belgian Legislature during the same season—shutting the ports against exports of provisions, but opening them to import, and the like—he goes on:—

"If we had a domestic Parliament, would not the ports be thrown open—would not the abundant crops with which heaven has blessed her be kept for the people of Ireland—and would not the Irish Parliament be more active even than the Belgian Parliament to provide for the people food and employment? The blessings that would result from repeal—the necessity for repeal—the impossibility of the country enduring the want of repeal—and the utter hopelessness of any other remedy—all those things powerfully urge you to join with me, and hurrah for the repeal."

Still earlier, in November, O'Brien had used these words:—

"I congratulate you, that *the universal sentiment hitherto exhibited upon this subject has been that we will accept no English charity.* The resources of this country are still abundantly adequate to maintain our population, and until those resources shall have been utterly exhausted, I hope there is no man in Ireland who will so degrade himself as to ask the aid of a subscription from England."

And the sentiment was received with "loud cheers" O'Brien's speech is an earnest and vehement adjuration not to suffer promises of "relief," or vague hopes of English boons to divert the country one moment from the great business of putting an end to the Union. Take one other extract from a speech of O'Connell's:—

"If we had a paternal government, I should be first to counsel the appropriation of a portion of the revenues of Ireland to the wants of the people, and this, too, without very strictly considering whether the whole should be repaid or not. We have an abstract claim to such application of the Irish revenues; but were we to advocate such an arrangement now, we should be mocked and insulted. Therefore, I approach the Government of England on equal terms. I say to the English people: You are the greatest money-lenders in Europe, and I will suppose you to be as determined as Shylock in the play. During the last session of Parliament, an act was passed for the encouragement of drainage in England and Ireland. According to the provisions of that act, any money advanced for the purpose of draining estates takes priority over the other charges affecting those estates; so that whatever amount of money may be so applied becomes the first charge on the estate of the proprietors of Ireland, and thus is its repayment secured beyond all hazard. The Government can borrow as much money as they please on Exchequer bills at not more than three per cent. If they lend it out for the purposes of drainage, they can charge such proprietors as may choose to borrow, interest at the rate of four per cent. They, therefore, will have a clear gain of one per cent., and we shall owe them nothing, but they will stand indebted to us for affording them an opportunity of obtaining an advantageous investment of the capital at their disposal."

All this while, until after the meeting of Parliament, there was no hint as to the intentions of Government; and all this while the new Irish harvest of 1845, (which was particularly abundant,) with immense herds of cattle, sheep, and hogs, quite as usual, was floating off on every tide, out of every one of our thirteen seaports, bound for

England ; and the landlords were receiving their rents, and going to England to spend them ; and many hundreds of poor people had lain down and died on the road-sides for want of food, even before Christmas ; and the famine not yet begun, but expected shortly.*

All eyes were turned to Parliament. The commission of learned naturalists—the inquiries and reports made by means of the constabulary—and various mysterious intimations in the Government newspapers—all tended to produce the belief that the Imperial "Government" was about to charge itself with the whole care and administration of the famine. And so it was—with a vengeance.

Late in January, Parliament assembled. From the Queen's (that is, Sir Robert Peel's,) speech, one thing only was clear—that Ireland was to have a new "Cöercion bill." Extermination of tenantry had been of late more extensive than ever, and, therefore, there had been a few murders of landlords and agents—the most natural and inevitable thing in the world. The Queen says :—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen* :—I have observed with deep regret the very frequent instances in which the crime of deliberate assassination has been of late committed in Ireland.

"It will be your duty to consider whether any measure can be devised, calculated to give increased protection to life, and to bring to justice the perpetrators of so dreadful a crime."

This meant more police, more police-taxes, police-surveillance, and a law that every one should keep at home after dark. The speech goes on to refer to the approaching famine, and declares that Her Majesty had "adopted precautions" for its alleviation. This intimation served still further to make our people turn to "Government" for counsel and for aid. Who can blame them? "Government" had seized upon all our means and resources. It was confidently believed they intended to let us have the use of some part of our own money in this deadly emergency. It was even fondly imagined, by some sanguine persons, that the Government had it in contemplation to stop the export of provisions from Ireland—as the Belgian Legislature had done from Belgium, and the Portuguese from Portugal, until our own people should first be fed. It was not known, in short, what "Government" intended to do, or how far they would go ; all was mystery ; and this very mystery paralyzed such private and local efforts, by charitable persons, as might otherwise have been attempted in Ireland.

The two great leading measures proposed in this Parliament by the administration were, *first*, a Cöercion bill for Ireland, and, *second*, repeal of the Corn laws. This repeal of the duties on foreign corn had long been demanded by the manufacturing and trading interests of England, and had been steadily opposed by the great landed-proprietors. Sir Robert Peel, as a Conservative statesman, had always hitherto vigorously opposed the measure ; but early in this Parliament he suddenly announced himself a convert to free-trade in corn ; and even used the *pretext* of the famine in Ireland to justify himself and carry his measure. He further proposed to abolish the duties on foreign beef, and mutton, and bacon. Shall we exclude any kind of food from our ports, he said, while the Irish are starving ?

That is to say, the Premier proposed to cheapen those products which England bought, and which Ireland had to sell. Ireland imported no corn or beef—she exported those commodities. Hitherto she had an advantage over American and other corn-growers in the English market, because there was a duty on foreign, but not on Irish, provisions. Henceforth, the agricultural produce of all the world was to be admitted on the same terms, duty-free ; and precisely to the extent that this would cheapen provisions to the English consumer, it would impoverish the Irish producer. The great mass of the Irish people were almost unacquainted with the taste of bread

*The Census Commissioners admit only five hundred and sixteen "registered deaths," by starvation alone, up to January 1st. There was, at that time, no *registry* for them at all ; and thousands perished, registered by none but the Recording Angel. Besides, the commissioners do not count the much greater numbers who died of typhus fever, the consequence of insufficient nourishment.

and meat; they raised those articles, not to eat, but to sell and pay their rents with. Yet many of the Irish people, stupified by the desolation they saw around them, had cried out for "opening the ports," instead of closing them. The Irish ports were open enough; much too open; and an Irish Parliament, if there had been one, would instantly have closed them in this emergency.

In looking over the melancholy records of those famine years, we find that usually the right view was seized, and the right word said, by William Smith O'Brien. He said, in the Repeal Association:—

"With respect to the proposal before us, I have to remark that it professes to abrogate all protection. It is, in my opinion, a proposal manifestly framed with a view to English rather than Irish interests. About two-thirds of the population of England (that, I believe, is the proportion,) are dependent on manufactures and commerce, directly or indirectly. In this country about nine-tenths of the population are dependent on agriculture, directly or indirectly. It is clearly the object of the English Minister to obtain the agricultural produce which the people of this country send to England, at the lowest possible price—that is to say, to give as little as possible of English manufactures and of foreign commodities in return for the agricultural produce of Ireland."

If this *was* the Minister's design, we may appreciate the spirit in which he addressed himself to the "relief measures" for Ireland.

The other measure was the *Cöercion bill.* It authorized the Viceroy to *proclaim* any district in Ireland he might think proper, commanding the people to remain within doors (whether they had houses or not,) from sunset to sunrise;—authorized him to quarter on such district any additional police force he might think needful—to pay rewards to informers and detectives—to pay compensation to the relatives of murdered or injured persons—and to levy the amount of all by *distress* upon the goods of the occupiers, as under the Poor law—with this difference, that whereas under the Poor-law the occupier could deduct a portion of the rate from his rent, under the new law he could not—and with this further difference, that whereas under the Poor law, householders whose cabins were valued under £4 per annum were exempt from the rate, under this law they were not exempt. Thus, every man who had a house, no matter how wretched, was to pay the new tax; and every man was bound to *have* a house; for if found out of doors after sunset, and convicted of that offence, he was to be transported for fifteen years, or imprisoned for three—the court to have the discretion of adding hard labor or solitary confinement.

Now, the first of these two laws, which abolished the preference of Irish grain in the English markets, would, as the Premier well knew, give a great additional stimulus to the consolidation of farms—that is, the ejectment of tenantry; because "high-farming"—farming on a large scale, with the aid of horses and steam, and all the modern agricultural improvements — was what alone would enable Irish agriculturists to compete with all mankind.

The second law would drive the survivors of the ejected people (those who did not die of hunger,) into the poor houses or to America; because, being bound to be at *home* after the sun-set, and having neither house nor home, they would be all in the absolute power of the police, and in continual peril of transportation to the colonies.

By another act of this Parliament, the police force was increased, and taken more immediately into the service of the Crown; the Irish counties were in part relieved from their pay; and they became, in all senses, a portion of the regular army. They amounted to twelve thousand chosen men, well armed and drilled. *

* No population was ever more peaceable than the Irish at this time; but they were assumed to be in an unusually dangerous temper, and to require the especial vigilance of this terrible police-force. To show the pains taken by the authorities for repressing all disturbance, we may give a few sentences out of a manual published in this same year, 1846, by David Duff, Esq., an active police magistrate. It is entitled, "The Constable's Guide":—

"The great point towards efficiency is, that every man should know his duty and do it, and should have a thorough and perfect knowledge of the neighborhood of his station; and men should make themselves not only acquainted with roads and passes, but the *character of all*, which, with a little trouble,

The police were always at the command of sheriffs for executing ejectments; and if they were not in sufficient force, troops of the line could be had from the nearest garrison. No wonder that the London *Times*, within less than three years after, was enabled to say: "Law has ridden roughshod through Ireland: it has been taught with bayonets, and interpreted with ruin. Townships leveled with the ground; straggling columns of exiles, work-houses multiplied and still crowded, express the determination of the Legislature to rescue Ireland from its slovenly old barbarism, and to plant the institutions of this more civilized land"—*meaning England.*

These were the two principal measures for the prudent administration of the famine; but there was also another, purporting to aim more directly at *relief.*

Mr. Secretary Labouchere making his Ministerial statement in Parliament this session, estimated the total money-loss accruing by the potato-blight at sixteen millions sterling. It was about the value of the Irish provisions consumed every year in England. The people likely to be affected by this dearth were always, in ordinary years, on the brink of destruction by famine, and many were every year starved to death. Now, to replace, in some measure, this *absolutely necessary* food by foreign corn, and to pay the higher price of grain over roots, (besides freight,) would have required an appropriation of twenty millions sterling —the same amount which had been devoted, without scruple, to turning of West India negroes wild.

could be easily accomplished. A policeman cannot be considered *perfect* in his civil duty as a constable, who could not, when required, march direct to any house at night.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Independent of regular night patrols, whose hours should vary, men should by day take post on hills commanding the houses *of persons having registered arms*, or supposed to be obnoxious. The men so posted will be within view of other parties, so as to cöoperate in pursuit of offenders.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Patrols hanging about ditches, plantations, and, above all, visiting the houses of suspicious characters, are most essential.

"The telescope to be taken always on day patrol, and rockets and blue-lights used, as pointed out in the *confidential* memorandum."

The "confidential memorandum" we have not been privileged to see.

England had, for so many years, drawn so vast a tribute from Ireland, (probably eight millions *per annum*, for forty years,) that now, when the consequence of our intercourse with the sister island turned out to be that she grew richer every year, while Ireland, on her side of the account, had accumulated a famine, we claimed that there was something surely *due* to us. It is out of the question to enter here into these multifarious accounts. England beats all mankind in bookkeeping by double entry; and as she has had the keeping of the books, as well as everything else, it has been very difficult even to approximate to the truth. But to those who have followed the course of this narrative, and who call to mind the immense drain, first of provisions, and then of the money paid for those provisions steadily going on, from Ireland to England, since the Union, it will seem quite within bounds to affirm that the value of *one year's* plunder—or the loan of that amount, (if Ireland had had a legislature to effect such a loan,) would have amounted to the needful twenty millions sterling; would have saved Ireland the first year's famine, and made the succeeding famines impossible.

Considering all these things, it was believed not unreasonable, that the common Exchequer of the "Three Kingdoms" (so liberal when it was a question of turning negroes wild,) ought to devote at least as great a sum to the mitigation of so dreadful a calamity as the famine. Accordingly, our people demanded such an appropriation, not as alms, but as a right. The Committee of the Repeal Association for example, said:—

"Your committee beg distinctly to disclaim any participation in appeals to the bounty of England or of Englishmen. They demand, as a right, that a portion of the revenue which Ireland contributes to the state, may be rendered available for the mitigation of a great public calamity."

Up to the meeting of Parliament, the enemy concealed their intentions in mystery; they consulted nobody in Ireland about this Irish emergency, but prepared their plans in silence.

In the meantime, the abundant and magnificent crops of grain and herds of cattle

were going over to England, both earlier in the season and in greater quantities than ever before, for speculators were anxious to realize, and the landlords were pressing for their rents; and agents and bailiffs were down upon the farmers' crops before they could even get them stacked. So the farmers sold them at a disadvantage, in a glutted market, or they were sold for them, by auction, and with costs. The great point was to put the English Channel between the people and the food which Providence had sent them, at the earliest possible moment.

By New Year's Day, it was almost swept off. Up to that date, Ireland sent away and England received, of grain alone, of the crop of 1845—three millions two hundred and fifty thousand *quarters*—besides innumerable cattle;—making a value of at least seventeen millions sterling.*

Now, when Parliament met in January, the sole "remedial measure" proposed by Sir Robert Peel, (besides the Cöercion bill, and the Corn bill, to cheapen bread in England,) was a grant of £50,000 for public works, and another grant of as much for drainage of estates;—both these being grants, *not* to Ireland, but to the "Commissioners of Public Works;" and to be administered not as Irishmen might suggest, but as to the said commissioners might seem good.†

It was the two-hundredth part of what might probably have sufficed to stay the famine. It might have given sensible relief—if honestly administered—to the smallest of the thirty-two counties. How it *was* used, not for relief, but for aggravation of the misery, we shall see hereafter. For that season's famine it was at any rate too late, and before any part of it became available many thousands had died of hunger. The London newspapers complacently stated that the impression "in political circles" was, that two millions of the people must perish before the next harvest.

January, February, and part of March passed away. Nothing was done for relief; but much preparation was made in the way of appointing hosts of commissioners and commissioners' clerks, and preparing the voluminous stationery, schedules, specifications, and red-tape to tie them up neatly, which so greatly embarrass all British official action—a very injurious sort of embarrassment in such a case as the Crimean war, but the very thing that did best service (to the Government) on the present occasion.‡

O'Connell, O'Brien, and some other repeal members, proceeded to London, in March, to endeavor to stir up Ministers, or at least discover what they were intending. In answer to Mr. O'Brien, Sir James Graham enumerated the grants and loans I have above mentioned; and added something about other public moneys, which, he said, were also available for relief of distress; adding:—

"Instructions have been given on the responsibility of the Government, to meet every emergency. It would not be expedient for me to detail those instructions; but I may state, generally, there is no portion of this distress, however wide-spread or lamentable, on which Government have not endeavored, on their own responsibility, to take the best precautions, to give the best directions of which circumstances could admit."

O'Brien had just come from Ireland, where he had anxiously watched the progress of the "relief measures," and of the famine; he had seen that while the latter was quick, the former were slow—in fact, they had not then appeared in Ireland at all; but the very announcement that Government intended to interpose in some decisive manner, had greatly hastened collection of rents and ejectment of tenants; and both hunger, and its sure attendant, the typhus, were sweeping them off rapidly. British Ministers listened to all he could say, with a calm, incredulous smile. "Have

* *Thom's Official Directory.* It appears, even in that Government publication, that the export of grain from Ireland to England was considerably *greater* in this first famine year, (1845,) than it had been in any year before. So that the famine is not at all a mysterious dispensation of Providence.

† O'Connell pointed out that the Quit and Crown rents drawn from Ireland last year, and spent at that time in beautifying Trafalgar square and Windsor Castle, amounted to more than £60,000.

‡ In April of next year, (1846,) Jones, Twisleton, &c., were enabled to report that they had sent to Ireland "ten thousand books—besides fourteen tons of paper."

we not told you," they said, "we have sent persons—Englishmen, reliable men—to inquire into all those matters? Are we not going to meet every emergency?"

"Mr. W. S. O'Brien was bound to say, with regard to the sums of money mentioned by the right honorable baronet, as having been, on a former occasion, voted by the House for the relief of Ireland, that as far as his own information went, not one single guinea had ever been expended from those sources. He was also bound to tell the right honorable baronet that one hundred thousand of his fellow-creatures in Ireland were famishing."

And here the report adds: The honorable gentleman, who appeared to labor under deep emotion, paused for a short time. Doubtless, it was bitter to that haughty spirit to plead for his plundered people, as it were *in formâ pauperis*, before the plunderers; and their vulgar pride was soothed; but soon it was wounded again, for he added:—

"Under such circumstances did it not become the House to consider of the way in which they could deal with the crisis? He would tell them frankly—and it was a feeling participated in by the majority of Irishmen—that he was not disposed to appeal to their generosity in the matter. They had taken, and they had tied, the purse-strings of the Irish purse!"

Whereupon the report records that there were cries of *oh! oh!* They were scandalized at the idea of Ireland having a purse.

Notwithstanding this repeated repudiation of alms, all the appropriations of Parliament, purporting to be for relief, but really calculated for aggravation of the Irish famine, were persistently called alms by the English press. These Irish, they said, are never done craving alms. It is true, they did not *answer* our statement that we only demanded a small part of what was due; they chose to assume that the Exchequer was *their* Exchequer;—neither did they think it fit to remember that Mr. O'Brien, and such as he, were by no means suffering from famine themselves, but were retrenching the expenses of their households at home to relieve those who were suffering. To the common English intellect it was enough to present this one idea—here are these starving Irish coming over to beg from *you*.

Thus, it will be easy to appreciate the feelings which then prevailed in the two islands—in Ireland, a vague and dim sense that we were somehow robbed—in England, a still more vague and blundering idea, that an impudent beggar was demanding their money, with a scowl in his eye and a threat upon his tongue.

In truth, only a few, either in England or in Ireland, fully understood the bloody game on the board. The two cardinal principles of the British policy in this business seem to have been these two: *First*, strict adherence to the principles of "political economy;" and, *second*, making the whole administration of the famine a Government concern. "Political economy" became, about the time of the repeal of the Corn laws, a favorite study, or rather, indeed, the creed and gospel of England. Women and young boys were learned in its saving doctrines; one of the most fundamental of which was, "there must be no interference with the natural course of trade." It was seen that this maxim would insure the transfer of the Irish wheat and beef to England; for that was what they called the natural course of trade. Moreover, this maxim would forbid the Government, or relief committees, to sell provisions in Ireland any lower than the market price—for this is an interference with the enterprize of private speculators; it would forbid the employment of Government ships—for this troubles individual ship owners; and further, and lastly, it was found, (this invaluable maxim,) to require that the public works to be executed by laborers employed with borrowed public money, should be unproductive works; that is, works which would create no fund to pay their own expenses. There were many railroad companies at that time in Ireland that had got their charters; their roads have been made since; but it was in vain they asked then for Government advances, which they could have well secured, and soon paid off; the thing could not be done. Lending money to Irish railroad companies would be a discrimination against English companies—flat interference with private enterprize.

The other great leading idea completed Sir Robert's policy. It was to make the famine a strictly Government concern. The famine was to be administered strictly through officers of the Government, from high commissioners down to policemen. Even the Irish General Relief Committee, and other local committees of charitable persons who were exerting themselves to raise funds to give employment, were either induced to act in subordination to a Government Relief Committee, which sat in Dublin Castle—or else were deterred from importation of food, by the announcement in Parliament that the *Government* had given orders somewhere for the purchase of foreign corn. For instance, the Mayor of Cork, and some principal inhabitants of that city, hurried to Dublin, and waited on the Lord-Lieutenant, representing that the local committee had applied for some portion of the Parliamentary loans, but "were refused assistance on some points of official form—that the people of that county were already famishing, and both food and labor were urgently needed. Lord Heytesbury simply recommended that they should communicate at once with the *Government* Relief Committee"—as for the rest, that they should consult the Board of Works. Thus every possible delay and official difficulty was interposed against the efforts of local bodies—Government was to do all. These things, together with the new measure for an increase in the police force, (who were the main administrative agents throughout the country,) led many persons to the conclusion that the enemy had resolved to avail themselves of the famine in order to increase Governmental supervision and *espionage;* so that every man, woman, and child in Ireland, with all their goings out and comings it, might be thoroughly known and registered—that when the mass of the people began to starve, their sole resource might be the police barracks — that Government might be all in all; omnipotent to give food or withhold it, to relieve or to starve, according to their own ideas of policy and of good behavior in the people.

It is needless to point out that Government patronage also was much extended by this system; and by the middle of the next year, 1847, there were ten thousand men salaried out of Parliamentary loans and grants for relief of the poor—as commissioners, inspectors, clerks, and so forth; and some of them with salaries equal to that of an American Secretary of State. So many of the middle classes had been dragged down almost to insolvency by the ruin of the country, that they began to be eager for the smaller places, as clerks and inspectors; for those ten thousand officers, then, it was estimated there were one hundred thousand applicants and canvassers—so much clear gain from "repeal."

The Repeal Association continued its regular meetings and never ceased to represent that the true remedies for Irish famine were tenant-right—the stoppage of export —and repeal of the Union;—and as those were really the true and only remedies, it was clear they were the only expedients which an English Parliament would *not* try. The repeal members gained a kind of Parliamentary victory, however, this spring; —they caused the defeat of the Cöercion bill, with the aid of the Whigs. Sir Robert Peel had very cunningly, as he thought, made this bill precede the Corn Law Repeal bill; and as the English public was all now most eager for the cheapening of bread, he believed that all parties would make haste to pass his favorite measure first. The Irish members went to London, and knowing they could not influence legislation otherwise, organized a sort of mere mechanical resistance against the Cöercion bill; that is, they opposed first reading, second reading, third reading, opposed its being referred to committee, moved endless amendments, made endless speeches, and insisted upon dividing the House on every clause. In vain it was represented to them that this was only delaying the Corn law repeal, which would "cheapen bread." O'Brien replied that it would only cheapen bread to Englishmen, and enable them to devour more and more of the Irish bread, and give less for it. In vain Ministers told them they were stopping public business — they answered that English business was no business of theirs. In vain their courtesy was invoked. They could not afford to be courteous in such a case, and their sole

errand in London was to resist an atrocious and torturing tyranny threatened against their poor countrymen.

Just before this famous debate, there had been very extensive clearing of tenantry in Connaught; and, in particular, one case, in which a Mrs. Gerrard had, with the aid of the troops and police, destroyed a whole village, and thrown out two hundred and seventy persons on the high road. The *Nation* thus improved the circumstances with reference to the "Cöercion bill":—

"Some Irish member, for instance, may point to the two hundred and seventy persons thrown out of house and home the other day in Galway, and in due form of law, (for it was all perfectly legal,) turned adrift in their desperation upon the wide world—and may ask the Minister, if any of these two hundred and seventy commit a robbery on the highway—if any of them murder the bailiff who, (in exercise of his duty,) flung out their naked children to perish in the winter's sleet—if any of them, maddened by wolfish famine, break into a dwelling-house, and forcibly take food to keep body and soul together, or arms for vengeance—what will you do? How will you treat that district? Will you, indeed, *proclaim* it? Will you mulct the householders, (not yet ejected,) in a heavy fine, to compound for the crimes of those miserable outcasts, to afford food and shelter to whom they wrong their own children in this hard season? Besides sharing with those wretches his last potato, is the poor cottier to be told that he is to *pay* for policemen to watch them day and night—that he is to make atonement in money, (though his spade and poor bedding should be auctioned to make it up,) for any outrage that may be done in the neighborhood?—but that these GERRARDS are not to pay one farthing for all this—for, perhaps, their property is incumbered, and, it may be, they find it hard enough to pay their interest, and keep up such establishments, in town and country, as befit their rank? And will you, indeed, issue your commands that those houseless and famishing two hundred and seventy—after their roof-trees were torn down, and the ploughshare run through the foundations of their miserable hovels—are to be *at home* from sunset to sunrise?—that if found straying, the jails and the penal colonies are ready for their reception?"

It was precisely with a view to meet such cases that the Cöercion bill had been devised. The English Whigs, and, at length, the indignant Protectionists, too, joined the repealers in this resistance—not to spare Ireland, but to defeat Sir Robert Peel, and get into his place. And they did defeat Sir Robert Peel, and get into his place. Whereupon, it was not long before Lord John Russell and the Whigs devised a new and more murderous Cöercion bill for Ireland themselves.

It was on the 25th of May, that the Cöercion bill for Ireland was defeated—the first Cöercion bill for Ireland that was ever refused by a British Parliament; and it was rejected, not by the exertions of Ireland's friends, but by political combinations of her enemies.

Sir Robert Peel immediately resigned office, and left the responsibility of dealing with the Irish affair to the Whigs. He knew he might do so safely. His system was inaugurated. His two great ideas—free trade and police administration—were fully recognized by the Whigs; and Lord John Russell was even a blind bigot about what he imagined to be political economy. This "liberal" statesman never had an idea of his own; and as the system of Sir Robert Peel was really the true and only English method of dealing with the Irish difficulty, it was quite certain that the Whigs would not only adopt it, but improve upon it.

CHAPTER LIX.

1846—1847.

Progress of the Famine Carnage—Pretended Relief Measures—Imprisonment of O'Brien—Dissensions in Repeal Association—Break up of that Body—Ravages of Famine—"Labor-Rate Act"—Useless Public Works—Extermination—Famine of 1847—How they lived in England—Advances from the Treasury—Attempts of Foreign Countries to Relieve the Famine—Defeated by British Government—Vagrancy Act—Parish Coffins—Constant Repudiation of Alms—An Englishman's Petition for Alms to Ireland—"Ingratitude" of the Irish—Death of O'Connell—Preparations to Insure the Next Year's Famine—Emigration—British Famine Policy—New Cöercion Act called for—Famine in Ireland.

In the first year of the famine, then, we find that the measures proposed by the English Government were, *first*, repeal of the Corn laws, which depreciated Ireland's only article of export; *second*, a new Cöercion law, to torture and transport the people; and, *third*, a grant of £100,000 to certain clerks or commissioners, chiefly for their own profit, and from which the starving people derived no benefit whatever. Yet, Ireland was taunted with this grant, as if it were *alms* granted to her. Double the sum (£200,000,) was, *in the same session*, appropriated for Battersea Park, a suburban place of recreation much resorted to by Londoners.

It is to be observed that all the employment to be provided for the poor under this first "Relief act," was to be given under the order and control of English officials; further, the professions of "Government"—that *they* had taken all needful measures to guard against famine—had made people rely upon them for everything, and thus turned the minds of thousands upon thousands from work of their own, which they might have attempted if left to themselves. This sort of government spoon-feeding is highly demoralizing; and for *one* who derived any relief from it, one thousand neglected their own industry in the pursuit of it.

In truth, the amount of relief offered by these grants was infinitesimally small, when we consider the magnitude of the calamity, and had no other effect than to unsettle the minds of the peasantry, and make them more careless about holding on to their farms.

It is true, also, that the Government did, to a certain small extent, speculate in Indian corn, and did send a good many cargoes of it to Ireland, and form depôts of it at several points; but as to this, also, their mysterious intimations had led all the world to believe they would provide very large quantities, whereas, in fact, the quantity imported by them was inadequate to supply the loss of the grain *exported* from any one county; and a Government ship, sailing into any harbor with Indian corn, was sure to meet half a dozen sailing out with Irish wheat and cattle. The effect of this, therefore, was only to blind the people to the fact, that England was exacting her tribute as usual, famine or no famine. The effect of both combined was to engender a dependent and pauper spirit, and to free England from all anxiety about "repeal." A landless, hungry *pauper* cannot afford to think of the honor of his country, and cares nothing about a national flag.

How powerfully the whole of this system and procedure contributed to accomplish the great end of uprooting the people from the soil, one can readily understand. The exhibition and profession of public "relief" for the destitute, stifled compunction in the landlords; and agents, bailiffs, and police swept whole districts with the besom of destruction.

Another act had been done by Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, just before retiring, with a view of breaking up the Repeal Association. This was the imprisonment of Mr. Smith O'Brien several weeks in the cellar of the House of Commons. It grievously irritated the enemy that O'Connell, O'Brien, and the Repeal members, still continued to absent themselves from Parliament. The House of Commons tried various methods of persuading or cöercing them to London. Mr. Hume had written them a friendly letter, imploring them to come over to their legislative duties, and *he* would aid them in obtaining justice for Ireland. A "call of the House" was proposed; but they declared beforehand, that if there were a call of the House they would not obey it, and the Sergeant-at-Arms must come to Ireland

for them—he would find them in Conciliation Hall. They were nominated on English Railroad Committees, and the proper officer had intimated to them the fact. They replied that they were attending to more important business. Now, when they went over to oppose the Cöercion bill, it was understood that this was to be their sole errand, and they were not to engage themselves in the ordinary details of legislation. But they were not long in London before the opportunity was seized to place their names on Railway Committees. O'Connell and his son both obeyed the call. O'Brien, of course, refused, and was imprisoned in the cellar for "contempt."

London and all England were highly pleased and entertained. The press was brilliant upon the great "Brian Boru" in a cellar; and Mr. O'Brien was usually afterwards termed—with that fine sarcasm so characteristic of English genius—the "martyr of the cellar."

Instantly arose dissension in the Repeal Association. To approve and fully sustain O'Brien's action in refusing to serve, would be to censure O'Connell for serving. In that body a sort of unsatisfactory compromise was made, but the "Eighty-Two Club," where the *young* party was stronger, voted a warm address of full approval to O'Brien, (who was a member of the club,) and dispatched several members to present it to him in his dungeon.

The divisions in O'Connell's association were soon brought to a crisis when the Whigs came in. O'Connell instantly gave up all agitation of the Repeal question, and took measures to separate himself from those "juvenile members" who, as he declared, Lord John Russell had asserted were plotting not only to repeal the Union, but to sever the connection with England, ("the golden link of the Crown,") and that by *physical force*. All this famous controversy seems now of marvelously small moment; but a very concise narrative of it may be found in Mr. O'Brien's words, which will be enough:—

"Negotiations were opened between Mr. O'Connell and the Whigs at Chesham Place. 'Young Ireland' protested, in the strongest terms, against an alliance with the Whigs. Mr. O'Connell took offence at the language used by Mr. Meagher and others. When I arrived in Dublin, after the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, I learned that he contemplated a rupture with the writers of the *Nation*. Before I went to the County of Clare, I communicated, through Mr. Ray, a special message to Mr. O'Connell, who was then absent from Dublin, to the effect, that though I was most anxious to preserve a neutral position, I could not silently acquiesce in any attempt to expel the *Nation* or its party from the association. Next came the Dungarvan election, and the new "moral force" resolutions. I felt it my duty to protest against both at the Kilrush dinner. Upon my return to Dublin, I found a public letter from Mr. O'Connell, formally denouncing the *Nation;* and no alternative was left me but to declare, that if that letter were acted upon, I could not cöoperate any longer with the Repeal Association. The celebrated two-day debate then took place. Mr. J. O'Connell opened an attack upon the *Nation* and upon its adherents. Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Meagher defended themselves in language which, it seemed to me, did not transgress the bounds of decorum or of legal safety. Mr. John O'Connell interrupted Mr. Meagher in his speech, and declared that he could not allow him to proceed with the line of argument necessary to sustain the principles which had been arraigned. I protested against this interruption. Mr. J. O'Connell then gave us to understand that unless Mr. Meagher desisted, he must leave the hall. I could not acquiesce in this attempt to stifle a fair discussion, and sooner than witness the departure of Mr. J. O'Connell from an association founded by his father, I preferred to leave the assembly." *

When O'Brien left the assembly, he was accompanied by his friends, and there was an end of the Repeal Association, save as a machinery of securing offices for O'Connell's dependents. Even for that purpose it was not efficient; because it had too clearly become impotent and hollow; there was no danger in it, and Ministers would not buy a patriot in that market, unless at a very low figure.

* Mr. O'Brien's letter to Dr. Miley December, 1846.

In the meantime, the famine and the fever raged; many landlords regained possession without so much as an ejectment, because the tenant died of hunger; and the county coroners, before the end of this year, were beginning to strike work—they were so often called to sit upon famine-slain corpses. The verdict—"Death by starvation"—became so familiar that the county newspapers sometimes omitted to record it; and travelers were often appalled when they came upon some lonely village by the western coast, with the people all skeletons upon their own hearths. Irish landlords are not all monsters of cruelty. Thousands of them, indeed, kept far away from the scene, collected their rents through agents and bailiffs, and spent them in England or in Paris. But the resident landlords and their families did, in many cases, devote themselves to the task of saving their poor people alive. Many remitted their rents, or half their rents; and ladies kept their servants busy and their kitchens smoking with continual preparation of food for the poor. Local committees soon purchased all the corn in the Government depôts, (at market price, however,) and distributed it gratuitously. Clergymen, both Protestant and Catholic, generally did their duty; except those absentee clergymen, bishops, and wealthy rectors, who usually reside in England, their services being not needed in the places from whence they draw their wealth. But many a poor rector and his curate shared their crust with their suffering neighbors; and priests, after going round all day administering Extreme Unction to whole villages at once, all dying of mere starvation, often themselves went supperless to bed.

The details of this frightful famine, as it ravaged those western districts, need not be narrated. It is enough to say that in this year, 1846, aot less than three hundred thousand perished, either of mere hunger, or of typhus fever caused by hunger. But, as it has ever since been the main object of the British Government to conceal the amount of the carnage, (which, indeed, they ought to do if they can,) we find that the Census Commissioners, in their report for 1851, admit only two thousand and forty-one "registered" deaths by famine alone.

A Whig Ministry, however, was now in power; and the people were led to expect great efforts on the part of Government to stay the progress of ruin. In August, it became manifest that the potato-crop of '46 was also a total failure; but the products otherwise were most abundant—much more than sufficient to feed all the people. Again, therefore, it became the urgent business of British policy to promise large "relief," so as to insure that the splendid harvest should be allowed peacefully to be shipped to England as before; and the first important measure of the Whigs was to propose a renewal of the *Disarming act*, and a further increase in the police force. Apparently, the outcry raised against this had the effect of shaming Ministers, for they suddenly dropped the bill for this time. But the famine could not be correctly administered without a Cöercion bill of some sort; so the next year they devised a machinery of this kind, the most stringent and destructive that had yet been prescribed for Ireland. In the meantime, for "relief" of the famine, they brought forward their famous *Labor-Rate act.*

This was, in few words, an additional Poor-rate, payable by the same persons liable to the other Poor-rates; the proceeds to be applied to the execution of such public works as *the Government* might choose; the control and superintendence to be intrusted to *Government officers.* Money was to be, in the meantime, advanced from the Treasury, in order to set the people immediately to work; and that advance was to be repaid in ten years by means of the increased rate. There was to be an *appearance* of local control, inasmuch as barony sessions of landlords and justices were to have power to meet, (under the Lord-Lieutenant's order,) and suggest any works they might think needful, provided these were strictly unproductive works; but the control of all was to be in the Government alone.

Now, the class which suffered most from the potato-blight consisted of those small farmers who were barely able, in ordinary years, to keep themselves above starvation

after paying their rents. These people, by the Labor-Rate act, had an additional tax laid on them ; and not being able to pay it, could but quit their holdings, sink to the class of able-bodied paupers, and enrol themselves in a gang of Government *navvys* —thus, throwing themselves for support upon those who still strove to maintain themselves by their own labor on their own land.

In addition to the proceeds of the new Poor-rate, Parliament appropriated a further sum of £50,000, to be applied in giving work in some absolutely pauper districts, where there was no hope of ever raising rates to repay it. £50,000 was just the sum which was that same year voted out of the English and Irish revenue to improve the buildings of the British Museum.

So there was to be *more* Poor law, more commissioners, (this time under the title of Additional Public Works Commissioners ;) innumerable officials in the public works, commissariat and constabulary departments; and no end of stationery and red tape—*all* to be paid out of the rates. On the whole, it was hoped that provision was made for stopping the "Irish howl" this one season.

Irishmen of all classes had almost universally condemned the Poor law at first ; so, as they did not like Poor law, they were to have *more* Poor law. Society in Ireland was to be reconstructed on the basis of Poor-rates, and a broad foundation of able-bodied pauperism. It did not occur to the English—and it never will occur to them—that the way to stop Irish destitution is to repeal the Union, so that Irishmen might make their own laws, use their own resources, regulate their own industry. It was in vain, however, that anybody in Ireland remonstrated. In vain that such journals as were of the popular party condemned the whole scheme. The *Nation* of that date treats it thus :—

"Unproductive work to be executed with borrowed money—a ten years' mortgage of a new tax, to pay for cutting down hills and filling them up again—a direct impost upon landed-proprietors in the most offensive form, to feed all the rest of the population, impoverishing the rich without benefitting the poor—not creating, not developing, but merely transferring, and in the transfer wasting the means of all—perhaps human ingenuity, sharpened by intensest malignity, could contrive no more deadly and unerring method of arraying class against class in diabolical hatred, making them look on one another with wolfish eyes, as if to prepare the way for "*aristocrates à la lanterne*"—killing individual enterprise—discouraging private improvement—dragging down employers and employed, proprietors, farmers, mechanics, and cottiers, to one common and irretrievable ruin."

It may seem astonishing that the gentry of Ireland did not rouse themselves at this frightful prospect, and universally demand the repeal of the Union. They were the same class, sons of the same men, who had, in 1782, wrested the independence of Ireland from the English Government, and enjoyed the fruits of that independence in honor, wealth, and prosperity for eighteen years ! Why not now ? It is because, in 1782 the Catholics of Ireland counted as nothing, now they are numerous, enfranchised, exasperated ; and the Irish landlords dare not trust themselves in Ireland without British support. They looked on tamely, therefore, and saw this deliberate scheme for the pauperization of a nation. They knew it would injure themselves ; but they took the injury, took insult along with it, and submitted to be reproached for begging *alms*, when they demanded restitution of a part of their own means.

Over the whole island, for the next few months, was a scene of confused and wasteful attempts at relief—bewildered barony sessions striving to understand the voluminous directions, schedules, and specifications, under which alone they could vote their own money to relieve the poor at their own doors ; but generally making mistakes, for the unassisted human faculties never could comprehend those ten thousand books and fourteen tons of paper ; insolent commissioners and inspectors and clerks snubbing them at every turn, and ordering them to study the documents ; efforts on the part of the proprietors to expend some of the rates at least on useful works, reclaiming land or the like, which efforts were always met

with flat refusal and a lecture on political economy, (for political economy, it seems, declared that the works must be strictly useless—as cutting down a road where there was no hill, or building a bridge where there was no water—until many good roads became impassable on account of pits and trenches ;) plenty of jobbing and peculation all this while ; and the laborers, having the example of a great public fraud before their eyes, themselves defrauding their fraudulent employers — quitting agricultural pursuits and crowding to the public works, where they pretended to be cutting down hills and filling up hollows, and with tongue in cheek received half wages for doing nothing. So the labor was wasted ; the laborers were demoralized ; and the *next* year's famine was insured.

Now began to be a rage for extermination beyond any former time ; and many thousands of the peasants who could still scrape up the means, fled to the sea, as if pursued by wild beasts, and betook themselves to America. The British army, also, received numberless recruits this year, (for it is sound English policy to keep our people so low that a shilling a day would tempt them to fight for the Devil, not to say the Queen,) and insane mothers began to eat their young children, who died of famine before them—and still fleets of ships were sailing with every tide, carrying Irish cattle and corn to England. There was also a large importation of grain from England into Ireland, especially of Indian corn ; and the speculators and ship-owners had a good time. Much of the grain thus brought to Ireland had been previously exported *from* Ireland, and came back laden with merchants' profits, and double freights, and insurance, to the helpless people who had sowed and reaped it. This is what commerce and free trade did for Ireland in those days.

Two facts, however, are essential to be borne in mind—*first*, that the nett result of this importation, exportation, and rëimportation (though many a ship-load was carried four times across the Irish Sea, as prices "invited" it,) was, that England finally received the harvests to the same amount as before ; and, *second*, that she gave Ireland—under free trade in corn—less for it than ever. In other words, it took more of the Irish produce to buy a piece of cloth from a Leeds manufacturer, or to buy a rent-receipt from an absentee proprietor.

Farmers could do without the cloth, but as for the rent-receipts, these they must absolutely buy ; for the bailiff, with his police, was usually at the door, even before the fields were reaped ; and he, and the Poor-rate Collector, and the Additional Poor-rate Collector, and the County-cess Collector, and the Process-server with decrees, were all to be paid out of the first proceeds. If it took the farmer's whole crop to pay them, which it usually did, he had, at least, a pocketful of receipts, and might see lying in the next harbor, the very ship that was to carry his entire harvest and his last cow to England.

What wonder that so many farmers gave up the effort in despair, and sunk to paupers? Many Celts were cleared off this year, and the campaign was, so far, successful.

The winter of 1846–7, and succeeding spring, were employed in a series of utterly unavailing attempts to use the "Labor-rate act," so as to afford some sensible relief to the famishing people. Sessions were held, as provided by the act, and the landed-proprietors liberally imposed rates to repay such Government advances as they thought needful ; but the unintelligible directions constantly interrupted them, and, in the meantime, the peasantry, in the wild, blind hope of public relief, were abandoning their farms, and letting the land lie idle.

Even the Tory or British party in Ireland furnish ample testimony to this deplorable state of things. From Limerick we learn, through the Dublin *Evening Mail* :—

"There is not a laborer employed in the county, except on public works ; and there is every prospect of the lands remaining untilled and unsown for the next year."

In Cork, writes the *Cork Constitution* : "The good intentions of the Government are frustrated by the worst regulations—regulations which, diverting labor from its legitimate channels, left the fields without hands to prepare them for the harvest."

At a Presentment Session in Shanagold-

en, after a hopeless discussion as to what possible meaning could be latent in the Castle "instructions," and "supplemental instructions," the Knight of Glin, a landlord of those parts, said that, "While on the subject of mistakes," he might as well mention, "on the Glin road, some people are filling up the original cutting of a hill with the stuff they had taken out of it. That's another slice out of our £450."

Which he and the other proprietors of that barony had *to pay*. For you must bear in mind, that all the advances under this act were to be strictly *loans*, repayable by the rates, secured by the whole value of the land—and at higher interest than the Government borrowed the money so advanced.

The innocent Knight of Glin ascribed the perversions of labor to "mistake." But there was no mistake at all. Digging holes and filling them up again was precisely the kind of work prescribed in such case by the principles of political economy; and then there were innumerable regulations to be attended to before even this kind of work could be given. The Board of Works would have the roads torn up with such tools as they approved of, and none other; that is, with picks and short shovels, and picks and short shovels were manufactured in England, and sent over by ship loads for that purpose, to the great profit of the hardware merchants in Birmingham. Often there were no adequate supply of these on the spot; then the work was to be *task-work*, and the poor people, delving macadamized roads with spades and turf-cutters, could not earn as much as would keep them alive, though, luckily, they were thereby disabled from destroying so much good road.

That all interests in the country were swiftly rushing to ruin was apparent to all. A committee of lords and gentlemen was formed, called "Reproductive Committee," to urge upon the Government that, if the country was to tax itself to supply public work, the labor ought, in some cases at least, to be employed upon tasks that might be of use. This movement was so far successful that it elicited a letter from the Castle, authorizing such application, but with supplemental instructions, so intricate and occult, that this also was fruitless.

And the people perished more rapidly than ever. The famine of 1847 was far more terrible and universal than that of the previous year. The Whig Government, bound by political economy, absolutely refused to interfere with market prices, and the merchants and speculators were never so busy on both sides of the channel. In this year it was that the Irish famine began to be a world's wonder; and men's hearts were moved in the uttermost ends of the earth by the recital of its horrors. The London *Illustrated News* began to be adorned with engravings of tottering windowless hovels in Skibbereen, and elsewhere, with naked wretches dying on a truss of wet straw; and the constant language of English Ministers and members of Parliament created the impression abroad that Ireland was in need of *alms*, and nothing but alms; whereas, Irishmen themselves uniformly protested that what they required was a repeal of the Union, so that the English might cease to devour their substance.

It may be interesting to know how the English people were faring all this while; and whether "that portion of the United Kingdom," as it is called, suffered much by the famine in Ireland and in Europe. Authentic *data* upon this point are to be found in the financial statement of Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in February, 1847. In that statement he declares—and he tells it, he says, with great satisfaction—that "the English people and working classes" were steadily growing more comfortable, nay, more luxurious in their style of living. He goes into particulars, even, to show how rapidly a taste for good things spreads amongst English laborers, and bids his hearers "recollect that consumption could not be accounted for by attributing it to the higher and wealthier classes, but must have arisen from the consumption of the large body of the people and the working classes."

In the matter of *coffee*, they had used nearly seven million pounds of it more than they did in 1843; of *butter* and *cheese*, they devoured double as much within the year as they had done three years before within the same period. "I will next," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "take *cur-*

rants," (for currants are one of the necessaries of life to an English laborer, who must have his pudding on Sunday at least ;) and we find that the quantity of currants used by the "body of the people and working classes," had increased, in three years, from two hundred and fifty-four thousand hundred weight to three hundred and fifty-nine thousand hundred weight, by the year. Omitting other things, we come to the Chancellor's statement, that since 1843, the consumption of *tea* had increased by five million four hundred thousand pounds. It is unnecessary to say they had as much beef and bacon as they could eat, and bread *à discrétion*—and beer !

This statement was read by Sir Charles Wood, at the end of a long speech, in which he announced the necessity of raising an additional loan to keep life in some of the surviving Irish ; and he read it expressly in order "to dispel some portion of the gloom which had been cast over the minds of members," by being told that a portion of the surplus revenue must go to pay interest on a slight addition to the national debt. And the gloom *was* dispelled ; and honorable members comforted themselves with the reflection, that whatever be the nominal debt of the country, after all, a man of the working classes can ask no more than a good dinner every day, and a pudding on Sundays.

One would not grudge the English laborer his dinner, or his tea ; and we refer to his excellent table only to bid the reader remark that during those same three years, exactly as fast as the English people and working classes advanced to luxury, the Irish people and working classes sank to starvation ; and further, that the Irish people were still sowing and reaping what they of the sister island so contentedly devoured, to the value of at least £17,000,000 sterling.

As an English farmer, artizan, or laborer, began to insist on tea in the morning as well as in the evening, an Irish farmer, artizan, or laborer, found it necessary to live on one meal a day ; for every Englishman who added to his domestic expenditure by a pudding thrice a week, an Irishman had to retrench *his* to cabbage leaves and turnip tops ; as dyspepsia creeps into England, dysentery ravages Ireland ; "and the exact correlative of a Sunday dinner in England is a coroner's inquest in Ireland."

Ireland, however, was to have "alms." The English would not see their useful drudges perish at their very door for want of a trifle of alms. So the Ministry announced in this month of February, a new loan of ten millions, to be used from time to time for relief of Irish famine—the half of the advances to be repaid by rates—the other half to be a grant from the treasury to feed able-bodied paupers for doing useless work, or no work at all. As to this latter half of the ten millions, English newspapers and members of Parliament said that it was so much English money granted to Ireland. This, of course, was a falsehood. It was a loan raised by the Imperial Treasury, on a mortgage of the taxation of the Three Kingdoms ; and the principal of it, like the rest of the "national debt," was not intended to be ever repaid ; and as for the interest, Ireland would have to pay her proportion of it, as a matter of course.

This last act was the *third* of the "Relief measures" contrived by the British Parliament, and the most destructive of all. It was to be put in operation as a system of out-door relief ; and the various local boards of Poor Law Guardians, if they could only understand the documents, were to have some apparent part in its administration, but all, as usual, under the absolute control of the Poor Law Commissioners, and of a new board—namely, Sir John Burgoyne, an engineer ; Sir Randolph Routh, Commissary-General ; Mr. Twisleton, a Poor Law Commissioner ; two Colonels, called Jones and M'Gregor, Police Inspectors ; and Mr. Redington, Under-Secretary.

In the administration of this system there were to be many thousands of officials, great and small. The largest salaries were for Englishmen ; but the smaller were held up as an object of ambition to Irishmen ; and it is very humiliating to remember what eager and greedy multitudes were always canvassing and petitioning for these.

In the new act of the out-door relief, there was one significant clause. It was, that if any farmer who held land should be forced to apply for aid under this act, for himself and

his family, he should not have it until he had first given up all his land to the landlord—except one quarter of an acre. It was called the quarter-acre clause, and was found the most efficient and the cheapest of all the Ejectment acts. Farms were thereafter daily given up, without the formality of a notice to quit, or summons before Quarter Sessions.

On the 6th of March, there were seven hundred and thirty thousand *heads* of families on the public works. Provision was made by the last recited act for dismissing these in batches. On the 10th of April, the number was reduced to five thousand seven hundred and twenty-three. Afterwards, batches of a hundred thousand or so were in like manner dismissed. Most of these had now neither house nor home; and their only resource was in the out-door relief. For this they were ineligible, if they held but one rood of land. Under the new law it was able-bodied idlers only who were to be fed—to attempt to till even a rood of ground was death.

Steadily, but surely, the "Government" was working out its calculation; and the product anticipated by "political circles" was likely to come out about September, in round numbers — *two millions of Irish corpses.*

That "Government" had at length got into its own hands all the means and materials for working this problem, is now plain. There was no longer any danger of the elements of the account being disturbed by external interference of any kind. At one time, indeed, there were odds against the Government sum coming out right; for charitable people in England and America, indignant at the thought of a nation perishing of political economy, did contribute generously, and did full surely believe that every pound they subscribed would give Irish famine twenty shillings worth of bread; they thought so, and poured in their contributions, and their prayers and blessings with them.

In vain! "Government" and political economy got hold of the contributions, and disposed of them in such fashion as to prevent their deranging the calculations of political circles.

For example, the vast supplies of food purchased by the "British Relief Association," with the money of charitable Christians in England, were everywhere locked up in Government stores. Government, it seems, contrived to influence or control the managers of that fund; and thus, there were thousands of tons of food rotting within the stores of Haulbowline, at Cork Harbor; and tens of thousands rotting without. For the market must be followed, not led, (to the prejudice of Liverpool merchants!)—private speculation must not be disappointed, nor the calculations of political circles falsified!

All the nations of the earth might be defied to feed or relieve Ireland, beset by such a Government as this. America tried another plan;—the ship Jamestown sailed into Cork Harbor, and discharged a large cargo, which actually began to come into consumption; when lo! Free Trade—another familiar demon of Government — Free Trade, that carried off our own harvests of the year before—comes in, freights another ship, and carries off from Cork to Liverpool, a cargo *against* the American cargo. For the private speculators must be compensated; the markets must not be *led;* if these Americans will not give England their corn to lock up, then she defeats them by "the natural laws of trade!" So many Briarean hands has Government—so surely do official persons work their account.

Private charity, one might think, in a country like Ireland, would put out the calculating Government sadly; but that, too, was brought in great measure under control. The "Temporary Relief act," *talking* of eight millions of money, (*to be used if needed,*)—distributing, like Cumæan Sybil, its mystic leaves by the myriad and the million—setting charitable people everywhere to con its pamphlets, and compare clause with clause—putting everybody in terror of its rates, and in horror of its inspectors—was likely to pass the summer bravely. It would begin to be partly understood about August, would expire in September;—and in September, the "the persons connected with Government" expected their round two millions of carcasses.

A further piece of the machinery, all

working to the same great end, was the "Vagrancy act," for the punishment of vagrants—that is, of about four millions of the inhabitants—by hard labor, "for any time not exceeding one month."

Many poor people were escaping to England, as deck passengers, on board the numerous steamers, hoping to earn their living by labor there; but "Government" took alarm about typhus fever—a disease not intended for England. Orders in Council were suddenly issued, subjecting all vessels having *deck passengers* to troublesome examination and quarantine, thereby quite stopping up that way of escape;—and, six days afterwards, four steamship companies, between England and Ireland, on request of the Government, raised the rate of passage for deck passengers. Cabin passengers were not interfered with in any way; for, in fact, it is the cabin passengers from Ireland who spend in England five millions sterling *per annum*.

Whither now were the people to fly? Where to hide themselves? They had no money to emigrate; no food, no land, no roof over them; no hope before them. They began to envy the lot of those who had died in the first year's famine. The poor houses were all full, and much more than full. Each of them was an hospital for typhus fever; and it was very common for three fever patients to be in one bed, some dead, and others not yet dead. Parishes all over the country being exhausted by rates, refused to provide coffins for the dead paupers, and they were thrown coffinless into holes, but in some parishes, (in order to have, at least, the look of decent interment,) a coffin was made with its bottom hinged at one side, and closed at the other by a latch—the uses of which are obvious.

It would be easy to horrify the reader with details of this misery; but let it be enough to give the results in round numbers. Great efforts were this year made to give relief by private charity; and sums contributed in that way by Irishmen themselves far exceeded all that was sent from all other parts of the world beside. As for the ship-loads of corn generously sent over by Americans, it has been already shown how the benevolent object was defeated. The moment it appeared in any port, prices became a shade lower; and so much the more grain was carried off from Ireland by "free trade." It was not foreign corn that Ireland wanted—it was the use of her own; that is to say, it was repeal of the Union.

The arrangements and operations of the Union had been such that Ireland was bleeding at every vein; her life was rushing out at every pore; so that the money sent to her for charity was only so much added to landlords' rents and Englishmen's profits. The American corn was only so much given as a handsome present to the merchants and speculators. That is, the English got it.

But no Irishman begged the world for alms. The benevolence of Americans, and Australians, and Turks, and Negro slaves, was excited by the appeals of the English press and English members of Parliament; and in Ireland, many a cheek burned with shame and indignation at our country being thus held up to the world, by the people who were feeding on our vitals, as abject beggars of broken victuals. The Repeal Association, low as it had fallen, never sanctioned this mendicancy. The true nationalists of Ireland, who had been forced to leave that association, and had formed another society, the "Irish Confederation," never ceased to expose the real nature of these British dealings—never ceased to repudiate and disavow the British beggarly appeals; although they took care to express warm gratitude for the well-meant charity of foreign nations; and never ceased to proclaim that the sole and all-sufficient "relief measure" for the country would be, that the English should let us alone.

On the 16th of March, for example, a meeting of the citizens of Dublin assembled, by public requisition, at the Music Hall, presided over by the Lord Mayor, expressly to consider the peril of the country, and petition Parliament for proper remedies. It was known that the conveners of the meeting contemplated nothing more than suggestions as to importing grain in ships of war, stopping distillation from grain, and other trifles. Richard O'Gorman was then a prominent member of the Irish Confederation; and, being a citizen of Dublin, he

resolved to attend this meeting, and if nobody else should say the right word, say it himself. After some helpless talk about the "mistakes" and "infatuation" of Parliament, and suggestions for change in various details, O'Gorman rose, and in a powerful and indignant speech, moved this resolution :—

"That for purposes of temporary relief, as well as permanent improvement, the one great want and demand of Ireland is, that foreign Legislators and foreign Ministers shall no longer interfere in the management of her affairs."

In this speech he charged the Government with being the "murderers of the people," and said :—

"Mr. Fitzgibbon has suggested that the measures of Government may have been adopted under an infatuation. I believe there is no infatuation. I hold a very different opinion on the subject. I think the British Government are *doing what they intend to do.*"

Another citizen of Dublin seconded Mr. O'Gorman's resolution, and the report of his observations has these sentences :—

"I have listened with pain and disappointment to the proceedings of a meeting purporting to be a meeting of the citizens of Dublin, called at such a crisis, and to deliberate upon so grave a subject, yet at which the resolutions and speakers, as with one consent, have carefully avoided speaking out what nine-tenths of us feel to be the plain truth in this matter. But the truth, my lord, must be told—and the truth is, that Ireland starves and perishes, simply because the English have eaten us out of house and home. Moreover, that all the legislation of their Parliament is, and will be, directed to this one end—to enable them hereafter to eat us out of house and home as heretofore. It is for that sole end they have laid their grasp upon Ireland, and it is for that, and that alone, they will try to keep her."

Greatly to the consternation of the quiet and submissive gentlemen who had convened the meeting, O'Gorman's resolution was adopted by overwhelming acclamation.

Take another illustration of the spirit in which British charity was received by the Irish people. The harvest of Ireland was abundant and superabundant in 1847, as it had been the year before. The problem was, as before, to get it quietly and peacefully over to England. First, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a form of thanksgiving for an "abundant harvest," to be read in all churches on Sunday, the 17th of October. One Trevelyan, a Treasury Clerk, had been sent over to Ireland on some pretence of business, and the first thing he did when he landed was to transmit to England an humble entreaty that the Queen would deign to issue a Royal "Letter," asking alms in all the churches on the day of thanksgiving. The petition was complied with ; the *Times* grumbled against these eternal Irish beggars ; and the affair was thus treated in the *Nation*, which certainly spoke *for the people* more authentically than any other journal :—

"Cordially, eagerly, thankfully, we agree with the English *Times*, in this one respect —*there ought to be no alms for Ireland.*

"It is an impudent proposal, and ought to be rejected with scorn and contumely. We are sick of this eternal begging. If but one voice in Ireland should be raised against it, that voice shall be ours. To-morrow, to-morrow, over broad England, Scotland, and Wales, the people who devour our substance from year to year, are to offer up their canting thanksgivings for our 'abundant harvest,' and fling us certain crumbs and crusts of it for charity. Now, if any church-going Englishman will hearken to us, if we may be supposed in any degree to speak for our countrymen, we put up our petition *thus :* Keep your alms, ye canting robbers—button your pockets upon the Irish plunder that is in them—and let the begging-box pass on. Neither as *loans* nor as *alms* will we take that which is our own. We spit upon the benevolence that robs us of a pound, and flings back a penny in *charity.* Contribute now if you will—these will be your thanks !

"But who has craved this charity ? Why, the Queen of England, and her Privy Council, and two officers of her Government, named Trevelyan and Burgoyne ! No Irishman, that we know of, has begged alms from England.

"But the English insist on our remaining beggars. Charitable souls that they are, they like better to give us charity than let us earn our bread. And consider the time when this talk of alms-giving begins: our 'abundant harvest,' for which they are to thank God to-morrow, is still here; and there has been talk of keeping it here. So, they say to one another: 'Go to; let us promise them charity and church subscriptions—they are a nation of beggars—they would rather have alms than honest earnings—let us talk of *alms*, and they will send us the bread from their tables, the cattle from their pastures, and the coats from their backs.

"We charge the 'Government,' we charge the Cabinet Council at Osborne House, with this base plot. We tell our countrymen that a man, named Trevelyan, a Treasury Clerk—the man who advised and administered the Labor-Rate act—that this Trevelyan has been sent to Ireland that he, an Englishman, may send over from this side the channel a petition to the charitable in England. We are to be made to beg, whether we will or no. The Queen begs for us; the Archbishop of Canterbury begs for us; and they actually send a man to Ireland that a veritable *Irish* begging petition may not be a-wanting.

"From Salt Hill Hotel, at Kingstown, this piteous cry goes forth to England. 'In justice,' Trevelyan says, 'to those who have appointed a general collection in the churches on the 17th, and still more in pity to the unhappy people in the western districts of Ireland,' he implores his countrymen to have mercy; and gets his letter published in the London papers, (along with another from Sir John Burgoyne,) to stimulate the charity of those good and well-fed Christians who will enjoy the luxury of benevolence to-morrow.

"Once more, then, we scorn, we repulse, we curse, all English alms; and only wish these sentiments of ours could reach, before noon to-morrow, every sanctimonious thanksgiver in England, Scotland, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed."

In the same number the *Nation* took the pains to collect and present statistics by which it appeared that *every day*, one day with another, twenty large steamships, not counting sailing vessels, left Ireland for England, all laden with that "abundant harvest"—for which the English, indeed, might well give thanks in their churches.

It must be acknowledged that if the English Government and people really and truly did endeavor to relieve the famine in their sister country, that generosity met a most ungrateful return, from a people, too, who are proverbially warm-hearted.

For the famine of 1847, it is only needful to add that, during this year, coroners' juries in several counties repeatedly, on inquests over famine-slain corpses, found, upon their oaths, verdicts of "Willful Murder against John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell," he being then the Queen's Prime Minister.

The verdict was perfectly justifiable, and the crime quite manifest; but as there was no power to bring the criminal over to Ireland for trial, and as there would have been no use in arraigning him before an English jury, he was never brought to justice.

It is essential that foreign nations should never believe, for the future, (what the English press has diligently inculcated,) that our people, when smitten by famine, fell a-begging, from England or from America. Let them never hereafter wonder when they meet with Irishmen ungrateful for the "relief measures"—and, above all, if Ireland should again starve, (as she is most likely to do,) and should still be under British dominion, let them never send her a bushel of corn or a dollar of money. Neither bushel nor dollar will ever reach her.

In February, 1847, and amidst the deepest gloom and horror of the famine, O'Connell, old, sick, and heavy-laden, left Ireland, and left it forever. Physicians in London recommended a journey to the south of Europe, and O'Connell himself desired to see the Pope before he died, and to breathe out his soul at Rome, in the choicest odor of sanctity. By slow and painful stages he proceeded only as far as Genoa, and there died on the 15th of May.

For those who were not close witnesses of Irish politics in that day—who did not see

how vast this giant figure loomed in Ireland and in England for a generation and a half —it is not easy to understand the strong emotion caused by his death, both in friends and enemies. Yet, for a whole year before, he had sunk low, indeed. His power had departed from him ; and in presence of the terrible apparition of his perishing country he had seemed to shrink and wither. Nothing can be conceived more helpless than his speeches in Conciliation Hall, and his appeals to the British Parliament during that time—yet, as I before said, he never begged *alms* for Ireland, he never fell so low as that ; and the last sentences of the very last letter he ever penned to the association still proclaim the true doctrine :—

"It will not be until after the deaths of hundreds of thousands that the regret will arise that more was not done to save a sinking nation.

"How different would the scene be if we had our own Parliament—taking care of our own people—of our own resources. But, alas ! alas ! it is scarcely permitted to think of these, the only sure preventatives of misery, and the only sure instruments of Irish prosperity."

To no Irishman can the wonderful life of O'Connell fail to be impressive—from the day when, a fiery and thoughtful boy, he sought the cloisters of St. Omers for the education which penal laws denied him in his own land, on through the manifold struggles and victories of his earlier career, as he broke and flung off, with a kind of haughty impatience, link after link of the social and political chain that six hundred years of steady British policy had woven around every limb and muscle of his country, down to that supreme moment of the blackness of darkness for himself and for Ireland, when he laid down his burden and closed his eyes. Beyond a doubt, his death was hastened by the misery of seeing his proud hopes dashed to the earth, and his well-beloved people perishing ; for there dwelt in that brawny frame tenderness and pity soft as woman's. To the last he labored on the "Relief Committees" of Dublin, and thought every hour lost unless employed in rescuing some of the doomed.

O'Connell's body rests in Ireland, but without his heart. He gave orders that the heart should be removed from his body and sent to Rome. The funeral was a great and mournful procession through the streets of Dublin, and it will show how wide was the alienation which divided him from his former confederates, that when O'Brien signified a wish to attend the obsequies, a public letter from John O'Connell sullenly forbade him.

In the year 1847 great and successful exertions were used to make sure that the next year should be a year of famine, too. This was effected mainly by holding out the prospect of "out-door relief"—to obtain which tenants must abandon their lands and leave them untilled. A paragraph from a letter of Mr. Fitzpatrick, parish priest of Skibbereen, contains within it an epitome of the history of that year. It was published in the *Freeman*, March 12th :—

"The ground continues unsown and uncultivated. There is a mutual distrust between the landlord and the tenant. The landlord would wish, if possible, to *get up his land ;* and the unfortunate tenant is anxious to stick to it as long as he can. A good many, however, are giving it up, and preparing for America ; and these are the substantial farmers who have still a little means left."

"A gentleman traveling from Borris-in-Ossory to Kilkenny, one bright spring morning, counts at both sides of the road, in a distance of twenty-four miles, 'nine men and four ploughs,' occupied in the fields ; but sees multitudes of wan laborers, 'beyond the power of computation by a mail-car passenger,' laboring to destroy the road he was traveling upon. It was a 'public-work.'"—(*Dublin Evening Mail.*)

In the same month of March—"The land," says the Mayo *Constitution*, "is one vast waste : a soul is not to be seen working on the holdings of the poor farmers throughout the country, and those who have had the prudence to plough or dig the ground, are *in fear* of throwing in the seed."

When the new "Out-door Relief act" began to be applied, with its memorable Quarter-acre clause, all this process went on with wonderful velocity, and millions of people were soon left landless and homeless.

That they should be left landless and homeless was strictly in accordance with British policy; but then there was danger of the millions of outcasts becoming robbers and murderers. Accordingly, the next point was to clear the country of them, and diminish the Poor-rates, by *emigration*.

For, though they were perishing fast of hunger and typhus, they were not perishing fast enough. It was inculcated by the English press that the temperament and disposition of the Irish people fitted them peculiarly for some remote country in the East, or in the West — in fact, for any country but their own—that Providence had committed some mistake in causing them to be born in Ireland. As usual, the *Times* was foremost in finding out this singular freak of nature! Says the *Times*, (February 22, 1847,) :—

"Remove Irishmen to the banks of the Ganges, or the Indus—to Delhi, Benares, or Trincomalee—and they would be far more in their element there than *in a country to which an inexorable fate has confined them.*"

Again, a Mr. Murray, a Scotch banker, writes a pamphlet upon the proper measures for Ireland. "The surplus population of Ireland," says Mr. Murray, "have been trained *precisely* for those pursuits which the unoccupied regions of North America require." Which might appear strange—a population expressly trained, and that *precisely*, to suit any country except their own!

But these are comparatively private and individual suggestions. In April of this year, however, six Peers and twelve Commoners, who call themselves Irish, but who include amongst them such "Irishmen" as Dr. Whateley and Mr. Godley, laid a scheme before Lord John Russell, for the transportation of one million and a half of Irishmen to Canada, at a cost of nine millions sterling, to be charged on "Irish property," and to be paid by an income tax.

Again, within the same year, a few months later, a "Select Committee," (and a very select one,) of the House of Lords brings up a report "On Colonization from Ireland." Their lordships report that all former committees on the state of Ireland (with one exception,) had agreed, at least, on this point—that it was necessary to remove the "excess of labor." They say:—

"They have taken evidence respecting the state of Ireland, of the British North American Colonies, (including Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland,) the West India Islands, New South Wales, Port Philip, South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand. On some of these points it will be found that their inquiries have little more than commenced; on others, that those inquiries have been carried somewhat nearer to completion, but in no case can it be considered that the subject is yet exhausted. . . . . The committee are fully aware that they have as yet examined into many points but superficially, and that some, as, for example, the state of the British possessions in *Southern Africa*, and in the *Territory of Natal*, have not yet been considered at all. Neither have they obtained adequate information respecting what we sincerely hope may hereafter be considered as the prospering settlement of *New Zealand*. The important discoveries of Sir T. Mitchell in Australia, have also been but slightly noticed."

It appears that any inquiry into the state of Ireland naturally called their lordships to a consideration distant of latitudes and longitudes.

Their lordships further declare that the emigration which they recommend must be "voluntary" — and, also, that "there was a deep and pervading anxiety for emigration exhibited by the people themselves."

A deep and pervading anxiety to fly, to escape any whither! From whom? Men pursued by wild beasts will show a pervading anxiety to go *anywhere* out of reach. If a country be made too hot to hold its inhabitants, they will be willing even to throw themselves into the sea.

All this while, that there were from four to five millions of acres of improvable waste lands in Ireland—and even from the land in cultivation Ireland was exporting food enough every year to sustain eight millions of people in England.

None of the vast public schemes of emigration was adopted by Parliament in its full extent; though aid was, from time to time, given to minor projects for that end; and landlords continued very busy all this year and the next, shipping all their "surplus tenantry" by their own private resources, thinking it cheaper than to maintain them by rates. The Poor Law Guardians, also, were authorized to transport paupers, and to appropriate part of the rates to that purpose.

There has now been laid before the reader a complete sketch, at least in outline, of the British famine policy—expectation of Government spoon-feeding at the point of police bayonets—shaking the farmers loose from their lands, employing them for a time on strictly useless public works—then disgorging them in crowds of one hundred thousand at a time, to beg, or rob, or perish—then, "out-door relief," administered in quantities altogether infinitesimal in proportion to the need—then that universal ejectment, the Quarter-acre law—then the corruption of the middle class by holding out the prize of ten thousand new Government situations—then the Vagrancy act, to make criminals of all houseless wanderers—then the "voluntary" emigration schemes—then the omnipresent police, hanging like a cloud over the houses of all "suspected persons"—that is, all persons who still kept a house over their heads—then the quarantine regulations, and increased fare for *deck* passengers to England, thus debarring the doomed race from all escape at that side, and leaving them the sole alternative: America or the grave. This, gives something like a map or plan of the field as laid out and surveyed for the final conquest of the island.

The Irish landlords were now in dire perplexity. Many of them were good and just men; but the vast majority were fully identified in interest with the British Government, and desired nothing so much as to destroy the population. They would not consent to tenant-right; they dared not trust themselves in Ireland without a British army. They may have felt, indeed, that they were themselves both injured and insulted by the whole system of English legislation; but they would submit to anything rather than fraternize with the injured Catholic Celts. A few landlords and other gentlemen met and formed an "Irish Council;" but these were soon frightened into private life again by certain revolutionary proposals of some members, and especially by the very name of tenant-right. At last, about the end of this year, seeing that *another* season's famine was approaching, and knowing that violent counsels began to prevail amongst the extreme section of the national party, the landlords, in guilty and cowardly rage and fear, called on Parliament for a new Cöercion act.

From this moment all hope that the landed gentry would stand on the side of Ireland against England utterly vanished. This deadly alliance between the landlords and the Government brought Irish affairs to a crisis; broke up the "Irish Confederation," (composed of the extreme nationalists, who could no longer exist in the Repeal Association,) and provoked an attempt at insurrection.

Before going further, however, two facts should be mentioned: *First*, That by a careful census of the agricultural produce of Ireland for this year, 1847, made by Captain Larcom, as a Government Commissioner, the total value of that produce was £44,958,120 sterling; which would have amply sustained *double* the entire people of the island.* This return is given in detail, and agrees generally with another estimate of the same, prepared by John Martin, of Loughorn, in the County Down—a gentleman whose name will be mentioned again in this narrative. *Second*, That at least five hundred thousand human beings perished this year of famine, and of famine-typhus;† and two hundred thousand more fled beyond the sea, to escape famine and fever. *Third*, That the loans for relief given to the Public Works and Public Commissariat Departments, to be laid out as they should

* In *Thom's Official Almanac and Directory*, the Government has taken care to suppress the statement of gross amount.

† The deaths by famine of the year *before*, we may set down at three hundred thousand. There is no possibility of ascertaining the numbers; and when the Government Commissioners pretend to do so, they intend deception.

think proper, and to be repaid by rates on Irish property, went in the first place to maintain ten thousand greedy officials ; and that the greater part of these funds never reached the people at all, or reached them in such a way as to ruin and exterminate them.

A kind of sacred wrath took possession of a few Irishmen at this period. They could endure the horrible scene no longer, and resolved to cross the path of the British car of conquest, though it should crush them to atoms.

CHAPTER LX.

1847—1848.

Lord Clarendon Viceroy—His Means of Insuring the Shipment to England of the Usual Tribute—Bribes the Baser Sort of Editors—Patronage for Catholic Lawyers — Another Cöercion Act — Projects for Stopping Export of Grain—Arming—Alarm of Government—Whigs Active in Cöercion—French Revolution of February—Confederate Clubs—Deputation from Dublin to Paris—O'Brien's Last Appearance in Parliament—Trials of O'Brien and Meagher—Trial of Mitchel—Packing of the Jury —Reign of Terror in Dublin.

In the summer of this year, 1847, Lord Clarendon was sent over, as Lord-Lieutenant, to finish the conquest of Ireland—just as Lord Mountjoy had been sent to bring to an end the wars of Queen Elizabeth's reign ; and by the same means substantially—that is, by corruption of the rich and starvation of the poor. The form of procedure, indeed, was somewhat different ; for English statesmen of the sixteenth century had not learned to use the weapons of "amelioration" and "political economy;" neither had they yet established the policy of keeping Ireland as a store-farm to raise wealth for England. Lord Mountjoy's system, then, had somewhat of a rude character ; and he could think of nothing better than sending large bodies of troops to cut down the green corn, and burn the houses. In one expedition into Leinster, his biographer, Moryson, estimates that he destroyed "ten thousand pounds worth of corn," that is, wheat ; an amount which might now be stated at £200,000 worth. In O'Cahan's country, in Ulster, as the same Moryson tells us, after a *razzia* of Mountjoy : "We have none left to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat." So that Mountjoy could boast he had given Ireland to Elizabeth, "nothing but carcasses and ashes."

Lord Clarendon's method was more in the spirit of the nineteenth century, though his slaughters were more terrible in the end than Mountjoy's. Again there was growing upon Irish soil a noble harvest ; but it had been more economical to carry it over to England by help of free trade, than to burn it on the ground. The problem then was, as it had been the last year, and the year before, how to insure its speedy and peaceful transmission. Accordingly, Lord Clarendon came over with conciliatory speeches, and large professions of the desire of "Government" now, at last, to stay the famine. Sullen murmurs had been heard, and even open threats and urgent recommendations, that the Irish harvest must not be suffered to go another year ; and there were rumors of risings in the harvest to break up the roads, to pull down the bridges, in every way to stop the tracks of this fatal "commerce ;" rumors, in short, of an insurrection. Some new method, then, had to be adopted, to turn the thoughts and hopes of that too-credulous people once more towards the "Government." Lord Clarendon recommended a tour of agricultural "lectures," the expense to be provided for by the Royal Agricultural Society, aided by public money. The lecturers were to go upon every estate, call the people together, talk to them of the benevolent intentions of his excellency, and give them good advice.

The poor people listened respectfully, but usually told the lecturers that there was no use in following that excellent agricultural advice, as they were all going to be *turned out* the next spring. These lecturers published their report—a most amazing picture of patient suffering on the one hand, and of official insolence on the other. One Fitzgerald, a most energetic lecturer, full of Liebig's Agricultural Chemistry, tells us : "They all agreed that what I said was just ; but they always had *some excuse*, that they could not get seed, or had nothing to live on in the meantime."

And a Mr. Goode, who was also instructing the West, says :—

"The poor people here appeared to be in a most desponding state : they always met me with the argument that there was no use in their working there, for they were going to be turned out in spring, and would have their houses pulled down over them. I used to tell them that I had nothing to do with that ; that I was sent among them by some kind, intelligent gentlemen, barely to tell them *what course to pursue.*"

That was all. Lord Clarendon had not sent down Mr. Goode to lecture on *tenant-right ;* and the people had no business to obtrude their Jacobin principles upon a Government "instructor." They might as well have prated to him about repeal of the Union.

Another measure of Lord Clarendon was to buy support at the press with Secret-Service money. To the honor of the Dublin press, this was a somewhat difficult matter. The Government had, at that time, only one leading journal in the metropolis on which it could surely rely—the *Evening Post*—Lord Clarendon wanted another organ, and of lower species ; for he had work to do which the comparatively respectable *Post* might shrink from. He sought out a creature named Birch, editor of the *World*, a paper which was never named nor alluded to by any reputable journal in the city. This Birch lived by *hush-money*, or black-mail of the most infamous kind—that is, extorting money from private persons, men and women, by threats of inventing and publishing scandalous stories of their domestic circles. He had been tried more than once and convicted of this species of swindling. "I then offered him £100, if I remember rightly," says Lord Clarendon,* "for it did not make any great impression on me at the time. He said that would not be sufficient for his purpose, and I think it was then extended to about £350." On further examination, his lordship confessed that he had paid Birch "further sums"—in short, kept him regularly in pay ; and, finally, on Birch bringing suit against him for the balance due for "work and labor," had paid him in one sum £2,000, at the same time taking up all the papers and letters, (as he thought,) which might bring the transaction to light. Everybody can guess the nature of Birch's work and labor, and *quantum meruit.* His duty was to make weekly attacks of a private and revolting nature upon Smith O'Brien, upon Mr. Meagher, upon Mr. Mitchel, and every one else who was prominent in resisting and exposing the Government measures. Further, the public money was employed in the gratuitous distribution of the *World ;* for otherwise, decent persons would never have seen it.

It was long afterwards that the public learned how all this subterranean agency had come to light on the trial of one of the suits which Birch was forced to institute for recovery of his wages.

A third measure of the Viceroy was—extreme liberality towards Catholic lawyers and gentlemen in the distribution of patronage ; that so they might be the more effectually bought off from all common interest and sympathy with the "lower orders," and might stand patiently by and see their people slain or banished. Amongst others, Mr. Monahan, an industrious and successful Catholic barrister, was made Attorney-General for Ireland—from which the next step was to the bench. Mr. Monahan became a grateful and useful servant to the enemies of his country.

The summer of '47 had worn through wearily and hopelessly. All endeavors to rouse the landlord class to exertion entirely failed, through their coward fear of an outraged and plundered people ; and, at last, when out of the vast multitudes of men thrown from public works, houseless and famishing, a few committed murders and robberies, or shot a bailiff or an incoming tenant, the landlords in several counties besought for a new Cöercion and Arms act ; so as to make that code more stringent and inevitable. Lord John Russell was but too happy to comply with the demand ; but the landlords were to give something in exchange for this security.

Addresses of confidence were voted by Grand Juries and county meetings of landlords. The Irish gentry almost unanimously volunteered addresses denouncing repeal

*See evidence on the trial, Birch against Sir T. Redington.

and repealers, and pledging themselves to maintain the Union. At the same time ejectment was more active than ever, and it is not to be denied that amongst the myriads of desperate men who then wandered houseless, there were some who would not die tamely. Before taking their last look at the sun, they could, at least, lie in wait for the agent who had pulled down their houses and turned their weeping children adrift; him, at least, they could send to perdition before them.

The crisis was come. The people no longer trusted the ameliorative professions of their enemies; and there were some who zealously strove to rouse them now at last, to stand up for their own lives; to keep the harvest of '47 within the four seas of Ireland; and by this one blow to prostrate Irish landlordism, and the British Empire along with it.

This was a perilous, and, perhaps, an utterly desperate enterprize, while England was at peace with all the world, and at full liberty to hurl the whole mass of her military power upon a small island which she already held with so firm a grasp. Even those who counseled armed resistance were fully conscious of the desperation of that course, but honestly thought that any death—especially death in just war—was better than the death of a dog, by hunger.

In the meantime, the beautiful metropolis of Ireland was extremely gay and brilliant. After two years' frightful famine — and when it was already apparent that the *next* famine, of 1847–48, would be even more desolating—you may imagine that Dublin City would show some effect or symptom of such a national calamity. Singular to relate, that city had never before been so gay and luxurious; splendid equipages had never before so crowded the streets; and the theatres and concert-rooms had never been filled with such brilliant throngs. In truth, the rural gentry resorted in greater numbers to the metropolis at this time—some to avoid the sight and sound of the misery which surrounded their country seats, and which British laws almost expressly enacted they should *not* relieve; some to get out of reach of an exasperated and houseless peasantry. Any stranger, arriving in those days, guided by judicious friends only through fashionable streets and squares, introduced only to proper circles, would have said that Dublin must be the prosperous capital of some wealthy and happy country.

The new Poor law was now on all hands admitted to be a failure;—that is, a failure as to its ostensible purpose; for its real purpose, reducing the body of the people to "able-bodied pauperism," it had been no failure at all, but a complete success. Nearly ten millions sterling had now been expended under the several relief acts;—expended mostly in salaries to officials; the rest laid out in useless work, or in providing rations for a short time to induce small farmers to give up their land; which was the condition of such relief. Instead of ten millions in three years, if twenty millions had been advanced in the first year, and expended on useful labor, (that being the sum which had been devoted promptly to turning wild the West India negroes,) the whole famine-slaughter might have been averted, and the whole advance would have been easily repaid to the Treasury.*

Long before the Government Commissioners had proclaimed their law a failure, the writers in the *Nation* had been endeavoring to turn the minds of the people towards the only real remedy for all their evils—that is, a combined movement to prevent the export of provisions, and to resist process of ejectment. This involved a denial of rent and refusal of rates; involved, in other words, a root and branch revolution, socially and politically.

Such revolutionary ideas could only be justified by a desperate necessity, and by the unnatural and fatal sort of connection between Irish landlords and Irish tenants. The peasantry of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, stand in three several relations towards the lords of their soil. In England they are simply the emancipated serfs and *villeins* of the feudal system;

* Of the £10,000,000 advanced by the Treasury, three millions had been repaid by rates in 1854. What may have been refunded since, it is not easy to learn with any accuracy. The accounts between Ireland and the Imperial Treasury are kept in England.

never knew any other form of social polity, nor any other lords of the soil, since the Norman conquest. As England, however, prosecuted her conquests by degrees in the other two kingdoms, she found the free Celtic system of clanship; and as rebellion after rebellion was crushed, her statesmen insisted upon regarding the chiefs of clans as feudal lords, and their clansmen as their vassals or tenants. In Scotland, the chiefs gladly assented to this view of the case, and the Mac Callum More became, nothing loath, Duke of Argyle, and owner of the territory which had been the tribe lands of his clan. Owing mainly to the fact that estates in Scotland were not so tempting a prey as the rich tracts of Ireland—and partly owing also to the Scottish people having generally become Protestants on the change of religion—there was but little change in the ruling families; and the Scottish clansmen, now become "tenantry," paid their duties to the heads of their own kindred as before. So it has happened that to this day there is no alienation of feeling, or distinction of race, to exasperate the lot of the poor cultivators of the soil.

In Ireland, wherever the chiefs turned Protestant, and chose to accept "grants" of their tribe-lands at the hands of British kings, (as the De Burghs and O'Briens,) much the same state of things took place for a while. But Ireland never submitted to English dominion as Scotland has done; and there were continual "rebellions," (so the English termed our national resistance,) followed by extensive confiscations. Many hundreds of great estates in Ireland have thus been confiscated twice, and three times; and the new proprietors were Englishmen, and, in a portion of Ulster, Scotchmen. These, of course, had no common interest or sympathy with the people, whom they considered and called, "the Irish enemy." Still, while Ireland had her own Parliament, and the landlords resided at home, the state of affairs was tolerable; but when the Act of "Union," in 1800, concentrated the pride and splendor of the empire at London, and made England the great field of ambition and distinction, most of our grandees resided out of Ireland, kept agents and bailiffs there, wrung the utmost farthing out of the defenceless people, and spent it elsewhere.

Now, it never would have entered the mind of any rational or just man, at this late date, to call in question the title to long-ago confiscated estates; nor, supposing those titles proved bad, would it have been possible to find the right owners. But when the system was found to work so fatally—when hundreds of thousands of people were lying down and perishing in the midst of abundance, and superabundance, which their own hands had created, society itself stood dissolved. That form of society was not only a failure, but an intolerable oppression, and cried aloud to be cut up by the roots and swept away.

Those who thought thus, had reconciled their minds to the needful means—that is, a revolution, as fundamental as the French revolution, and to the wars and horrors incident to that. The horrors of war, they knew, were by no means so terrible as the horrors of peace which their own eyes had seen; they were ashamed to see their kinsmen patiently submitting to be starved to death, and longed to see blood flow, if it were only to show that blood still flowed in Irish veins.

The enemy began to take genuine alarm at these violent doctrines — especially as they found that the people were taking them to heart; and already, in Clare County, mobs were stopping the transport of grain towards the seaports. If rents should cease to be levied, it was clear that not only would England lose her five millions sterling *per annum* of absentee rents, but mortgagees, fundholders, insurance companies, and the like, would lose dividends, interests, bonus, and profits. There was then in England a gentleman who was in the habit of writing able but sanguinary exhortations to Ministers, with the signature "S. G. O." His addresses appeared in the *Times*, and were believed to influence considerably the counsels of Government. In November, 1847, this "S. G. O." raised the alarm, and called for prompt cöercion in Ireland. Here is one sentence from a letter of his reverence —for "S. G. O." was a clergyman:—

"Lord John may safely believe me when I say that the prosperity—nay, almost the

very existence of many insurance societies, the positive salvation from utter ruin of many, very many *mortgagees*, depends on some instant steps to make life ordinarily secure in Ireland; of course, I only mean life in that class of it in which individuals effect insurances and give mortgages."

In short, his reverence meant high life. Lord Clarendon, as Parliament was not then sitting, issued an admonitory address, wherein he announced that:—

"The constabulary will be increased in all disturbed districts, (whereby an additional burden will be thrown upon the rates,) military detachments will be stationed wherever necessary, and efficient patrols maintained; liberal rewards will be given for information," &c.

In the meantime, large forces were concentrated at points where the spirit of resistance showed itself; for a sample of which we take a paragraph from the Tipperary *Free Press*:—

"A large military force, under the civil authority, has seized upon the produce of such farms in Boytonrath, as owed rent and arrears to the late landlord, Mr. Roe, and the same will be removed to Dublin, and sold there, if not redeemed within fourteen days. There are two hundred soldiers and their officers garrisoned in the mansion house at Rockwell."

Whereupon, the *Nation* urged the people to begin calculating whether ten times the whole British army would be enough to act as bailiffs and drivers everywhere at once; or, whether, if they did, the proceeds of the distress might answer expectation. In fact, it was obvious that if the enemy should be forced to employ their forces in this way over the island—to lift and carry the whole harvests of Ireland, and that over roads broken up and bridges broken down to obstruct them, and with the daily risk of meeting bands of able-bodied paupers to dispute their passage—the service would soon have been wholly demoralized, and after three months of such employment, the remnant of the army might have been destroyed.

Parliament was called hastily together. Her Majesty told the Houses that there were atrocious crimes in Ireland—a spirit of insubordination, an organized resistance to "legal rights;" and, of course, that she required "additional powers" for the protection of life—that is, high life.

The meaning of this was a new Cöercion bill. It was carried without delay, and with unusual unanimity; and it is instructive here to note the difference between a Whig in power, and a Whig out. When Sir Robert Peel had proposed his Cöercion bill *the year before*, it had been vehemently opposed by Lord John Russell and Lord Grey. It was time to have done with cöercion, they had said; Ireland had been "misgoverned:" there had been too many Arms acts; it was "justice" that was wanted now, and they, the Whigs, were the men to dispense it. Earl Grey, speaking of the *last* Cöercion bill, (it was brought in by the other party,) said, emphatically, (*see debate in the Lords, March* 23, 1846,) "that measures of severity had been tried long enough;" and repeated with abhorrence, the list of cöercive measures passed since 1800, all without effect; how, in 1800, the *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended, the act for the suppression of the rebellion being still in force; how cöercion was renewed in 1801; continued again in 1804; how the Insurrection act was passed in 1807, which gave the Lord-Lieutenant full and legal power to place any district under martial law, to suspend trial by jury, and make it a transportable offence to be out of doors from sunset to sunrise; how this act remained in force till 1810; how it was renewed in 1814—continued in '15, '16, '17—revived in '22, and continued through 23, '24, and '25;—how another Insurrection act was needed in 1833, was renewed in '34, and expired but five years ago. "And again," continued this Whig, "again in 1846, we are called on to renew it!" Horrible!—revolting to a Liberal out of place! "We must look further," continued Earl Grey—vociferating from the Opposition bench—"we must look to the root of the evil; the state of law and the habits of the people, *in respect to the occupation of land*, are almost at the roots of the disorder;—it was undeniable that the *clearance system* prevailed to a great extent in Ireland; and that such things could take place, he cared not how large a population might be suf-

fered to grow up in a particular district, was *a disgrace to a civilized country.*"

And Lord John Russell in the Commons had said, on the same occasion: "If they were to deal with the question of the crimes, they were bound to consider also whether there were not measures that might be introduced which would reach *the causes of those crimes*"—and he horrified the House by an account he gave them of "a whole village containing two hundred and seventy persons, razed to the ground, and the entire of that large number of indviduals sent adrift on the high road, to sleep under the hedges, without even being permitted the privilege of boiling their potatoes, or obtaining shelter among the walls of the houses." Disgusting!—to a Whig statesman in opposition!

Now, these very same men had had the entire control and government of Ireland for a year and a half. Not a single measure had been proposed by them in that time to reach "the cause of those crimes;" not a single security had been given "in respect of the occupation of land;" not one check to that terrible "clearance system," which was "a disgrace to a civilized country." On the contrary, every measure was carefully calculated to accelerate the clearance system; and the Government had helped that system ruthlessly by the employment of their troops and police. They had literally swept the people off the land by myriads upon myriads; and now, when their relief acts were admittedly a *failure*, and when multitudes of homeless peasants, transformed into paupers, were at length making the landed men, and mortgagees, and Jews, and insurance officers, tremble for their gains—the Liberal Whig Ministry had nothing to propose but more jails, more handcuffs, more transportation.

The new Cōercion bill was in every respect like the rest of the series; in Ireland, these bills are all as much like one another as one policeman's carabine is like another. Disturbed districts were to be proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant. He might proclaim a whole county, or the whole thirty-two counties. Once proclaimed, everybody in that district was to be within doors, (whether he had a house or not,) from dusk till morning. Any one found not at home, to be arrested and transported. If arms were found about any man's premises, and he could not *prove* that they were put there without his knowledge—arrest, imprisonment, and transportation. All the arms in the district to be brought in on proclamation to that effect, and piled in the police offices. Lord-Lieutenant to quarter on the district as many additional police, inspectors, detectives, and sub-inspectors, as he might think fit;—offer such rewards to informers as he might think fit;—and charge all the expense upon the tenantry, to be levied by rates—*no part* of these rates to be charged to the landlords—constabulary to collect them at the point of the bayonet;—and these rates to be in addition to Poor-rates, cess, tithe, (*rent-charge,*) rent, and imperial taxes.

The passage of the Cōercion bill at the instance of the landlords, and the break-up of the Irish Confederation, occasioned the establishment of the *United Irishman*, an avowed organ of insurrection. Events for a time moved rapidly. Soon there burst in upon us news of the February revolution in Paris, and the flight of King Louis Philippe; for between the French people and the Irish there has always been an electric telegraph, whose signals never fail; and British statesmen had not forgotten that it was the first great French revolution which cost them the war of '98. The February revolution, also, at once obliterated the feuds of the Irish Confederation. Nobody would now be listened to there, who proposed any other mode of redress for Irish grievances than the sword. A resolution was brought up, with the sanction of the committee, and passed with enthusiastic acclamation, that the confederate clubs should become armed and officered, so that each man should know his right-hand and his left-hand comrade, and the man whose word he should obey. All the second-rate cities, as well as Dublin, and all the country towns, were now full of clubs, which assumed military and revolutionary names — the "Sarsfield Club," the "Emmet Club," and so forth; and the business of arming proceeded with commendable activity. Such young men as could afford it, provided themselves with rifles and bayonets; those who had not the

means for this, got pike-heads made, and there was much request for ash poles. What was still more alarming to the enemy, the soldiers in several garrisons were giving unmistakable symptoms of sharing in the general excitement; not Irish soldiers alone, but English and Scottish, who had Chartist ideas. A large part of the circulation of the *United Irishman*, in spite of all the exertions of the officers, was in military barracks.

Undoubtedly, it behooved the British Government, if it intended to hold Ireland, to adopt some energetic measures; and, as it certainly did so intend, these measures were not wanting.

New regiments were poured into Ireland, of course; and Dublin held an army of ten thousand men, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers. The barrack accommodations being insufficient, many large buildings were taken as temporary barracks; the deserted palaces of the Irish aristocracy—as Aldborough House on the northeast—the deserted halls of manufactures and trade in "The Liberty," and the Linen Hall, were occupied by detachments. The Bank of Ireland—our old Parliament House—had cannon mounted over the entablatures of its stately Ionic colonnades; and the vast and splendid Custom House, not being now needed for trade, (our imports being all from the "sister country," and our exports all to the same,) was quite commodious as a barrack and arsenal. The quiet quadrangles of Trinity College were the scene of daily parades; and the loyal board of that institution gave up the wing which commands Westmoreland street, College street, and Dame street, to be occupied by troops. Superb squadrons of hussars, of lancers, and of dragoons, rode continually through and around the city; infantry practiced platoon-firing in the squares; heavy guns, strongly guarded, were forever rolling along the pavement; and parties of horse artillery showed all mankind how quickly and dexterously they could wheel and aim, and load and fire at the crossings of the streets. These military demonstrations, and the courts of "Law," constituted the open and avowed powers and agencies of the

But there was a secret and subterranean machinery. The editor of the *World* was now on full pay, and on terms of close intimacy at the Castle and Viceregal Lodge. His paper was gratuitously furnished to all hotels and public-houses by means of Secret Service money. Dublin swarmed with detectives; they went at night to get their instructions at the Castle, from Colonel Brown, head of the police department; and it was one of their regular duties to gain admittance to the Clubs of the Confederation, where it afterwards appeared that they had been the most daring counselors of treason and riot.

Frankly, and at once, the Confederation accepted the only policy thereafter possible, and acknowledged the meaning of the European Revolutions. On the 15th of March, O'Brien moved an Address of Congratulation to the victorious French people; and ended his speech with these words:—

"It would be recollected that a short time ago he thought it his duty to deprecate all attempts to turn the attention of the people to military affairs, because it seemed to him that, in the then condition of the country, the only effect of leading the people's mind to what was called 'a guerrilla warfare,' would be to encourage some of the misguided peasantry to the commission of murder. Therefore, it was that he declared he should not be a party to giving such a recommendation; but the state of affairs was totally different now, and he had no hesitation in declaring that he thought the minds of intelligent young men should be turned to the consideration of such questions as, how strong places can be captured, and weak ones defended — how supplies of food and ammunition can be cut off from an enemy—and how they can be secured to a friendly force. The time was also come when every lover of his country should come forward openly, and proclaim his willingness to be enrolled as a member of a national guard. No man, however, should tender his name as a member of that national guard unless he was prepared to do two things—one, to preserve the state from anarchy; the other, to be ready to die for the defence of his country."

Two days after this meeting was Saint

Patrick's Day. A meeting of the citizens of Dublin was announced for that anniversary, to adopt an address, from Dublin to Paris, but was adjourned for two or three days to allow time for negotiations to unite all repealers of the two parties in the demonstration. Lord Clarendon, doubtless under the advice of his Privy-Councillor of the *World*, thought it would be a good opportunity to strike terror by a military display. He pretended to apprehend that Saint Patrick's Day would be selected for the first day of Dublin barricades; and the troops were kept under arms—the cavalry, with horses ready saddled in all the barracks, waiting for the moment to crush the first movement in the blood of our citizens.

The meeting was adjourned; but there was no intention of abandoning it. O'Brien had offered, even in case of a *Proclamation* forbidding it, to attend and take the chair; and what he promised, the enemy well knew he would perform.

The meeting was held without interruption; but it was well known that the public buildings, and some private houses, were filled with detachments under arms. These addresses, both from the Confederation and from the city, were to be presented in Paris to the President of the Provisional Government, M. de Lamartine; and O'Brien, Meagher, and an intelligent tradesman, of high character and independence of mind, named Hollywood, were appointed a deputation to Paris.

All this, it was evident, could not go on long. The Clubs were, in the meantime, rapidly arming themselves with rifles; and blacksmiths' forges were prolific of pike-heads. The Confederates hoped, and the Government feared, that no armed collision would be made necessary until September, when the harvest would be all cut, and when the commissariat of the people's war, the cause of the war, and the prize of the war, would be all bound up in a sheaf together. But the foe to be dealt with was no weak fool. The Government understood these views thoroughly, and resolved to precipitate the issue somehow or other. One morning, after that meeting of Dublin citizens, three men, Smith O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and Mr. Mitchel, were waited on by a police-magistrate and requested to give bail that they would stand their trial on a charge of sedition. The ground of prosecution in the two former cases was the language held at the meeting of the Irish Confederation, (quoted above in part.) In the third case, there were two distinct indictments, for two articles in the *United Irishman*.

Before the trials, O'Brien and Meagher went to France and presented their address to the Provisional Government.*

On their return, O'Brien walked into the British Parliament, and found that august body engaged in discussing a new bill "for the further security of Her Majesty's Crown." Ministers, in fact, had determined to meet the difficulty by a new "law," the Treason-felony law, by which the writing and printing, or open and advised speaking, of incitements to insurrection in Ireland should be deemed "felony," punishable by transportation. The bill was introduced by the Whigs, and was warmly supported by the Tories; Sir Robert Peel declaring that what Ireland needed was to make her national aspirations not only a crime, but an ignominious crime; so as to put this species of offence on a footing with arson, or forgery, or waylaying with intent to murder. O'Brien rose to address the House, and never, since first Parliament met in Westminster, was heard such a chorus of frantic and obscene outcries.

He persisted, however, and made himself heard; and those to whom the name and fame of that good Irishman are dear, will always remember with pride that his last

* These were mere addresses of congratulation and of sympathy. De Lamartine made a highly poetic, but rather unmeaning reply to them. He has since, in his history, violently misrepresented them; being, in fact, a mere Anglo-Frenchman. Mr O'Brien has already convicted him of these misrepresentations. We content ourselves here with pronouncing the two following sentences poetic fictions: "Les Irlandais, unis aux chartistes anglais, se precipitaient sur le continent et cherchaient des complicités insurrectionnelles en France, á la fois parmi les demagogues au nom de la liberté, et parmi les chefs du parti Catholique au nom du Catholicisme." And again: "L'Angleterre n'attendait pas avec moins de sollicitude la reception que ferait Lamartine aux insurgés Irlandais, partis de Dublin pour venir demander *des encouragements et des armes* á la Republique française."

utterance in the London Parliament was one of haughty defiance, in the name of his oppressed and plundered country. He avowed that he had advised his countrymen to arm, and fight for their right to live upon their own soil; and he added, amidst the horrible yells of the House:—

"I conceive that it is the peculiar duty of the Irish people to obtain the possession of arms at a time when you tell them you are prepared to crush their expression of opinion, not by argument, but by brute force."

The bill was passed into "Law," by immense majorities; and, thereafter, an Irish repealer of the Union was to be a "felon." O'Brien returned to Dublin. The deputies were received by a multitudinous and enthusiastic meeting in the Dublin Music Hall, and Meagher presented to the citizens of Dublin, with glowing words, a magnificent flag, the Irish Tricolor, of Green, White, and Orange, surmounted by a pike-head.

The trials came on. They were to be before special juries, struck by the process before described. O'Brien and Meagher were first tried, and as their "sedition" had been so open and avowed—and as the Whig Ministers were extremely reluctant to pack juries *if they could help it*—the Crown officers left on each of the two juries *one* repealer. It was enough. A true repealer knew that no Irishman *could* commit any offence against a foreign Queen; and in each case the one repealer stood out, refused to convict, though he should be starved to death; and the traversers, amidst cheering multitudes, were escorted triumphantly from the Four Courts to the Confederate Committee Rooms, where they addressed the people, and promised to repeat and improve upon all their seditions. The excitement of the country was intense. The defeat of the "Government" was celebrated all over the country by bonfires and illuminations, and the clubs became more diligent in arming themselves; but Mr. Monahan, the Attorney-General, foamed and raged.

Next came the two trials of Mr. Mitchel; and it was very evident to the Government that there must be no possibility of mistake or miscarriage here. The time, indeed, was become exceedingly dangerous, and the people rapidly rising into that state of high excitement in which ordinary motives and calculations fail, and a single act of desperation may precipitate a revolution. As usual in such cases, the British Government had recourse to brutality, in order to strike terror. Police magistrates were ordered to arrest parties of young men practising at targets in the neighborhood of country towns, and march them in custody through the streets. Men in Dublin were seized upon and dragged to jail on the charge of saying "halt" to the clubmen marching to a public meeting—it was "training in military evolutions" under the act; and one young man was actually brought to trial, and transported for seven years, on an indictment charging him, for that he had, in a private room in Dublin, said to thirteen other young men, then and there ranged in line, these fatal words: "Right shoulders forward," contrary to the peace of our lady, the Queen, and so forth.

On the two juries being struck for the trial of Mr. Mitchel, it was at once evident that upon each of them would be one or two men who desired the independence of their country; and, perhaps, one or two others of whom the Castle could not be perfectly sure. But, as the new "Treason-felony" act had now become law, the Government suddenly abandoned the two prosecutions already commenced, and arrested Mr. Mitchel on a charge of treason under the new act.

On this occasion it was determined to proceed, not by a special, but by a common jury; which latter method, as was supposed, gave the sheriff more clear and unquestioned power of fraudulently packing the jury. For the jury was to be closely packed, of course. Lord John Russell and Mr. Macauley, who had been in opposition in 1844, and who had then so earnestly denounced the packing of juries in Ireland, were now in office; were responsible for the government of the country, and understood perfectly that upon the careful packing of this jury depended the Queen's Government in Ireland. The judges had already appointed the day for holding the commission to try cases in Dublin; and the sheriff had summoned his select hundred and fifty jurors

to try the cases; but after the arrest of this new prisoner, and when the sheriff knew that important business was to be done, he altered his list, and summoned a new set, so that all was ready for the trial.

In the meantime, Lord Clarendon was busily getting up, through the Grand Masters of the Orangemen, loyal addresses, and declaratious against "rebels" and "traitors." In fact, the Orange farmers and burghers of the North were fast becoming diligent students of the *United Irishman*, and although they and their Order had been treated with some neglect of late both by England and by the Irish aristocracy they were now taken into high favor, and arms were very secretly issued to some of their lodges from Dublin Castle.*

But this needed prudence; for Protestant Repeal Associations had been formed in Dublin, in Drogheda, and even in Lurgan, a great centre of Orangeism. To counteract the progress we had made in this direction, the aristocracy and the clergy were incessant in their efforts, and the Protestants were assured that if Ireland should throw off the dominion of Queen Victoria, we would all instantly become vassals to the woman who sitteth upon Seven Hills.

The Viceroy, at the same time, took care to frighten the moneyed citizens of Dublin and other towns by placards warning them against the atrocious designs of "Communists" and "Jacobins," whose only object, his lordship intimated, was plunder.†

Whether the Whigs and "Liberals" who then ruled the English Councils were really desirous to give a fair trial to their political enemy, or whether they only pretended this desire—or what communications took place on the subject between Downing street and the Castle—we cannot certainly know; but we find that only two days before this most foul pretence of a trial, Lord John Russell, in answer to questions in the House of Commons, declared that he had written to "his noble friend," (Lord Clarendon,) that "he trusted there would not arise any charge of any kind of unfairness, as to the composition of the juries; as for his own part, he would rather see those parties acquitted, than that there should be any such unfairness." ‡

Lord Clarendon, however, informed him that for this once he could not adhere to the Whig maxims—that a conviction must be had, *per fas et nefas*.

The venerable Robert Holmes, brother-in-law of the Emmets, defended the prisoner; but no defence could avail there. Of course, he challenged the array of jurors, on the ground of fraud; but the Attorney-General's brother, Stephen Monahan, clerk in the Attorney-General's office, and also one Wheeler, clerk in the Sheriff's office, had been carefully sent out of the city to a distant part of Ireland; and Baron Lefroy was most happy to avail himself of the defect of evidence to give his opinion that the panel was a good and honest panel. The Crown used its privilege of peremptory challenge to the very uttermost; *every* Catholic, and *most* Protestants, who answered to their names, were ordered to "stand by." There were thirty-nine challenges; and of these but nineteen were Catholics, all the Catholics who answered to their names were promptly set aside, and twenty other gentlemen, who, although Protestants, were suspected of national feeling—that is to say, the Crown dared not go to trial before the people, Catholic or Protestant. The twelve men finally obtained by this sifting process had amongst them two or three Englismen; the rest were faithful slaves of the Castle, and all Protestants, of the most Orange dye.

Of course, there was a "verdict" of guilty; and a sentence of fourteen years' transportation. The facts charged were easily proved; they were patent, notorious, often repeated, and perfectly deliberate; insomuch, that jurymen who felt themselves

* This was quite unknown to the public at the time: one case of it only ever came clearly to light. It was a shipment of five hundred stand of arms to the Belfast Orangemen.

† These placards may be attributed to Lord Clarendon, without scruple. They were printed by the Government printer, and paid for out of our taxes. But it is quite possible that the Viceroy, if charged with these things, would deny them, because they were done through a third party—perhaps, Birch. In like manner, he denied all knowledge of the shipment of muskets to the Belfast Orangemen—they were sent, however, from his Castle, and through a subordinate official of his household.

‡ Debate of 23d May.

to be subjects of the Queen of England, could not do otherwise than convict. On the other hand, any Irish nationalist must acquit. Never before or since have the Government of the foreign enemy and the Irish people met on so plain an issue. Never before was it made so manifest that the enemy's Government maintains its supremacy over Ireland, by systematically breaking the "law," even its own law, defiling its temples of justice, and turning the judges of the land into solemn actors in a most immoral kind of play.

An armed steamer waited in the river, on the day of Mr. Mitchel's sentence; the whole garrison of Dublin was under arms, on pretence of a review in the Park; a place was secretly designated for the prisoner's embarkation below the city, where bridges over a canal, and over the entrance to the Custom House docks could be raised, in order to prevent any concourse of the people in that direction; and, two or three hours after the sentence, Mr. Mitchel was carried off, and never saw his country any more.

The enemy were themselves somewhat surprised at the ease with which they had borne him out of the heart of Dublin, at noon-day, in chains; and evidently thought they would have but small trouble in crushing any attempt at insurrection afterwards. The confederates waited until "the time" should come; and some of them, indeed, were fully resolved to make an insurrection in the harvest; yet, as might have been expected, "the time" never came. The individual desperation of Dillon, Meagher, O'Gorman, Leyne, Reilly, could achieve nothing while the people were dispirited both by famine and by long submission to insolent oppression. "When will *the time* come?" exclaimed Martin, "the time about which your orators so boldly vaunt, amid the fierce shouts of your applause? If it come not when one of you, selected by your enemies as your champion, is sent to perish among thieves and murderers, for the crime of loving and defending his native land—then it will never come—*never*."

During the trial, Dublin was under a complete reign of terror. Reilly was arrested on the charge of saying to men of his club, when turning into their place of meeting—"left wheel." It was a term of military drilling, though the clubmen were without weapons. He was kept in a station-house all night; and bail was refused in the morning. In the course of the day he was fully committed for trial, and bail was taken. During the whole week, the whole large force of the city police had orders to stop all processions, to arrest citizens, on any or on no charge; and generally to "strike terror." In the meantime, every day was bringing in more terrible news of the devastation of the famine, and evictions of the tenantry. "On Friday," says the Tipperary *Vindicator*, (describing one of these scenes,) "the landlord appeared upon the ground, attended by the sheriff and a body of policemen, and commenced the process of ejectment," &c. On that morning, and at that spot, thirty persons were dragged out of their houses, and the houses pulled down. One of the evicted tenants was a widow—"a solvent tenant comes and offers to pay the arrears due by the widow; but a desire on Mr. Scully's part to *consolidate*, prevented the arrangement."

The same week, a writer in the Cork *Examiner*, writing from Skibbereen, says:—

"Our town presents nothing but a moving mass of military and police, conveying to and from the Court House crowds of famine culprits. I attended the court for a few hours this day. The dock was crowded with the prisoners, not one of whom, when called up for trial, was able to support himself in front of the dock. The sentence of the court was received by each prisoner with apparent satisfaction. Even transportation appeared to many to be a relaxation from their sufferings."

On Tuesday, of the same week—it being then well known that the Crown would pack their jury—a meeting of the citizens of Dublin was held at the Royal Exchange, to protest; and Mr. John O'Connell went so far as to move this resolution: "*Resolved*, That we consider the right of trial by a jury as a most sacred inheritance; in the security of person, property, and character." The meeting then proceeded to protest against "the practice of arranging juries to obtain

convictions." During the same week the poor houses, hospitals, jails, and many buildings taken temporarily for the purpose, were overflowing with starving wretches; and fevered patients were occupying the same bed with famished corpses;—but on every day of the same week large cargoes of grain and cattle were leaving every port for England. The Orangemen of the North were holding meetings to avow hostility to repealers and to "Jezebel," and eagerly crying, "To hell with the Pope!" Thus British policy was in full and successful operation at every point, on the day when the Government seized on its first victim, under a new law specially made for his case, and carried him off in fetters, under the false pretence of a trial and conviction.

CHAPTER LXI.

1848—1849.

Reconstitution of the Irish Confederation—New National Journals Established — The *Tribune*—The *Felon* — New Suspension of *Habeas Corpus* — Numerous Arrests—O'Brien Attempts Insurrection —Ballingarry — Arrest and Trial of O'Brien and Others—Conquest of the Island—Destruction of the People—Incumbered Estates Act—Its Effects—No Tenant-Right—"Rate-in-Aid" — Queen's Visit to Ireland — Places Given to Catholics — Catholic Judges—Their Office and Duty—Ireland "Prosperous"—Statistics of the Famine Slaughter — Destruction of Three Millions of Souls—Flying from "Prosperity."

The fierce enthusiasm of the Irish Confederates appeared to be redoubled after the removal of the first convicted "felon." They hoped, at least, that if they were restrained from action *then*, it was to some good end, with some sure and well-defined purpose; and, assuredly, there were many thousands of men then in Ireland who longed and burned for that end and that purpose, to earn an honorable death. How the British system disappointed them even of an honorable death, remains still to be told. A man may die in Ireland of hunger, or of famine-typhus, or of a broken heart; but to die for your country—the death *dulce et decorum*—to die on a fair field, fighting for freedom and honor—to die the death ever of a defeated soldier, as Hofer died; or so much as to mount the gallows, like Robert Emmet, to pay the penalty of a glorious "treason"—even this was an *euthanasia* which British policy could no longer afford to an Irish Nationalist.

Yet, with all odds against them—with the Irish gentry thoroughly corrupted or frightened out of their senses, and with the "Government" enemy obviously bent on treating our national aspiration as an ignominious crime, worthy to be ranked only with the offences of burglars or pickpockets —still, there were men resolved to dare the worst and uttermost for but one chance of rousing that down-trodden people to one manful effort of resistance against so grievous a tyranny. The Irish Confederation reconstituted its council, and set itself more diligently than ever to the task of inducing the people to procure arms, with a view to a final struggle in the harvest. And as it was clear there was nothing the enemy dreaded so much as a bold and honest newspaper, which would expose their plots of slaughter, and turn their liberal professions inside out, it was, before all things, necessary to establish a newspaper to take the place of the *United Irishman*.

It was a breach as deadly and imminent as ever yawned in a beleaguered wall; but men were found prompt to stand in it. Within two weeks after Mitchel's trial, the *Irish Tribune* was issued, edited by O'Dogherty and Williams, with Antisell and Savage as contributors. In two weeks more, on the 24th of June, came forth another, and, perhaps, the ablest of our revolutionary organs—the *Irish Felon*. Its editor and proprietor was John Martin, a quiet country gentleman of the County Down, who had been for years connected with all national movements in Ireland—the Repeal Association, the Irish Confederation—but who had never been roused to the pitch of desperate resistance till he saw the bold and dashing atrocity of the enemy on occasion of Mitchel's pretended trial and conviction. He came at last, along with many other quiet men, to the conclusion that the nation must now set its back to the wall. James Fintan Lalor, one of the most powerful writers of his day, came up from Kildare County to aid in conducting the *Felon*, and for five weeks thereafter, "Treason-felony"

continued to be taught and enforced with great boldness and ability. But *six* weeks would have been too much for the patience of the Government. The police were ordered to forcibly stop the sale of papers by vendors in the streets; and warrants were issued for the arrest of all the editors—Martin, Duffy, O'Dogherty, and Williams. The country was beginning to bristle with pikes; men were praying for the whitening of the harvest; and it was plain that, before the reign of "Law and Order" should begin, other terrible examples must be made; other juries must be packed; then, after *that*, a Whig "Government" would surely begin to deal with Ireland in a conciliatory spirit!

Throughout all these scenes the horrible famine was raging as it had never raged before—the police and military, both in towns and in the country, were busily employed in the service of ejecting tenants—pulling down their houses—searching out and seizing hidden weapons—and escorting convoys of grain and provisions to the seaside, as through an enemy's country. Yet, rumors began to grow and spread, (much exaggerated rumors,) of a very general arming amongst the peasantry and the clubmen of the towns; and the police had but small success in their searches for arms; for, in fact, these were carefully built into stone walls, or carried to the grave-yards, with a mourning funeral escort, and buried in coffins, shrouded in well-oiled flannel, "in hope of a happy resurrection."

The enemy thought it wisest not to wait for the harvest, and resolved to bring matters to a head at once. Accordingly, they asked Parliament to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act in Ireland, so as to enable them to seize upon any person or number of persons whom they might think dangerous, and throw them into prison without any charge against them. Parliament passed the bill at once; and, in truth, it is an ordinary procedure in Ireland.

Instantly, numerous warrants were placed in the hands of the omnipresent police; and in every town and village in Ireland sudden arrests were made. The enemy had taken care to inform themselves who were the leading and active confederates all over the island, the Presidents and Secretaries of Clubs, and zealous organizers of drilling and pike exercise. These were seized from day to day, sometimes with circumstances of brutality, (which was useful to the enemy in "striking terror,") and thrust into dungeons, or paraded before their fellow-citizens in chains. Martin and the other editors were in Newgate Prison, awaiting transportation as felons. Warrants were out against O'Brien and Meagher.

Well, *the time* had come at last. If Ireland had one blow to strike, now was her day. Queen Victoria would not wait till the autumn should place in the people's hands the ample commissariat of their war, and decreed that if they *would* fight, they should, at least, fight fasting. O'Brien was at the house of a friend in Wexford County when he heard of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, and that a warrant had been issued for his own arrest. He was quickly joined by Dillon and Meagher—Doheny and MacManus, with some others, betook themselves to the Tipperary hills, and "put themselves upon the country." O'Gorman hurried to Limerick and Clare, to see what preparation existed there for the struggle, and to give it a direction. Reilly and Smith ranged over Kilkenny and Tipperary, eagerly seeking for insurrectionary fuel ready to be kindled, and sometimes in communication with O'Brien and his party, at other times alone. To O'Brien, an account of his character, his services, and his value to the cause, the leadership seemed to be assigned by common consent.

It is very easy for those who sat at home in those days, to criticise the proceedings of O'Brien, and the brave men who sought, in his company, for an honorable chance of throwing their lives away. But, it must be obvious, from the narrative of the three years' previous famine, what a hopeless sort of material for spirited national resistance was then to be found in the rural districts of Ireland. Bands of exterminated peasants, trooping to the already too full poor houses; straggling columns of hunted wretches, with their old people, wives, and little ones, wending their way to Cork or Waterford, to take shipping for America;

the people not yet ejected frightened and desponding, with no interest in the land they tilled, no property in the house above their heads, no food, no arms, with the slavish habits bred by long ages of oppression ground into their souls, and that momentary proud flush of passionate hope kindled by O'Connell's agitation, long since dimmed and darkened by bitter hunger and hardship. It was no easy task to rouse such a people as this. But there is in the Irish nature a wonderful spring and an intense vitality, insomuch that the chances of a successful insurrection in '48 may have been by no means desperate. At any rate, O'Brien and his comrades were resolute to give the people a chance, knowing full well that though they should be mown down in myriads by shot and steel, it would be a better lot than poor houses and famine-graves.

It is needful, here, to speak of the Irish priesthood, and the part which they took in that last agony of our country. Hitherto, there has not been occasion to say much of the Catholic Church, though it makes so potent an element in Irish life, for the reason that in all vehement popular movements it always follows the people, and never leads—unless the movement be strong and sweeping enough to command and cöerce the clergy, the clergy keep aloof from it altogether. Instinctively the Church adheres to what is established, and opposes violent action. Thus, in O'Connell's Repeal agitation, several Bishops held themselves neutral; and hundreds of priests, as was well known, were zealous repealers against their will; only because the popular passion was too strong for them to resist. Afterwards, however, many of the Catholic clergy had come over to the "Young Ireland" party. Some of them, indeed, being more Irishmen than Romans, did from the first fully sympathize with the national aspirations of their island—did profoundly feel her wrongs, and burn to redress or avenge them. When the final scene opened, however, and the whole might of the empire was gathering itself to crush us, the clergy, as a body, were found on the side of the Government, and cannot be severely blamed for it, as they were convinced of the utter hopelessness of the struggle at that time.

O'Brien, Dillon, and Meagher, with some few followers, and without arms or stores, taking the field against the potent monarchy of England, were, indeed, but a forlorn hope. They can scarcely be said to have had a plan. O'Brien resolutely refused to commence a struggle, which he felt to be for man's dearest rights, by attacking and plundering the estates and mansions of the gentry—who, however, were then generally fortified and barricaded in their own houses, to hold the country for the enemy.

For several days he went from place to place, attended by his friends, followed sometimes by two or three hundred people, half-armed, always expecting to meet a party with a warrant for his arrest; in which case it would be *war*, both defensive and offensive, to the last extremity. All around him were country mansions of nobles and gentlemen who had openly avowed themselves, (in their "Addresses of Confidence,") for the English, and against their own people, who had publicly branded *him* as a rebel, and offered their lives and fortunes for the work of crushing him; and he, an outlaw, declined to exact contributions from them to feed his followers and hold them together. All this was resolved and done from the purest and most conscientious motives, undoubtedly; but it was, perhaps, not the best mode of commencing a revolution.

All this while, from day to day, crowds of stout men, many of them armed, flocked to O'Brien's company; but they uniformly melted off, as usual—partly compelled by want of provisions, partly under the influence of the clergy. The last time he had any considerable party together, was at Ballingarry, where forty-five armed police had barricaded themselves in a strong stone house, under the command of a certain Captain Trant, who certainly had the long-expected warrant to arrest O'Brien, but who was afraid to execute it until after the arrival of some further reinforcement. O'Brien went to one of the front windows, and called on Captain Trant to surrender. Trant demanded half an hour to consider. During this half hour some of the crowd had thrown a few stones through the

windows; and Captain Trant, seeing that the people could not be controlled much longer by O'Brien, gave orders to fire. O'Brien rushed between the people and the window, climbed on the window, and once more called upon the police to surrender. At the first volley from the house two men fell dead, and others were wounded, and the crowd on that side fell back, leaving O'Brien almost alone in the garden before the house.

Trant was shortly afterwards reinforced by the force he expected. Mr. O'Brien's followers were by this time scattered and gone. He scarce made an effort even to provide for his own safety, and was soon arrested.

In fact, there was no insurrection. The people in those two or three counties did not believe that he meant to fight; and nothing would persuade them of that but some desperate enterprise. Yet, they were all ready and willing; and, indeed, are at all times ready and willing to fight against a dominion, which represents to them nearly all that they know of evil in this world.

From the first moment that the repeal of the *Habeas Corpus* act placed the liberties of Irishmen at the disposal of Lord Clarendon, the police received secret orders to arrest all leading confederates, both in town and country. A return was in the beginning of the next year, 1849, made to Parliament of the number of persons, and their names, who were imprisoned under that law. There were one hundred and eighteen of them; including most of the very men on whom O'Brien might reasonably have relied to sustain his movement. They were all imprisoned in various jails, without any charge, or one word of explanation; removed in batches from one prison to some other, in a distant part of the island, with no other object, apparently, but to exhibit them in chains, and strike a wholesome terror into all spectators.

To arrive at an accurate list and due selection of leading confederates, Lord Clarendon employed without scruple, both Post Office spying * and the regular service of detectives.

Certain "trials" ensued in the usual style. First, the editors were brought to trial under the new "Treason-felony" act; and O'Brien and his immediate comrades, under the Common Law, for the crime of "high treason," having appeared in arms against the "Government." The Government would gladly have dispensed with these trials, and removed their captives out of the way by a more summary process. But they must not forget that they were a "liberal" Government, and had a reputation to support before the world. Ireland was not Naples, but, indeed, a far more miserable country, and political offenders could by no means be suffered to perish by long confinement in subterranean dungeons without trial. But, then, arose the question of juries; and the "Government" knew full well that no jury in Ireland impartially empaneled according to law, and really representing the nation, would convict one of those men for any offence whatsoever.

They could not refuse a trial; but one thing they could do, which the King of Naples had not yet learned—they could pack the juries. No doubt it was painful to have to pack juries *again*. Whig reputation could ill endure it. But they hoped this would be the last time. They knew that in the eyes of Englishmen, the extreme urgency of the occasion would justify this one last tremendous fraud. When we say, "in the eyes of Englishmen," the reader will understand that we mean the ruling classes of Englishmen—namely, the landed interests, and the monied and mercantile interests; in short, those Englishmen whose opinions and interests are alone consulted in the government of that country. To *them* it was an absolute necessity of their existence that Irish national movements should be crushed down by any means and all means.

The Whig Government, in fact, felt that if they satisfied the men of rank and money in England, they did the whole duty of Whigs; and the men of rank and money were eagerly crying out to have the

* The return on this subject laid before Parliament only brings down the letter-spies as far as Lord De Grey, in 1843. But as the report on the occasion declared the Post Office *espionnage* a needful branch of administration in Ireland, it may be assumed, without scruple, that it was resorted to not only by Lord Clarendon, but by every Viceroy since.

last embers of that long national struggle stamped out.

O'Brien, Meagher, MacManus, and O'Donohoe were to have their trial before a special commission in Clonmel, the capital of Tipperary. On the details of these trials we need not dwell; because they were on the same pattern with other scenes of this same kind already narrated. The officials of the Crown showed a stern, dogged determination to disregard every remonstrance, to refuse every application, and to do the work intrusted to them in the most coarse, insolent, and thorough-going style. For example, Mr. Whiteside, O'Brien's counsel, reminded the Court "that, *in England*, persons charged with high treason are allowed a copy of the jurors' panel, and a list of the witnesses to be examined on the part of the Crown." Here is one extract from the report of the "trial":—

"The learned counsel put it to the Court, whether Mr. O'Brien, under trial in a country said to be under the same Government and laws as England, should not have the same privilege which he would enjoy, as a matter of right, if he happened to be tried on the other side of the channel.

"The Court decided that the prisoner was not entitled to the privilege."

When the clerk read the names of the jury-panel, Mr. O'Brien, of course, challenged the array, on the ground of fraud; and, of course, the Court ruled against him.

"Mr. Whiteside stated that it made little difference whether his client were tried by a jury selected from a panel thus constituted, or taken and shot through the head on the high road. No less than one hundred Catholics had been struck off the panel, and so few left on, that Mr. O'Brien's right to challenge was now little better than a farce. This objection was also overruled—Chief Justice Blackburne having decided that the panel was properly made out."

O'Brien, whose mind was made up to meet any fate, stood in the dock during this nine days' trial, with a haughty calmness. What thoughts passed through that proud heart as the odious game proceeded, no human eye will ever read; but of one thing we may be sure—his grief, shame, and indignation were not for himself, but for the down-trodden country where such a scene could be enacted in the open day, and against the will of nine-tenths of its inhabitants.

There followed, in due course, the usual barbarous death-sentence:—

"That sentence is, that you, William Smith O'Brien, be taken from hence to the place from whence you came, and be thence drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until you are dead; and that afterwards your head shall be severed from your body, and your body divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as Her Majesty shall think fit. And may the Lord have mercy on your soul."

He hears it unmoved as a statue; inclines his head in a stately bow; politely takes leave of his counsel, and returns to his prison.

Again, and again, and again, the same process was performed in all its parts. MacManus was next tried, then O'Donohoe, then Meagher; their juries were all carefully packed; they were all sentenced to be hanged; and they all met the announcement of their fate as men ought. For more than a month these trials went on, from day to day; and it was the 23d of October when the last sentence was pronounced. A strong garrison of cavalry, infantry, and artillery occupied the town, and inclosed the scene with a hedge of steel. Outside, the people muttered deep curses, and chafed with impotent rage. A few daring spirits, headed by O'Mahony, once contemplated an attack and rescue; but the people had been too grievously frightened, and too effectually starved by the Government, to be equal to so dashing an exploit; and so that solemn and elaborate insult was once more put upon our name and nation; and the four men who had sought to save their people from so abject a condition, lay undisturbed in Clonmel jail, sentenced to death. And whosoever has studied even the imperfect sketch given in these pages of the potent and minutely-elaborated system of oppression that pressed upon that nation at every point, and tied down every limb,

watching over every man, woman, and child, at their uprising and downlying, so as to be enabled to foresee and to baffle even the slightest approach to combination for a national purpose *—will assuredly not wonder at the utter and abject helplessness of the nation, in presence of so cruel an outrage.

The newspaper editors were still to be "tried." In the months of October and November, 1848, Duffy, of the *Nation*, Williams and O'Doherty, of the *Tribune*, and Martin, of the *Felon*, were successively brought up for trial in the City Court House, of Green street. Their newspapers had been suppressed weeks before, their offices broken up, their types, and presses, and books seized. O'Doherty and Martin were "convicted" by well-packed juries, containing not a single Catholic. In the cases of Duffy and Williams, the enemy ventured to leave one or two Catholics on the juries. Williams was acquitted; Duffy's jury disagreed, and he was retained in prison till a more tractable jury could be manufactured. Again he was brought to trial, and again the jury disagreed. Still he was kept in custody, though his health was rapidly failing; and, at last, when all apprehension of trouble seemed to be over, and the more dangerous conspirators were disposed of, the "Government" yielded to a memorial on his behalf, and abandoned the prosecution.

In the matter of those sentenced to death, Ministers, after much deliberation, decided on sparing their lives, and commuting their punishment to transportation for life. This was done under the false pretence of clemency; but it was, in truth, the most refined cruelty; it was, moreover, illegal—there being no law to authorize such a commutation. The prisoners, therefore, objected through their counsel; they had no use for life under such circumstances; and demanded to have the extreme benefit of the law. Ministers, however, were resolved to be merciful—introduced an act into Parliament, empowering the Queen to transport them—had it passed at once—and immediately shipped them off to herd with felons in the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land. O'Doherty and Martin having been originally sentenced to ten years' transportation, were sent away at the same time, but in another ship; and for more than five years, in the most degrading bondage, they expiated the crime of "not having sold their country."

A few unconcerted and desperate attempts were made in Munster, by O'Mahony and Savage, by Brennan and Gray, to draw the people together, and achieve some one daring act, which might awaken the insurrectionary spirit. They all failed, or were easily suppressed. The clergy were now decidedly and actively in the interest of "law and order;" that is, in the interest of England; and the more regular police were on the alert by day and night, and the island bristled with forty thousand bayonets. "Tranquillity reigned in Warsaw." John O'Connell, in Conciliation Hall, pointed to the sad fate of those who had disregarded the counsels of the "Liberator"—entreated the people to sustain him in his moral and peaceful appeals to Parliament; and promised that Ireland should be, at some early day, "first flower of the earth and first gem of the sea."

What to do now with this Ireland, thus fallen under the full and peaceful possession of her "sister island," was the subject of serious thought in England. The famine was still slaying its tens of thousands; and the Government emigration scheme was drawing away many thousands more and shooting them out naked and destitute on the shores of the St. Lawrence; so that it was hoped the "Celts" would soon be thinned out to the proper point. The very danger so lately escaped, however, brought home to the British Government, and to the Irish landlords, the stern necessity of continued extermination. It was better, they felt, to have too few hands to till the ground, than too many for the security of law and order.

A plan for a new "Plantation of Ireland" was promulgated by Sir Robert Peel—that is, for replacing the Irish with good

* We may once more refer to the memorable words of an English Attorney-General's description of the British *regime* in Ireland: "Notice is taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known not only now they live, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do."

Anglo-Saxons. This project for a new Plantation in Ireland was anxiously revolved in the Councils of the Government. It began to be believed that the peasant class, being now almost sufficiently thinned out—and the claim of tenants to some sort of right or title to the land they tilled, having been successfully resisted and defeated—that the structure of society in Ireland having been well and firmly planted upon a basis of able-bodied pauperism, (which the English, however, called "independent labor,") the time was come to effect a transfer of the real estate of the island from Irish to English hands. This grand idea afterwards elaborated itself into the famous "Incumbered Estates act."

The conquest of the island was now regarded in England as effectually consummated — England, great, populous, and wealthy, with all the resources and vast patronage of an existing government in her hands—with a magnificent army and navy —with the established course and current of commerce steadily flowing in the precise direction that suited her interests—with a powerful party on her side in Ireland itself, bound to her by lineage and by interest—and, above all, with her vast brute mass lying between us and the rest of Europe, enabling her to intercept the natural sympathies of other struggling nations, to interpret between us and the rest of mankind, and represent the troublesome sister island exactly in the light in which she wished to be regarded—England prosperous, potent, and at peace with all the earth besides—had succeeded, (to her immortal honor and glory,) in anticipating and crushing out of sight the last agonies of resistance in a small, poor, and divided island, which she had herself made poor and divided, carefully disarmed, almost totally disfranchised, and almost totally deprived of the benefits of that very British "law" against which we revolted with such loathing and horror. England had done this; and whatsoever credit and prestige, whatsoever profit and power could be gained by such a feat, she has them all. "Now, for the first time these six hundred years," said the London *Times*, "England has Ireland at her mercy, and can deal with her as she pleases."

It was an opportunity not to be lost, for interests of British civilization. Parliament met late in January, 1849. The Queen, in her "speech," lamented that "*another* failure of the potato crop had caused severe distress in Ireland;" and, thereupon, asked Parliament to continue, "for a limited period," the extraordinary powers; that is, the power of proclaiming any district under martial law, and of throwing suspected persons into prison, without any charge against them. The act was passed, of course.

Then, as the famine of 1848 was fully as grievous and destructive as any of the previous famines—as the rate-payers were impoverished, and, in most of the unions, could not pay the rates already due—and were thus rapidly sinking into the condition of paupers; giving up the hopeless effort to maintain themselves by honest industry, and throwing themselves on the earnings of others; as the poor houses were all filled to overflowing, and the exterminated people were either lying down to die or crowding into the emigrant ships—as, in short, the Poor law, and the New Poor law, and the Improved Poor law, and the Supplementary Poor law, had all manifestly proved a "failure." Lord John Russell's next step was to give Ireland *more* Poor laws.

The expression *failure* must, however, be qualified as before. They were a failure for their professed purpose—that of relieving the famine; but were a complete success for their real purpose—that of uprooting the people from the land, and casting them forth to perish. Irishmen have not much faith in the "Government" statistics of their country; but as it is well to see how much the enemy was willing to admit, we give some details from a report furnished in '48 by Captain Larcom, under the orders of Government, and founded on local reports of police inspectors. The main facts are epitomized thus, for one year:—

"In the number of farms, of from *one* to *five* acres, the decrease has been twenty-four thousand one hundred and forty-seven; from *five* to *fifteen* acres, twenty-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-nine; from *fifteen* to *thirty* acres, four thousand two hundred and seventy-four; whilst of farms *above* thirty acres the *increase* has been

three thousand six hundred and seventy. Seventy thousand occupiers, with their families, numbering about three hundred thousand, were rooted out of the land.

"In Leinster, the decrease in the number of holdings not exceeding one acre, as compared with the decrease of '47, was three thousand seven hundred and forty-nine; above one, and not exceeding five, was four thousand and twenty-six; of five, and not exceeding fifteen, was two thousand five hundred and forty-six; of fifteen to thirty, three hundred and ninety-one; making a total of ten thousand six hundred and seventeen.

"In Munster, the decrease in the holdings, under thirty acres, is stated at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fourteen; the increase over thirty acres, one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine.

"In Ulster, the decrease was one thousand five hundred and two; the increase, one thousand one hundred and thirty-four.

"In Connaught, where the labor of extermination was least, the clearance has been most extensive. There, in particular, the roots of holders of the soil were never planted deep beneath the surface, and consequently were exposed to every exterminator's hand. There were in 1847, thirty-five thousand six hundred and thirty-four holders of from one to five acres. In the following year there were less by nine thousand seven hundred and three; there were seventy-six thousand seven hundred and seven holders of from five to fifteen acres, less in one year by twelve thousand eight hundred and ninety-one; those of from fifteen to thirty acres were reduced by two thousand one hundred and twenty-one; a total depopulation of twenty-six thousand four hundred and ninety-nine holders of land, exclusive of their families, was effected in Connaught in one year."

On this report it may be remarked that it was a list of killed and wounded in one year of carnage only—and of one class of people only. It takes no account of the dead in that multitudinous class thinned the most by famine, who had no land at all, but lived by the labor of their hands, and who were exposed before the others, as having nothing but life to lose. As for the landlords, already incumbered by debt, the pressure of the Poor-rates was fast breaking them down. In most cases, they were not so much as the receivers of their own rents, and had no more control over the bailiffs, sheriffs, and police, who plundered and chased away the people, than one of the pillars of their own grand entrance-gates.

The slaughter by famine was enormous this season. Here is one paragraph from amongst the commercial reports of the Irish papers, which will suggest more than any labored narrative could inculcate:—

"Upwards of one hundred and fifty ass hides have been delivered in Dublin from the County Mayo, for exportation to Liverpool. The carcasses, owing to the scarcity of provisions, had been used as food!"

But those who could afford to dine upon famished jackasses were few, indeed. During this winter of 1848–9, hundreds of thousands perished of hunger. During this same winter, the herds and harvests raised on Irish ground were floating off to England on every tide—and, during this same winter, almost every steamship *from* England daily carried Irish paupers, men, women, and children, away from Liverpool and Bristol to share the good cheer of their kinsmen at home.

It was in this state of things that Lord John Russell, having first secured a continued suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, proposed an additional and novel sort of Poor-rate for Ireland. It was called the "Rate-in-Aid." That is to say, Poor Law Unions which were still solvent, and could still in some measure maintain their own local poor, were to be rated for relief of such unions as had sunk under the pressure. Assuming that Ireland and England are two integral parts of an "United Kingdom," (as we are assured they are,) it seems hard to understand why a district in Leinster should be rated to relieve a pauper territory in Mayo—and a district in Yorkshire not. Or to comprehend why old and spent Irish laborers, who had given the best of their health and strength to the service of England, should be shipped off to Ireland to increase and intensify the pauperism and despair. But so it was: the maxim was,

that "the property of Ireland must support the poverty of Ireland;" without consideration of the fact that the property of Ireland was all this time supporting the luxury of England.

The next measure passed in the same session of Parliament was the "Incumbered Estates act"—the act of Twelfth and Thirteenth Victoria, chap. 77. Under this, a royal commission was issued, constituting a new court "for the sale of Incumbered Estates;" and the scope and intent of it were to give a short and summary method of bringing such estates to sale, on petition either of creditors or of owners. Before that time the only mode of doing this was through the slow and expensive proceedings of the Court of Chancery; and the number of incumbered landlords had grown so very large since the famine began, their debts so overwhelming, and their rental so curtailed, that the London Jews, money-brokers, and insurance offices, required a speedier and cheaper method of bringing their property to the hammer. What ought to be fully understood is, that this act was not intended to relieve, and did not relieve, anybody in Ireland; but that, under pretence of facilitating legal proceedings, it contemplated a sweeping confiscation and new plantation of the island. The English press was already complacently anticipating a peaceable transfer of Irish land to English and Scotch capitalists, and took pains to encourage them to invest their money under the new act. Ireland, it was now declared, had become tranquil; "the Celts were gone;" and if any trouble should arise, there was the *Habeas Corpus* Suspension act; and the horse, foot, and artillery, and the juries. Singular to relate, however, the new act did not operate satisfactorily in that direction. English capitalists had a wholesome terror of Tipperary, and of the precarious tenure by which an Irish landlord holds his life; insomuch that the great bulk of the sales made by the commissioners were made to Irishmen; and in the official return of the operations of the Court, up to October, 1851, it appears that while the gross amount produced by the sales had been more than three and a half millions sterling, there had only been fifty-two English and Scottish purchasers to the amount of £319,486.*

Seeing this imperfect progress in the new plantation of Ireland, Ministers, in March, 1850, introduced a supplemental bill. The Solicitor-General who moved it was even so incautious as to admit the motive. "They had devised a plan," he said, "which, it was hoped, would induce *capitalists from England* to take an interest in these sales." The plan was a mere financial operation, creating a species of debentures chargeable on the land, and passing current like any other stock or scrip; but it need not be described in detail; for the plan was abandoned, and it is only mentioned here to exhibit the policy of England as indicated by the Solicitor-General.

Down to the 25th May, 1857, there had been given orders for sale to the number of three thousand one hundred and ninety-seven; the property had been sold to seven thousand two hundred and sixteen purchasers, of whom six thousand nine hundred and two were Irish—the rest English, Scotch, or other foreigners. The estates already sold brought upwards of twenty millions sterling, which was almost all distributed to creditors and other parties interested. The result to Ireland was simply this—about one-fifteenth part of the island had changed hands; had gone from one landlord and come to another landlord; the result to the great tenant class was simply *nil*. The new landlord came over them armed with the power of life and death, like his predecessor; but he had no local or personal attachment which in some cases used to mitigate the severity of landlord rule—and he was bound to make interest on his investment. The estates, therefore, have been broken up, on an average, into one-half their former size, and this has been much dwelt upon as an "amelioration;" but we have yet to learn that small landlords are more mild and merciful than great ones. On the whole, the "Incumbered Estates act" has benefitted only the money-lenders of England.

As to "tenant-right," the salutary custom explained before, and which did once prac-

* Almanac and Directory, 1852.

tically secure to the tenantry in some portions of Ulster, a permanency of tenure on payment of their rent, our Parliamentary patriots have been agitating for it, begging for it, conferring with Ministers about it, eating public dinners, making speeches, and soliciting votes on account of it; but they have never made, and are never likely to make, an approach by one hair's-breadth to its attainment. It is absolutely essential to the existence of the British Empire that the Irish peasant class be kept in a condition which will make them entirely manageable —easy to be thinned out when they grow too numerous, and an available *materiel* for armies. It is a necessity for the British commercial, social, and Governmental system—but this is not said by way of complaint. Those who are of opinion that British civilization is a blessing, and a light to lighten the world, will easily reconcile themselves to the needful condition. Those who deem it the most base and horrible tyranny that has ever scandalized the earth, will probably wish that its indispensable prop —Ireland—were knocked from under it.

In the meantime, neither the Incumbered Estates act, nor any other act, made or to be made by an English Parliament, has done or aimed to do anything towards giving the Irish tenant-at-will the smallest interest in the land he tills; but, on the contrary, the whole course of the famine-legislation was directed to the one end of shaking small lease-holders loose from the soil, and converting them into tenants-at-will, or into "independent laborers," or able-bodied paupers, or lean corpses. Understand, further, that the condition of an Irish "tenant-at-will" is unique on the face of the globe,* is utterly unintelligible to most civilized Europeans, and is only to be found within the sway of that Constitution which is the envy of surrounding nations. The German, Von Raumer, making a tour in Ireland, thus tries to explain the thing:—

"How shall I translate *tenants-at-will*? *Wegjagbare*? Expellable? Serfs? But in the ancient days of vassalage, it consisted rather in keeping the vassals attached to the soil, and by no means in driving them away. An ancient vassal is a lord compared with the present tenant-at-will, to whom the law affords no defence. Why not call them *Jagabare* (*chaseable*)? But this difference lessens the analogy—that for hares, stags, and deer, there is a season during which no one is allowed to hunt them—whereas tenants-at-will are hunted all the year round. And if any one would defend his farm, (as badgers and foxes are allowed to do,) it is here denominated *rebellion*."

In 1849, it was still believed that the depopulation had not proceeded far enough; and the English Government was fully determined, having so gracious an opportunity, to make a clean sweep. One of the provisions of Lord John Russell's *Rate-in-Aid* bill was for imposing an additional rate of two shillings and sixpence in the pound, to promote *emigration*. During the two years, 1848–9, the Government Census Commissioners admit nine thousand three hundred and ninety-five deaths by famine alone; a number which would be about true if multiplied by twenty five. In 1850, they were nearly seven thousand, as admitted by the same authorities; and in the first quarter of 1851, six hundred and fifty-two deaths by hunger, they say, "are recorded."

In the very midst of all this havoc, in August, 1849, Her Majesty's Ministers thought the coast was clear for a royal visit. The Queen had long wished, it was said, to visit her people of Ireland; and the great army of persons, who, in Ireland, are paid to be loyal, were expected to get up the appearance of rejoicing. Of course, there were crowds in the streets; and the natural courtesy of the people prevented almost everything which could grate upon the lady's ear, or offend her eye. One Mr. O'Reilly, indeed, of South Great George's street, hoisted on the top of his house a large *black* banner, displaying the crownless harp; and draped his windows with black curtains, showing the words *famine* and *pestilence*; but the police burst into his house, tore down the flag and the curtains, and thrust the proprietor into jail.

On the whole, the Viceroy's precautions against any show of disaffection, were com-

* Paralleled in some sort only by the *ryots* of India —another people privileged to enjoy the blessings of British rule.

plete and successful. Nine out of ten citizens of Dublin eagerly hoped that Her Majesty would make this visit the occasion of a "pardon" to O'Brien and his comrades. Lord Clarendon's organs, therefore, and his thousand placemen, and agents of every grade, diligently whispered into the public ear, that the Queen would certainly pardon the state prisoners, if she were not insulted by repeal demonstrations—in short, if there was not one word said about those individuals. The consequence was, that no whisper was heard about repeal, nor about the state prisoners.

Although there was no chance of tenant-right, no chance of Ireland being allowed to manage her own affairs—yet, towards Catholics, of the educated classes, there was much liberality. Mr. Wyse was sent as an ambassador to Greece; Mr. More O'Ferrall was made Governor of Malta; many barristers, once loud in their patriotic devotion at Conciliation Hall, were appointed to commissionerships and other offices,* and Ireland became "tranquil" enough. For result of the whole long struggle, England was left, for a time, more securely in possession than ever of the property, lives, and industry of the Irish nation. She had not parted with a single atom of her plunder, nor in the slightest degree weakened any of her garrisons, either military, civil, or ecclesiastical. Her "Established Church" remained in full force—the wealthiest church in the world, quartered upon the poorest people, who abhor its doctrine, and regard its pastors as ravening wolves. It had, indeed, often been denounced in the London Parliament, by Whigs out of place; Mr. Roebuck had called it "the greatest ecclesiastical enormity in Europe;" Mr. Macauley had termed it "the most utterly absurd and indefensible of all the institutions now existing in the civilized world." But we have already learned what value there is in the liberal declarations of Whigs out of place. Once in place and power, they felt that the "enormity" of the Established Church, absurd and indefensible as it was, constituted one of their greatest and surest holds upon the Irish aristocracy, to whose younger sons and dependents, it affords a handsome and not too laborious livelihood.

The Orangemen, also, were still maintained in full force. They are all armed; for no bench of magistrates will refuse a good Protestant the liberty of keeping a gun; and, lest they might not have enough, the Government sometimes supplies arms for distribution among the lodges. The police and detective system continued to be more highly organized than ever; and the Government Board of "National" Education, more diligently than ever inculcated the folly and vice of national aspirations.

Yet Ireland, we are told, has been, since the famine, improving and prosperous. Yes; it cannot be denied, that two millions and a half of the people having been slain, or driven to seek safety by flight, the survivors began to live better for a time. There was a smaller supply of labor, with the same demand for it—therefore, wages were higher. There was more cattle and grain to export to England, because there were fewer mouths to be fed; and England, (in whose hands are the issues of life and death for Ireland,) can afford to let *so* many live.

* By degrees, considerable numbers of Catholic barristers have been admitted to the judicial bench, (although never to the rank of Chancellor) They usually earned this promotion by political services; and they have proved, in fact, the most useful servants to the English Government, in carrying on the infamous transactions which pass for trials of "political offenders" in Ireland. They sit by gravely and complacently, and see juries packed for the destruction of better and braver men than those judges ever were. They know that the object of the odious fraud over which they preside, is to perpetuate British dominion over their unhappy country—unhappy in nothing more than in having given birth to *them*. They know, further, that the operation and intent of that British domination are to plunder and to exterminate their countrymen, their kinsmen, their own flesh and blood. And they have deliberately elected their side—against their countrymen and kinsmen, and with the mortal enemies of their countrymen. In other words, they have sold their country and themselves; and the special service which *they* are expected to do—the job which they sit on that bench to put through—is precisely to countenance this very fraud and villany of jury-packing—to grace it with their robes and ermine—to preside with dignified gravity while the Sheriff and Attorney-General do their wicked business—looking all the while as if it were a solemn inquest they are holding—and then, with feeling voice, and in a high moral tone, and with the solemn prate usual on such occasions, to sentence to death or exile, a man who has *not been tried;* a man, too, whom they are forced to respect, even in their own depraved hearts, while they hypocritically lecture him upon his own enormous iniquities.

Upper classes, and lower classes, merchants, lawyers, state-officials, civil and military, are indebted for all that they have, for all that they are, or hope for, to the sufferance and forbearance of a foreign and hostile nation. This being the case, the prosperity of Ireland, even such ignominious prosperity as it is, has no guarantee or security.

A few statistics may fitly conclude this part of the subject.

The census of Ireland in 1841 gave a population of eight millions one hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and twenty-five. At the usual rate of increase, there must have been, in 1846, when the famine commenced, at least eight millions seven hundred and fifty thousand; at the same rate of increase, there ought to have been, in 1851, (according to the estimate of the Census Commissioners,) nine millions eighteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine. But in that year, after five seasons of artificial famine, there were found alive only six millions five hundred and fifty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-five—a *deficit* of about two millions and a half. Now, what became of those two millions and a half?

The "Government" Census Commissioners, and compilers of returns of all sorts, whose principal duty it has been, since that fatal time, to conceal the amount of the havoc, attempt to account for nearly the whole deficiency by emigation. In *Thom's Official Almanac*, we find set down on one side, the actual decrease from 1841 to 1851, (that is, without taking into account the increase by births in that period,) one million six hundred and twenty-three thousand one hundred and fifty-four. Against this, they place their own estimate of the emigration during those same ten years, which they put down at one million five hundred and eighty-nine thousand one hundred and thirty-three. But, in the first place, the decrease did not *begin* till 1846—there had been till then a rapid increase in the population—the Government returns, then, not only ignore the increase, but set the emigration of *ten* years against the depopulation of *five*. This will not do; we must reduce their emigrants by one-half, say to six hundred thousand—and add to the depopulation the estimated increase *up* to 1846, say half a million. This will give upwards of two millions, whose disappearance is to be accounted for—and six hundred thousand emigrants in the other column. Balance unaccounted for, *a million and a half*.

This is without computing those who were born in the five famine years; whom we may leave to be balanced by the deaths from *natural* causes in the same period.

Now, that million and a half of men, women, and children, were carefully prudently, and peacefully *slain* by the English Government. They died of hunger in the midst of abundance, which their own hands created; and it is quite immaterial to distinguish those who perished in the agonies of famine itself from those who died of typhus fever, which in Ireland is always caused by famine.

Further, this was strictly an *artificial* famine—that is to say, it was a famine which desolated a rich and fertile island, that produced every year abundance and superabundance to sustain all her people and many more. The English, indeed, call that famine a dispensation of Providence; and ascribe it entirely to the blight of the potatoes. But potatoes failed in like manner all over Europe, yet there was no famine save in Ireland. The British account of the matter, then, is, first, a fraud; second, a blasphemy. The Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine.

And, lastly, it has been shown, in the course of this narrative, that the depopulation of the country was not only encouraged by artificial means, namely, the Out-door Relief act, the Labor-rate act, and the emigration schemes, but that extreme care and diligence were used to prevent relief coming to the doomed island from abroad; and that the benevolent contributions of Americans and other foreigners were turned aside from their desired objects—not, let us say, in order that none should be saved alive, but that no interference should be made with the principles of political economy.

The Census Commissioners close one of their late reports with these words:—

"In conclusion, we feel it will be gratifying to your excellency to find that, although the population has been diminished in so remarkable a manner, by famine, disease, and emigration, and has been since decreasing, the results of the Irish census are, *on the whole, satisfactory.*"

The commissioners mean to say that, although there are fewer men and women, there are more cattle and hogs for the English markets.

But the depopulation of the country by no means ended with the famine. Between 1851 and 1861, during which period of ten years there was no officially-declared famine, but, on the contrary, Ireland was continually felicitated by English Viceroys and statesmen upon her returning prosperity, we find that the diminution of the people steadily proceeded, so that, in 1861, the Census Commissioners found alive upon the Irish soil only five millions seven hundred and sixty-four thousand five hundred and forty-three individuals—less by three millions of souls than the population in 1845. This destruction of people is to be accounted for only in part by emigration, although emigration was very large in all those years. But, there is no fact better established in social and economic science than that emigration never does thin the people of any country to anything like its apparent amount; because, in a healthy condition of society, the loss from this cause is compensated by the greater increase of people at home. But the cruel truth is, that society in Ireland is in ruins; it has no longer any recuperative energy. British civilization has taken so powerful and deadly a hold of it, that not only do the people fly in multitudes from the terrible "prosperity" of their country, but those who remain and strive to hold their ground are perishing where they stand.

CHAPTER LXII.

1850—1851.

Depopulation — Emigration — "Plea for the Celtic Race"—Decay of the Irish Electoral Body—Act to Amend Representation—"Papal Aggression"—Rage in England—Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Never Enforced—And Why—Orange Outrage in Down County—"Dolly's Brae"—Style of Orange Processions—Condition of the Country—Further Emigration—Still more Extermination—Crime and Outrage—Plenty and Prosperity in England—Conclusion.

In 1851 the island of Ireland still contained six and a half millions of people; which was much too large a pophlation to be compatible with English policy. It has been seen, in an earlier page of this narrative, that the British Government and Parliament had been long anxiously occupied, even before the first symptom of the "famine," in devising the best, cheapest, and readiest mode of getting rid of what was constantly called the "surplus population" of Ireland. In fact and practice, the migration of the poorer people had been proceeding on a considerable and still increasing scale for many years. No season passed in which thousands of Irishmen, wearied and worn out by the struggle against remediless misery and hopeless aggression, did not bid adieu to their dear native country, to seek a happier future in some distant land. The general use of steam in ocean navigation had also greatly facilitated the movement of emigration, by shortening distances and bringing continents nearer to one another. The whole amount of the emigration from Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1815, was but two thousand and eighty-one persons; but in 1852 it amounted to one hundred and seventy-six times that number—namely, three hundred and sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty four.*

In 1835, a Parliamentary Commission reported that there were in Ireland two millions three hundred and eighty thousand persons always in danger of perishing by hunger; and the island (although the most fertile country in all the earth,) being even

*General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, 1861. Appendix.

then periodically visited by terrible dearths and famine, it may have been natural to conclude that it would be doing Ireland a signal service to multiply the means of emigration ; but in carrrying out this idea, the Government was resolved to bring the whole movement of emigration, as well as everything else that was *Irish*, under its own control, as far as possible. During the fifteen years which preceded the famine, (1831–1846,) Ireland alone had furnished more than eight hundred thousand emigrants out of the total emigration from the three kingdoms. The exact numbers are eight hundred and nine thousand two hundred and forty-four, making an annual average of fifty-three thousand nine hundred and forty-nine ; and the number for all the three kingdoms during the same period was one million one hundred and seventy-one thousand four hundred and eighty-five.* Yet, the excess of births over both deaths and emigrations continued to make a sensible increase in the population ; and in the very same year (1841,) in which had occurred the largest *exodus* during that period, the census showed that the population of the island was greater than it had ever been before, and greater than it has ever been since officially declared, namely, eight millions one hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and twenty-four. ‡

This result, showing the nullity of emigration as an agency of depleting a population, might have been more surprising if it had not been long foreseen. Far from deranging the calculations of economic science, it confirmed the conclusions of the best economists. No writer, native or foreign, who has treated of Irish affairs, has estimated with more sagacity the actual condition and necessities of our country than the illustrious French publicist, M. Gustave de Beaumont. Studying, in 1839, the condition of Ireland, and considering whether the favorite British prescription of emigration could in any great measure cure the miseries which he had witnessed in the country, M. de Beaumont applied himself to the solution of these questions: 1st. What should be the proportions of the emigration if it were to materially affect the situation of the people ? 2d. Would emigration upon such a scale be possible ? 3d. Supposing it possible, would it be a radical solution of the difficulty ? The advocates of wholesale emigration (all of them Englishmen,) answered the first question by estimating at two millions—or from two to four millions—the number of persons who must quit Ireland, in order to create at once so sensible a void in the population as should leave the rest at ease. The second question, then, was easy to answer—that on so vast a scale the project was simply impossible, for want of sufficient means of transport. For supposing that each emigrant vessel carried a thousand passengers, there must be employed in the operation two thousand ships. This would put in requisition the whole British merchant navy, and withdraw it from the commerce of the world for a project in itself chimerical ; for it would have been impossible to provide funds for the needful expenses ; and no country, not even the United States, could be expected to receive such an invasion *en masse*, and provide the unhappy invaders with the means and opportunity of earning their bread by their labor. But, assuming all these difficulties overcome, then arose M. de Beaumont's third question: Was it certain that, the system of land-tenure remaining the same, emigration would cure the evils of the country, and effect a social transformation? On this point, our very intelligent foreign visitor found it easy to demonstrate that the removal of one-third, or even half, of the population would be no radical remedy. The difficulty for Ireland, as he plainly saw, was not to make the land produce a sufficiency of food for all its people, but lay altogether in the system of land-tenure. "For," says the author, "if it be one of the settled principles of land proprietors, that the farmer should have no other profit out of his cultivation but just

* Reports of Commissioners of Emigration, in Thom's *Official Directory*. We often cite this statistical annual, prepared by authority of the British Government. But (on that very account,) it is untrustworthy, unless when it bears necessarily or unintentionally *against* the Government, and it is only for such evidence that we have recourse to it.

† But, in 1845, (when no census was taken,) the population must have amounted almost to nine millions. This fact is too often overlooked, and by the enemy's Government purposely ignored, for obvious reasons.

what is strictly necessary for his subsistence; and if it be the general custom to apply this system rigorously, so that every improvement in the farmer's way of living brings with it necessarily a rise in his rent—on this hypothesis, which, for those who know Ireland, is a sad reality, what would be the advantage of a diminution of the population?" * "Thus," he continues, "after many thousands of the Irish shall have disappeared, the lot of the remainder will probably be no way altered—they still may remain as miserable as they were before It has been seen, in the preceding inquiry, that with but one-third of its present inhabitants, Ireland was a century ago as indigent as in our own day, being subjected then, as at present, to the same causes of misery, independent of numbers." M. de Beaumont here refers to the authority of Swift and of Berkeley, which sufficiently establishes the misery of Ireland in their days.

In all this investigation the singularity is, that M. de Beaumont, knowing the wealth and fertility of Ireland, and how she not only produced every year more than her people could consume, but also exported immense quantities of her produce, did not come at once to the conclusion, and proclaim his conclusion—that Ireland and the Irish are under the control of mortal enemies, whose single policy is to abolish the Irish race off the face of the earth.

Another calm and diligent inquirer,† after giving an account of the immense schemes of wholesale emigration, remarks: "It is in view of these sad teachings of the past that the most sincere and intelligent friends of Ireland counseled the British Government, rather to expend in vast works of drainage and cultivation, the sums estimated as required for the transport of emigrants. Lord Devon's Commission calculated that the emigration of one hundred thousand persons *per annum*, if effected at the public expense, and putting the cost at the moderate amount of six pounds sterling for each person, would cost £600,000 a year;—a sum which, annually applied to the purchase and improvement of unproductive lands, would undoubtedly permit the Irish to live at home, and rescue them from the necessity of going into exile to save their lives." Here the Abbé Perraud also seems to misapprehend, or else shrinks from uttering the horrible fact—that the object of all British policy in Ireland is now, and ever has been, to make it impossible for the Irish to live at home. In the writings of foreigners, even the most acute, and most friendly to Ireland, there is a steady—almost stolid—persistence in assuming that British statesmen, if they only knew how, would hasten to redress the ills of Ireland. For this reason, and for this alone, has the real history of Ireland remained a puzzle and a secret to even the most intelligent inquirers from other countries. They may as well understand at once, that the key of the whole mystery is this one fundamental truth—the single policy of England towards Ireland is, as it always has been, to extirpate the Irish nation. This maxim, well borne in mind, everything becomes simple enough.

In 1841, the number of inhabited houses in all Ireland, according to the official census,‡ was one million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine. In 1851, it was one million forty-six thousand two hundred and ninety-four. But this decrease between those two periods of the census does not by any means represent the actual amount of destruction; because from 1841, (the census year,) till 1845, the population had been rapidly increasing, (as has been observed in a former chapter.) When the "famine" commenced, in 1846, we may fairly assume that the inhabited houses amounted to one million and a half; the decrease, then, in 1851, must be set down at almost *half a million* of houses or cabins, giving shelter on an average to five human beings each. These figures are in themselves sufficient to give a ghastly idea of the agony of Ireland, and of the too cruel efficiency of the methods so steadily pursued for the extirpation of its native inhabitants. "The Celts were gone,"

* M. de Beaumont II. 108.

† The Abbé Perraud. *Etudes sur l' Irlande contemporaine.*

‡ See *Thom's Official Almanac and Directory*, 1861.

or rapidly going ; and this not the result of emigration, as we have seen, but of mere hunger and hardship. The system, and the motives and operation of the system became at length so clear and plain, that Mr. Isaac Butt, a Protestant barrister, (O'Connell's opponent in the famous Corporation Debate upon Repeal,) published some years later, (1866,) a work entitled *"A Plea for the Celtic Race,"* urging the impolicy, even in the interest of England, of entirely abolishing the whole breed.*

It is no way surprising, then, to find that the number of persons in all Ireland qualified to vote for county representatives in Parliament, had dwindled down on January 1, 1850, to considerably less than one thousand for each county ; or twenty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty for the thirty-two counties. The great County of Mayo had but two hundred electors ; and these almost all landed proprietors. This cannot be surprising to those who have followed the narrative of that long, wasting war systematically made on the race of small farmers—first by the abolition of the forty-shilling franchise ; then by the "consolidation" of farms ; by the frequent ejectment acts ; by the stimulus given to extermination and emigration ; finally, by the Poor laws and the famine.

The condition of the county representation, therefore, had become so scandalous, that Ministers, in 1850, judged it needful to extend, somehow or other, the numbers qualified to vote. But here arose a difficulty —there were no more freeholders ; that class had been too effectually shaken loose from the soil, impoverished, and extirpated. Many thousands of them who had escaped death, were by this time digging canals and railways in America. It was evident that nothing like an apparently adequate representation could be looked for, based upon the old and respectable condition of a freehold estate in land. But it occurred to Lord John Russell to found the franchise upon the *Poor-rates;* thus connecting this ancient privilege of freemen with the odious and destructive system of public pauperism, which had been forced upon the island against its will, and had been corroding its people so fatally ever since.

Accordingly, a bill was introduced to "amend" the representation, both in counties and in boroughs. The Irish *Official Directory* thus shortly states the facts :—

"The number of electors under the Reform act was, in 1832, ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven ; on January 1, 1850, the constituency had diminished to sixty-one thousand and thirty-six —twenty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty in the counties, and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and fifty-six in the cities and boroughs. The act 13th and 14th Vic, chap. 69, was passed in 1850, to amend the representation ; and in addition to those persons previously qualified to register and vote in county elections, occupiers of tenements *rated in the last Poor-rate* at a net annual value of £12 and upwards, are entitled to vote in elections for counties, subject to registration, in accordance with the act, and to certain limitations therein ; also owners of cetain estates of the rated net annual value of £5. But no persons are to be entitled to vote in counties in respect of

* We give two suggestive passages from this performance : "Whatever may be the difficulties that attend the discussion of the question, any man who can contribute ever so little to its investigation does some service to his country. To say that the land question is the most important part of all Irish public questions, but feebly expresses its magnitude. It would be nearer the truth to say, that it forms the whole. While the "unsatisfactory relations" between the owners and occupiers of the soil continue, there can never be peace or prosperity in the land. Let these relations be placed on a satisfactory basis, and all other questions will very soon adjust themselves. The question, however, is not exclusively of Irish interest It is true that, so far as Ireland is concerned, it involves nothing less than the continued existence in their own land of the old Irish race. But, in the face of troubles which are gathering and darkening over Europe, it is not too much to say, that the continuance of England's greatness may depend upon her being able to satisfy and conciliate that race in their native land.

"English statesmen must ask themselves whether the British Empire can afford to lose the hardy and bold population, portion of which every month is now transferring itself to the other side of the Atlantic. They must seriously reflect on the danger which arises from sending a hostile and embittered Irish colony to the American continent. All the emigrants who are now leaving the country carry with them the most determined hatred of British power. Those whom they leave behind sympathize in their feelings, and whenever the opportunity occurs, the Irish abroad and a large portion of the Irish at home will be ready to aid any attempt that can strike a blow at that power.

tenements in virtue of which they may be entitled to vote in boroughs. In boroughs, occupiers rated in the last Poor-rate at £8 and upwards are entitled to vote, subject to registration and certain limitations in the act. By the 13th and 14th Vic., chap. 68, the polling at contested elections is to continue in counties for two days only, and in cities and boroughs for one day only; the returning officer is to provide booths, so that not more than six hundred voters shall poll at each booth for a county, and two hundred for a city or borough. The number of electors registered under the new act, on January 1, 1851, was one hundred and sixty-three thousand five hundred and forty-six, being one hundred and thirty-five thousand two hundred and forty-five in the counties, and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and one in the cities and boroughs."

This enlargement of the electoral basis was undoubtedly a seeming advantage—assuming that the Irish representation in a British Parliament is a thing desirable. But it was not in the nature of the Whigs, nor, indeed, of the Tories, to concede to Ireland even an apparent advantage, and not accompany the "boon" with an outrage. Lord John Russell flung us the Franchise act with one hand, and with the other a new Cöercion law, and the "Ecclesiastical Titles act." As for the former, it was only the usual atrocity; this time under the title of an "Act for the better Prevention of Crime and Outrage in Ireland;" with the customary powers, to proclaim districts, to quarter police on them, to search for arms, to keep everybody at home after sunset, and to transport delinquents. There was nothing uncommon in this; and the uncommon and exceptional thing for Irishmen would have been to find themselves living under the civil laws of the land. But the other measure, (Ecclesiastical Titles bill,) needs further notice.

In the summer of this year, 1850, arrived in England a most startling document; nothing less than a Papal Brief, direct from Rome, directing the English Catholic "Vicars Apostolic"—who were Bishops, in fact, possessing all episcopal jurisdiction—to assume the true titles of their Sees, as Bishop of Hexham, Bishop of Birmingham, and so forth; and further appointing the illustrious Doctor Wiseman a Cardinal and first Archbishop of Westminster. The soil of Protestant England was thus mapped out by a foreign prince into separate governments, (dioceses,) and placed under the control of certain Popish priests; in utter disdain of the exclusive rights of the Anglican Church and of the Queen as its Pope and head. Here was papal aggression! Immediately arose a vehement "No-popery" excitement throughout England. It is true, that the Pope herein exercised the undoubted jurisdiction which he possessed in things spiritual over his Church; and which he had long notoriously exercised under other names and forms. Still, it was against the "law"—that is, against some of the old penal laws, yet unrepealed, but always violated, to introduce into Great Britain or Ireland any Papal Bull, Brief, Rescript, or writing whatsoever. And then the high tone assumed (necessarily) by the Pope, in his Brief, and by Cardinal Wiseman in promulgating it, appeared to the enlightened mind of Protestant England, to amount to nothing less than Jezebel herself, formally entering in and taking possession.

At once there was a shout of alarm and wrath, from all the ends of England and Scotland, to which the Irish Orangemen, of course, contributed their best vociferation. County meetings were held, all over England, to denounce this audacious "Papal aggression;" and platforms, pulpits, and press rung for months with the old and well-worn denunciations against Jezebel, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the whole mystery of iniquity generally. Lord John Russell, a statesman who hated Catholics and their religion, with all the venom of his small, shriveled, and spiteful soul, and who was distressed besides by the late concession of franchise to certain Catholics in Ireland, Lord John Russell, though Prime Minister of the Queen, was not above the paltry task of stimulating this ignoble rage. He selected the 4th of November, the day before the anniversary of the "Gunpowder Plot," to publish in the newspapers a letter to the Bishop of Durham, expressing alarm and indignation, "but less alarm than indignation," at the daring invasion of England

by the Pope of Rome; enlarging upon the enormity of Catholic doctrines, and terming Catholic worship "superstitious mummery." His lordship, however, though he saw great cause for apprehension, assured the Bishop that the noble Protestant State of England should never, never be yielded up into the hands of a foreign priest. Next day was the fifth, when Guy Fawkes is always burned in effigy. This time there was in many towns of England, and especially in London, an astonishing uproar of "No-Popery" zeal; multitudinous processions celebrated the occasion; orators spouted out of Fox's Martyrs, (taking care to say nothing of the martyrs that Protestants had made,) and the ignorant masses were inflamed to madness by pictures of the racks and pincers which they were assured were shortly to be introduced into England, under the new Papal Bull. Instead of Guy Fawkes, they burned effigies of the Pope, of the Virgin, of Cardinal Wiseman; and swore deep oaths, under the influence of deep potations, that they would all die, with the Bible on their bosoms, before they would submit to the tyranny of the Propaganda and the pincers of the Inquisition. It would have been an insane action, on the part of any Catholic priest, to allow himself to be seen in the streets upon that evening.

The conclusion of this affair of "Papal Aggression" belongs to the following year, 1851; but we may here anticipate a little. Lord John Russell lost no time in availing himself of the stupid fanaticism of his countrymen. Parliament met again in February, 1851; he made the chief feature in the Queen's speech this very affair of the Pope's Bull; and made her earnestly recommend to Parliament efficient action upon so important a subject. A bill was at once introduced by his lordship, absolutely prohibiting the assumption of the title of any existing See, or of any title whatsoever, from *any place* in the United Kingdom, under a penalty of £100 for each such offence. This was an extension of the provisions of the Catholic Relief act of 1829, which imposed the same penalty on the assumption of the title to any *existing See* only. That prohibition in Ireland, and the penalty attached to it, had been always entirely neglected and ignored by the Catholic hierarchy; and the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh signed himself Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, just as the other one did. In the new ecclesiastical division of England, however, care had been taken to avoid giving to Catholic Bishops the precise titles of Protestant Sees —except in one instance—and, therefore, it became necessary for the legislators against Papal Aggression to extend the prohibition and penalty to all territorial titles whatsoever, derived from any place in the three kingdoms.

The new bill, which was intended to be highly stringent and menacing—a new and formidable bulwark to the Reformation in England—was only on its passage when Lord John Russell's Government went out, and the Tories, under Lord Derby, came in. It made no difference in this case. The bill to repress "Papal Aggression" was not only taken up by the new administration, but was eventually passed, with amendments, extending the penalty to the introduction of *any* document or rescript from Rome, as well as the one lately arrived, and further empowering and inviting any common informer to prosecute. The bill was carried through all its stages by immense majorities, English Whigs and English Tories being once more an unit on this vital matter; and, thereafter, it was not only to be illegal for the Archbishop of Westminster to sign himself Archbishop of Westminster, but for the Archbishop of Armagh to take the title of his undoubted office, under the penalty of £100 for each offence.

On the passage of this bill, it was really believed by ignorant Protestants, that a new and mighty bulwark had been set up against the Pope, and that the "Reformation" was at length secured. Much to the surprise of these ignorant Protestants, no notice whatever was taken of the new law by English Bishops or by Irish Bishops. Indeed, Doctor MacHale, the bold Archbishop of Tuam, who has the spirit of a patriot and, if need be, of a martyr, took an early occasion of publicly violating the new law, by reading in his cathedral the actual rescript of the Pope, and inviting any informer, or priest-hunter, who might wish

to earn a hundred pounds, to institute a prosecution against him. The law was never executed in a single instance. Doctor Newman signed his name in public documents as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and the Archbishop of Armagh continued to style himself Primate of All Ireland. The "Law" stands on record upon the scandalous chronicle of English legislation as a mere impotent example of No-Popery spite.

Why was this law, passed by immense majorities, and with every appearance of determination, never enforced in a single case? Why were not the Catholic Bishops prosecuted under its provisions? The answer is too obvious—the Irish Catholic bishops have been so useful to the British Government, ever since the Union, in preserving the "peace of the country;" that is, its perpetual subjugation to England, that it was not safe to make enemies of them. On this subject we may trust the Rev. Father Perraud, who thus expresses himself in his able work on Ireland.* "It is useless to conceal the fact; it is not the regiments encamped in Ireland; it is not the militia of twelve thousand *peelers* distributed over the whole of the surface of the land, which prevents revolt and preserves the peace. During a long period, especially in the last century, the excess of misery to which Ireland was reduced, had multiplied, even in the most Catholic counties, the *secret societies* of the peasantry. At this very moment, it is said, America is making great efforts to entice patriotic young men into those obscure associations in which men *swear hatred to governments*, in which are prepared the conspiracies against *public institutions*, in which are silently organized social wars. . . But, who have ever been so energetic in resistance to secret societies as the Irish episcopacy? Who have denounced these *illegal* associations with the most persevering, powerful, and formidable condemnation? On more than one occasion the Bishops have even hazarded their popularity in this way; they could at a signal have armed a million combatants against a persecuting government; *and that signal they refused to give.*"

Passing over the various singular misstatements of the reverend writer—that secret societies in Ireland swear hatred to governments in general, instead of the English Government *alone*—that they conspire against "public institutions" generally, instead of the institutions of famine and packed juries, and the rest of our British institutions—and that they organize "social war," instead of war against the English troops—passing over these errors one thing is, at least, evident from the pages of the *Père* Perraud—that the Catholic Bishops take credit to themselves for preserving British institutions and British Government in Ireland.† It is possible that they are entitled to this credit, such as it is. And herein lies the reason why they were never prosecuted under the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill." The English Government did not enforce its own law, because it dared not. ‡

The Parliamentary session of 1850 is further notable as the occasion of a discussion upon the Orange outrage at Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan, in the County Down. The transaction had taken place in the July of the year before, at the usual celebration of the Orange anniversary. It happened in this manner: The Orangemen of various districts of that region had assembled, marching by various routes, at the splendid demesne called Tollymore Park, the seat of the Earl of Roden, one of the highest dignitaries of their Order. One of the parties had marched through an exclusively Catholic district, and in the true spirit of the anniversary, had insulted the peaceable people with the flaunting of their Orange banners and lilies, and by playing

* *Etudes sur l' Irland contemporaine.* Par le R. P. Adolphe Perraud. Paris: 1862.

† M. Perraud had made two visits to Ireland, in order to collect materials for his valuable work; had communicated freely with the Catholic Bishops; and must be supposed to speak *for them* in claiming merit for them on account of their loyal efforts.

‡ It is observable that Father Perraud speaks of the Bishops as denouncing "illegal associations." But there is no society in Ireland so *illegal* as the Catholic Episcopacy. No White-Boy, Young Irelander, or "Fenian," ever more deliberately broke the law than those Bishops habitually do, in taking the title of their Sees, and in reading Rescripts from Rome.

before the poor cabins the tune of "Croppies Lie Down."* After the muster at Tollymore Park, a dinner, and some drink, and a speech from Lord Roden concerning the Mystery of Iniquity, and the duty of all good Protestants — if they were to be martyred for their faith—at least to die with their Bibles clasped to their bosoms, it was determined to march back by way of Dolly's Brae. One Beers, a very ignorant Orange magistrate, accompanied them. Violent proceedings were expected to occur upon the passage by Dolly's Brae, and might have been prevented by Lord Roden and other magistrates present at the banquet, if they had used their influence to prevent the march by that particular road; but it was thought advisable to give the Papists a lesson; and the Lodges started for Dolly's Brae. It appeared, on the subsequent investigation, that so strong was the reason to apprehend disturbance as to induce some magistrates to send forward a strong force of police. On the arrival of the Orangemen in the townland, it was found that most of the inhabitants were gathered near the roadside, whether for mutual protection or for active resistance to the Orange march in that direction, did not clearly appear; but the latter motive was unlikely, as the Catholics were quite unarmed, save with a few scythes and hayforks. An immediate collision took place, of course. The chief of police led his men at once into the scene of disorder, ascertaining to his own satisfaction, as usual, that the Catholics were solely to blame, and were the atrocious aggressors, he directed all the efforts of his force against them. In short, by the joint operations of the armed Orangemen and the armed police, the unarmed Papists were victoriously defeated; several corpses were left upon the field, and most of the houses were burned or wrecked.

Such was the day of Dolly's Brae. A lawyer was sent down from Dublin as a "Commissioner," on the usual pretence of examining into the facts, and collecting the evidence; and it appears that his report was not so grossly partial as had been expected; for Lord Clarendon could not avoid the plain necessity of dismissing from the Commission of the Peace both Lord Roden and Beers. It was on this report that the debate arose in Parliament, and many severe judgments were expressed of the conduct of the Irish Government in encouraging and arming such a banditti as the Orangemen. Lord Clarendon, who attended in his place in the House of Peers upon

* The usual Orange style is thus described by one who knew the North of Ireland well: "In some districts of that country, Protestants are the majority of the people; the old policy of the "government" has been to arm the Protestants and disarm the Catholics. The magistrates at all sessions are Orangemen or high British loyalists. In those districts, therefore, Catholics lead the lives of dogs—lie down in fear and rise up with foreboding; their worship is insulted, and their very funerals are made an occasion of riot. One of the July anniversaries comes round—the days of Aughrim and the Boyne; the pious Evangelicals must celebrate those disastrous but hard fought battles where William of Nassau, with his army of French Huguenots, Danes, and Dutchmen, overthrew the power of Ireland, and made the noble old Celtic race hewers of wood and drawers of water even unto this day. Lodges assemble at some central point, with drums and fifes playing the "Protestant boys." At the rendezvous are the Grand Masters, with their sashes and aprons —a beautiful show. Procession formed, they walk in Lodges, each with its banner of orange or purple, and garlands of orange lilies borne high on poles. Most have arms, yeomanry-muskets or pistols, or ancient swords, whetted for the occasion. They arrive at some other town or village, dine in the public-houses, drink the "glorious, pious and immortal memory of King William," and "To Hell with the Pope;" re-form their procession after dinner, and *then* comes the time for Protestant action. They march through a Papist townland: at every house they stop, and play "Croppies lie down!" and the Boyne Water, firing a few shots over the house at the same time. The doors are shut—the family in terror—the father standing on the floor with knitted brows and teeth clenched through the nether lip, grasping a pitchfork, (for the police long since found out and took away his gun.) Bitter memories of the feuds of ages darken his soul—Outside, with taunting music, and brutal jests and laughter, stand in their ranks the Protestant communicants. The old grandmother can endure no longer: she rushes out with gray hair streaming, and kneels on the road before them, she clasps her old thin hands, and curses them in the name of God and his Holy Mother. Loud laughs are the answer, and a shot or two over the house, or in through the window. The old crone in frantic exasperation takes up a stone and hurls it with feeble hand against the insulting crew. There; the first assault is committed; everything is lawful now: smash go the unglazed windows and their frames; zealous Protestants rush into the house raging; the man is shot down at his own threshold; the cabin is wrecked; and the procession, playing "Croppies lie down!" proceeds to another Popish den.

"So the Reformation is vindicated. The names of Ballyvarley and Tullyorier will rise to the lips of many a man who reads this description."

this occasion, defended his proceedings as he best could ; and in particular, he most emphatically denied that in 1848 he had furnished arms to Orange Lodges. He said that, in fact, a certain Captain Kennedy (at the time of the debate serving in India,) had given money out of his own pocket to provide arms for Lodges ; but he, Lord Clarendon, was quite innocent of any such proceedings. It is scarcely necessary to say that nobody believed his lordship. What had been charged was, that not money, but *arms*, had been sent from Dublin Castle to Belfast for distribution amongst Orangemen ; and, besides, if the money given by Captain Kennedy came, in fact, out of the Secret Service fund, Lord Clarendon, as the distributor of that fund in Ireland, would have felt it his right and his duty to deny the fact when charged. It is an official necessity ; because, otherwise, there would be nothing secret nor sacred in Secret Service money.

It only remains to be mentioned, that no person was ever brought to justice for the predetermined massacre of Dolly's Brae.

At this point—the middle of the current century—the present history closes. It leaves in full operation the whole system of British rule in Ireland. Every department of Irish life was brought under complete subordination to English interests ; and the arrangements seemed to be perfect for preventing national aspirations or national interests in Ireland from ever again becoming a disturbing element in the course of imperial policy. The Celtic population was securely put in the way of steady diminution.* The famine was past ; and the people were continually called on by the smooth-spoken Viceroy, to rejoice in the return of prosperity ; yet there was still a multitudinous rush to the sea, in order to escape from such prosperity. The emigration from Ireland, in 1851, amounted to two hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-two. The number of paupers relieved in the poor houses in 1850, was eight hundred and five thousand seven hundred and two, without counting nearly four hundred thousand who were receiving "out-door relief." No attempt had been made to secure to the tenant by just laws any right whatsoever in the improvements he might make on his farm. Extermination of peasantry was not only the practice but the fashion ; and ruthless consolidation of farms had come to be thought the criterion of high intelligence, and even philanthropy in an Irish proprietor ; because it proved that he had studied the "Devon Commission" report, and appreciated the conclusions of the Commissioners.

In the same year, 1850, the Government was holding in its own hands, by means of the Savings Banks, the earnings and savings of poor Irish people to the amount of £1,291,798 ; so that every industrious artizan and careful maid-servant who had made a deposit, was directly interested to the amount of such a deposit, in maintaining what is called "the peace of the country," that is to say, submitting implicitly to the British system, and influencing others to submit.

The Established Church and the police were flourishing ; the Orangemen were as insolent and ferocious as they had ever been ; and the Cöercion act (for suppression of "Crime and Outrage,") was always ready in the Castle, to be launched at a moment's warning against any barony or county in the land. Yet the truth is, that Ireland was at that time remarkably free from crimes and outrages, (except those perpetrated against her people,) and it is instructive to remark, that crimes and outrages were at the same time steadily on the increase in England and Scotland. A speech in Parliament of Lord John Russell, contains a wonderful revelation upon this point.† His lordship stated, that in one year, (1857,) the *convictions* in Great Britain were—for "shooting, stabbing, and wounding," two hundred and eight ; for highway robbery, three hundred and seventy-eight ; for burglary and housebreaking, one thousand and thirty-four ; for forgery, one hundred and eighty-four ; a catalogue which could by no means be matched in Ireland. However, those English and

* It is now, (1868,) considerably under six millions.

† It is cited by Sir Archibald Alison, in Chapter 56 of his History.

Scotch crimes and outrages were not done in assertion of public right, or resistance of public wrong; that is to say, they were real crimes and outrages; they did not alarm the higher classes; and had seldom any social, political, or religious character. Therefore, it never entered into the mind of Government or Parliament to apply their "Crime and Outrage act" to England or Scotland. In other words, the series of Cöercion laws for Ireland have always been proposed and passed under a false pretence; they are not to prevent crime, but to keep the people forever helpless in the hands of their mortal enemies. They are not measures for reformation of society, but engines and arms for perpetuation of British rule in Ireland.

While our country was so rapidly sinking to beggary, and diminishing in population, it may be useful to cast a glance at the progress of the other island. This cannot be done better than by quoting a passage from Alison, (*chap.* 56,) in which he gives a general view of English affairs during a period of four years: "From 1848," he says, "to 1853, the effects of free-trade were displayed, undisturbed by any other or counteracting influences. *Plenty had again returned*, and spread its sunshine over the land. The harvest of 1847 had been so favorable, that at Lord John Russell's suggestion, a public thanksgiving was offered up for it;* and this blessing continued unabated in a sensible degree throughout the period." The same historian proceeds to give statements exhibiting the enormous development of English commerce and wealth during the same period of four years, by reason of the gold discoveries in California and in Australia. But nothing of all that prosperity is for Ireland. Having scarcely any manufactures, she has no commerce, except her fatal commerce with England, under that "free-trade" which cheapens all which she has to sell, and makes dearer to that precise amount everything which she is forced to buy.

It may, therefore, be affirmed that in or about the year 1850, Ireland became thoroughly subjugated, without almost a hope of escape. Everything was fitted to the hand of her enemy, and that enemy made most unrelenting use of the advantage.

The Catholic bishops counseled obedience and submission; the formidable kind of "agitation" devised by O'Connell had become altogether impossible: because in the first place the very material for it, (the "surplus population,") had been swept off the face of the earth, and besides the English Government had now so firm a hold of the poor, through "Crime and Outrage acts," police and poor-laws, that it was more difficult than formerly to move the masses.

Parliamentary efforts, or rather pretences of effort, were made from time to time, to obtain ameliorations of some grievance or other. These pretences of effort, if they really tended to any good for Ireland, were always defeated, or rather indeed, spurned by Parliament with disdain and insult, as it was always known they would be: and the total result of those Parliamentary movements may be defined as consisting of a few places distributed to rhetorical patriots. Thus, far from the Irish representation in Parliament serving as means of asserting Irish rights or interests, it helps to rivet the chains of our unhappy island, by opening a market overt, where patriots may be purchased, (while still vociferating for justice to Ireland,) and so silenced forever.

Whatever has been effected for the good of the Irish people, whether to promote their moral and intellectual culture, or even to aid them in saving their lives, has been done exclusively by themselves. Two wonderful examples of this nature must be mentioned: *first*, the establishment of the Catholic University; and *second*, the immense fund which has been systematically contributed for some years by Irish people settled in the United States to aid their friends in escaping from British government.

It has already been seen, in the course of this history, what rigorous means were used during the last century to prevent the Catholic people, under the heaviest penalties, from being educated at all; and how the extraordinary eagerness for education on the part of those people had impelled them

* The harvest of 1847 was also very abundant in Ireland, and it was one of the deadliest years of famine. The English offered thanksgivings to God for the Irish harvests, and then devoured them.

to seek in foreign schools and universities the instruction which none dared to give them at home; although there were both great risk and enormous expense incurred in these efforts to obtain contraband learning. It was the true English horror of "French principles," about the time of the great French Revolution, which caused the penal laws against education to be relaxed; but no measures were taken by the enemy's government to supply the place of that continental education for many years after, and when at last the "National Schools" were established, and, later still, when the three "Queen's Colleges" were built and endowed, it was found that the National Schools were so constituted as to be extremely unnational, or anti-national; and that the Queen's Colleges were still more adroitly arranged to wean Catholic students both from national sentiment, and from the faith and morals of their church. Such, at least, was the judgment of the majority of the Irish bishops and clergy; and when we reflect upon the two chairs of history and moral philosophy, which must exist in every university, and on the effect of training up Catholic youth in the British principles upon these subjects, and causing them to regard human life and history from a strictly British point of view, it cannot be matter of wonder if the Catholic hierarchy lifted its voice against the new plans of education imposed on us by a London Parliament. In short, there was a necessity to provide some other and better system for the collegiate education of Catholic youth, and therefore, in the year 1854, pursuant to a recommendation coming from Rome, the Irish bishops formally instituted a free Catholic University, destined, like the Church (whose offspring it was,) to subsist only upon the charity of the faithful, and to be completely independent of the State. Yet all this while the wealthy Protestant Corporation of Trinity College was maintained in splendor by estates plundered from Catholic monasteries, and the "Queen's Colleges" were kept up at the public cost, to which the Catholics, as tax-payers, of course had to contribute their full share. There was nothing, indeed, new in all this: they had been long used to maintain schools and churches for others, and to find the means of providing for their own religious services, and instruction also, as best they could.

The Board of the Catholic University of Dublin consists of the four archbishops, and two other prelates for each province. The institution comprises five faculties: those of theology, law, medicine, belles-lettres, and science. Its government is carried on by a committee of archbishops and bishops, meeting once a year. The immediate and ordinary administration is conducted by the "Senate" of the university, consisting of the rector and vice-rector, the secretary, the professors, the superiors of certain institutions dependent on the University, and the Fellows.* A yearly collection, made in every diocese, provides for the expenses of the foundation. The spirit and zeal with which this great national enterprize has been sustained, form an admirable illustration of the unselfish devotedness of the Irish people to an object which they believe to be good, or in other words, anti-English. In the year 1859, they had already bestowed freely—and given their blessing along with it—the considerable sum of £80,000 sterling, for promotion of this noble object; and every year, even in the poorest chapels among the mountains of remote parishes, the appeal of the parish priest in favor of an institution blessed by the Pope and the bishops, brings forth an offering even from the poorest.

All this great work has been done, it is true, in contravention of the views and policy of the British Government, not only without its help, but under the frown of its displeasure. The Catholic University has no charter of incorporation, and no legal right to confer degrees in arts or laws. In the eyes of the Government, it is but a private association, tolerated but not recognized, as indeed the Catholic Church itself is.

Another strange and admirable example of the generous zeal of the Irish people in resisting the utter destruction of their race, is seen in the regular and systemized aid furnished by Irish citizens of the United

* *Rules and Regulations.* § 7. The institutions dependent on the Catholic University are those of St. Patrick, St. Lawrence, (Harcourt street,) Carmel and Corpus Christi.

States, to assist their friends and relatives in withdrawing themselves from the domination of England, and establishing themselves in a free country. The emigration of what is called the "surplus population" of Ireland, has been aided and furthered in several ways. The landed-proprietors, with a view to facilitate the consolidation of farms, and also to reduce the burden of poor-rates in their respective "unions," have largely contributed to help the emigration of the poor people whom they themselves exterminate; but this is a matter of private arrangement, and no *data* exist for even approximating to the amount supplied from this source. In 1848 the Poor-Law Unions were invited by the Government to cöoperate in the movement of deportation, in order to furnish a gratuitous passage to such poor persons as had no other resource than expatriation. But this was to be at the expense of the Irish rate-payers, and was, moreover, to be in strict accordance with the views of the British Government itself. The emigration, thus promoted, was, therefore, to be almost entirely to the British Colonies, especially Australia. From 1847 to 1859 inclusive, the unions contributed about £100,000 to the cost of emigration, removing from Ireland about 25,000 persons. But this was a trifle: the great rush of emigrants was to the United States, and the cost of the immense exodus was mainly provided for by the savings of Irish citizens already settled in that Republic.

The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, in their twelfth report, state that they do not believe that "The emigration will be arrested by anything short of a great improvement in the position of the laboring population in Ireland; all those obstacles which in ordinary cases would be opposed to so wholesale an emigration, appear in the case of the Irish to be smoothed away. The misery which they have for many years endured, has destroyed the attachment to their native soil, the numbers who have already emigrated and prospered, remove the apprehension of going to a strange and untried country, while the want of means is remedied by the liberal contributions of their relations and friends who have preceded them. The contributions so made, either in the form of prepaid passages, or of money sent home, and which are almost exclusively provided by the Irish, were returned to us, as in

1848,	upwards of	£460,000
1849,	"	540,000
1850,	"	957,000
1851,	"	990,000

And although it is probable that all the money included in these returns is not expended in emigration, yet as we have reason to know that much is sent home of which these returns show no trace, it seems not unfair to assume that of the money expended in Irish emigration in each of the last four years, a very large proportion was provided from the other side of the Atlantic."

The Abbé Perraud, in his *Etudes sur l' Irlande Contemporaine*, says: "From the returns furnished by American bankers, the Emigration Commissioners give the precise amount of these remittances of money; but for North America only. The total for thirteen years, (1848–61,) is £11,674,596 sterling. These statistics apply, indeed, to the emigrants from the three kingdoms; but as the Irish are in the immense majority, so it is the Irish who remit the far larger proportion of the money." It must be added, that the reports made up by American bankers, can represent only a portion of the remittances from Irish citizens to their friends at home, because much money is sent through other channels, which cannot enter into those returns. On the whole, however, it is evident that the strong natural affection of the Irish for their parents and relatives, and their constant and ardent desire to deliver them from an odious bondage, have in this instance materially served the policy of the British Government, which is, to get rid of the Celtic enemy by any and by all means.

And, for the present, the policy of that Government seems to be eminently successful. The Celtic Irish in Ireland have greatly diminished in numbers, and are still diminishing. Yet there is another aspect of this affair: a vast mass of Irish power and Irish passion has been gathering and growing in the United States, all of it cherishing a mortal hatred of the British Empire, and a fierce thirst of vengeance on their enemies, as well as a loving and generous desire to

emancipate their native country from the bitter thraldom of so many ages. From the Celtic Irish on the American continent, arises one universal cry of execration against English dominion and English ideas. With independent means, a fair career for industry, and an increased and still increasing acquaintance with the story of their native country, there has grown up in their hearts an intense desire to right the wrongs of centuries, to lift up their kinsfolk and ancient clansmen out of the abject misery in which British policy requires them to be kept, and to see their countrymen in fair and full possession of the lovely land where Providence has placed them. This is a dangerous matter for the British Empire.

For the present, indeed, it may seem, that by the operation of all the well-devised arrangements for getting rid of the Irish people, what used to be called the "Irish Difficulty" has become more manageable; the "Irish Enemy," if not wholly destroyed, is at least disarmed and bound. No way of redress is left open except a violent revolution; and for this the people of Ireland and their kinsmen in America only await the opportunity of a war which shall tax the strength of their enemy.

A tabular summary of the financial condition of the country, (as furnished by her enemy,) up to the year 1852, may fitly close this story. It is to be observed upon these official returns, that we have no means of checking them, because our books are kept in England. Yet one or two remarks are obvious:—

Most Irishmen are of opinion that they do not receive value for the charge on account of "Army, Navy, and Ordnance;" believing, in fact, that the money would be much better spent in destroying those British services [*Tabular Summary, see next page.*]

CONCLUSION.

The compiler of this continuation of the Abbé MacGeoghegan's History of Ireland, purposely stops short of the most recent events which have agitated that country, and disquieted and exasperated England The time for relating the history of those events has not yet arrived. It may be said, however, that a powerful illustration has been thereby given to the fact, that while England is at peace with other powerful nations, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make so much as a serious attempt at a national insurrection, in the face of a government so vigilant and so well prepared.

The high patriotic enthusiasm that impelled many brave Irishmen in America to fly across the Atlantic and devote to the rescue of their country that art of war which they had learned chiefly to that end, their experience in training men, the gallantry of the peasants, their extensive secret organizations—all seemed to break and dissolve away in the very hour of highest hope and resolve. All honor be to the men who made the daring effort, and staked their lives upon it. Whatever judgment may be formed of others, *they*, at least, "stood the cast their rashness played," and the best of them are expiating in dungeons the crime of loving their country and striving to serve her—just as Irishmen have generally expiated that offence for many ages. Yet no cause is utterly lost so long as it can inspire heroic devotion. No country is hopelessly vanquished whose sons love her better than their lives.

ACCOUNT of the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of IRELAND, in the Years ending 5th January, from 1847 to 1852, inclusive; showing the whole of the Ways and Means provided within the same period, together with the application thereof.—[*House of Commons Papers, No.* 528, 1849; *No.* 600, 1850; *No.* 477, 1851; *No.* 504, 1852.]

INCOME.	1847. £ s. d.	1848. £ s. d.	1849. £ s. d.	1850. £ s. d.	1851. £ s. d.	1852. £ s. d.
Net Payments into the Exchequer of the following several Duties or Revenues, viz.:—						
Customs,	2,258,043 7 9	2,009,132 10 5	2,069,772 16 11	1,941,122 1 5	1,827,289 9 10	1,654,268 5 7
Excise,	1,467,060 4 5	1,152,931 12 1	1,321,914 19 9	1,251,548 8 3	1,312,122 15 10	1,348,911 6 5
Stamps,	573,766 10 4	567,996 9 1	632,924 8 6	502,072 19 1	462,691 1 11	451,534 5 11
Postage,	29,000 0 0	59,000 0 0	39,000 0 0	26,000 0 0	— — —	5,000 0 0
Crown Lands,	—	—	—	—	— — —	— — —
Poundage Fee, Pells Fee, Treasury Fees, Hospital Fees, and Casualties,	6,062 5 4	5,698 18 4	4,835 1 6	6,632 17 1	5,744 2 7	8,999 11 10
Total Ordinary Revenue	4,339,932 7 10	3,794,759 9 11	3,968,447 6 8	3,707,376 5 10	3,607,847 19 2	3,668,713 9 9
Moneys remaining in the Exchequer at the commencement of the year	791,504 8 7½	702,151 3 10½	834,453 7 11½	815,371 13 9½	1,026,990 8 10½	621,891 8 8½
Other Receipts:—						
Repayment of Money Advanced for Public Works and other Public objects,	352,641 17 2	484,924 5 1	304,927 9 0	621,155 6 11	480,741 16 3	327,498 11 1½
Moneys Repaid by Public Accountants, and other Miscellaneous Payments,	5,887 19 0	46,160 5 0	2,000 16 9	8,928 3 3	6,063 5 5	4,469 16 6
Total Income,	5,489,966 12 7½	5,027,995 3 10½	5,109,829 0 4½	5,147,831 9 9½	5,121,643 9 8½	4,622,573 5 8
EXPENDITURE.						
Dividends, Interest, and Management of Public Funded Debt, payable in Ireland,	1,315,550 3 10	1,347,611 17 2	1,391,586 14 7	1,386,101 1 2	1,373,222 4 0	1,394,097 17 1
Other Payments out of the Consolidated Fund,	902,855 15 0	849,082 4 8	949,957 12 4	939,321 18 10	909,836 1 0	854,272 7 2
Total Payments out of the Consolidated Fund,	2,218,405 18 10	2,196,694 1 10	2,341,544 6 11	2,325,423 0 0	2,283,058 5 0	2,248,370 4 3
Payments on account of Grants of Parliaments, viz.:						
Army,	1,143,980 0 0	910,000 0 0	695,000 0 0	626,000 0 0	785,000 0 0	585,000 0 0
Navy,	3,940 0 0	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Ordnance,	105,000 0 0	91,850 0 0	31,400 0 0	— — —	— — —	— — —
Miscellaneous,	468,463 13 6	642,640 12 3	554,216 13 9	565,908 11 7	664,049 3 1	611,382 4 8
Other Payments:—						
Money Advanced out of the Consolidated Fund for Public objects,	790,214 3 5	302,022 17 6	695,738 9 7	554,336 14 6	728,272 1 2	300,493 7 9
Total Expenditure,	4,730,003 15 9	4,143,207 11 7	4,247,899 10 3	4,071,668 6 1	4,460,379 9 3	3,745,245 16 1
Application of the Ways and Means provided:—						
Applied to the Redemption of Exchequer Bills, per Act 57, Geo. III., cap. 48 (Deficiency Bills.)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sums remitted through the Excise in Ireland, to the Exchequer in England,	51,811 13 0	50,334 4 4	46,557 16 4	49,177 14 10	39,372 12 2	101,868 11 6
Money remaining in the Exchequer at the end of the year,	4,781,815 8 9	4,193,541 15 11	4,294,457 6 7	4,120,841 0 11	4,499,752 1 5	3,847,114 7 7
	702,151 3 10½	834,453 7 11½	815,371 13 9½	1,026,990 8 10½	621,891 8 3½	775,458 18 1
TOTAL,	5,488,966 12 7½	5,027,995 3 10½	5,109,829 0 4½	5,147,831 9 9½	5,121,643 9 8½	4,622,573 5 8

APPENDIX No. 1.

THE ARTICLES OF UNION.

Resolved, 1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 2. That for the purpose of establishing an Union upon the basis stated in the resolution of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, communicated by His Majesty's command in the message sent to this House by his excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, it would be fit to propose as the first article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one, and forever after, be united in one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, shall be such as His Majesty by his royal proclamation, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom shall be pleased to appoint.

Resolved, 3. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner, as the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

Resolved, 4. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 5. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and sinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland, that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the said United Parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same periods of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries, and that the Parliament of the United Kingdoms shall afterwards proceed in like manner, to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless previous to any such period the United Parliament shall have declared as hereinafter provided, that the general expenses of the empire shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes, imposed on the like articles in both countries.

Resolved, 6. That for defraying the said expenses, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the interest of the debt and sinking fund, shall, in the first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expense of the United Kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by these articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom respectively, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall from time to time deem fit, provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportion shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like articles.

Resolved, 7. That if at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution, and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be taken off the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the United Parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in case of contribu-

tion in time of war. *Provided*, The surplus so to accumulate, shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

Resolved, 8. That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan in peace or war, for the service of the United Kingdom by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions. *Provided*, That if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which, the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

Resolved, 9. That if at any future day, the separate debt of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund,) shall be to each other, in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the United Parliament, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expense of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the said United Parliament to declare, that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time as circumstances may require to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general expenses, according to any of the rules hereinbefore provided.

Provided, nevertheless, That the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionately as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

Resolved, 10. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union to such local purposes, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct.

Resolved, 11. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising from the territorial dependencies of the United Kingdom, shall be applied to the general expenditure of the empire, in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Resolved, 12. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that . . . . . lords spiritual of Ireland, and . . . . lords temporal of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Commons in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Resolved, 13. That such acts as shall be passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the act of the respective Parliaments, by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

Resolved, 14. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be, heard and decided, subject nevertheless, to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the Parliament of the said United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

Resolved, 15. That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law, in cases of elections for counties, and cities, and boroughs, respectively, in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Resolved, 16. That when His Majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding the first or any subsequent Parliament of the United Kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal and commons who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the Parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain shall together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid, on the part of Ireland, constitute the two Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Resolved, 17. That if His Majesty on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom; and such first Parliament may, (in that case,) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present Parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall, until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the Parliament of Great Britain.

Resolved, 18. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, should be united into one Church, and the archbishops, bishops, deans and clergy of the churches of England and Ireland shall, from time to time, be summoned to and entitled to sit in convocation of the United Church in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established, with respect to the like orders of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the United Church shall be preserved as now by law established for the Church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the Church of Scotland. And that the continuance and preservation forever of the said United Church, as the Established Church of that part of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union.

Resolved, 19. That for the same purpose, all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the Union be finally decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; and provided, that from and after the Union there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying this article into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

Resolved, 20. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom respectively and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, His Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

Resolved, 21. That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth or manufacture of either country to the other shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

Resolved, 22. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either Kingdom, not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties, shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as shall be annexed to the several articles contained in the Schedule No. 1;* and that the articles hereinafter enumerated shall be subject for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. II.* annexed to this article, viz.:

Apparel,	Millinery,
Brass wrought,	Paper, stained,
Cabinet Ware,	Pottery,
Coaches and carriages,	Saddlery,
Copper, wrought,	Silk, manufactured,
Cottons,	Stockings,
Glass,	Thread, bullion for lace,
Haberdashery,	pearl, and spangles,
Hats,	Tin plates, wrought iron,
Lace, gold and silver; gold and silver threads	and hardware.

And that the woolen manufacture shall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; salt and hops on importation into Ireland, duties not exceeding those which are now paid in Ireland; and coals on importation to be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicos and muslins be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced in such proportion, and at such periods as shall hereafter be enacted, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent. from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, which shall be in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton, yarn, and cotton twist, shall also be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced at such times, and in such proportions, as

* This refers to Schedules annexed to the resolutions, as originally introduced.

shall be hereafter enacted, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

Resolved, 23. That any articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect to such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said Schedule No. I. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty which shall be set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased in the manner herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty, payable on the articles hereinbefore specified, on the import into the same country with the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the United Parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth or manufacture of either country, or of any new additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

Resolved, 24. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

Resolved, 25. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expenses of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions. *Provided*, Nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied or repeated, from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

ORIGINAL RED LIST,

Or the Members who voted against the Union in 1799, *and* 1800, *with observations.*

Those names with a (*) affixed to them, are County Members; those with a (†) City Members; and those with a (§) Borough Members. Those in *Italics* CHANGED SIDES, and got either Money or Offices.

	NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
1.*	Honorable A. Acheson .	Son to Lord Gosford.
2.*	William C. Alcock . . .	County Wexford.
3.*	Mervyn Archdall . . .	County Fermanagh.
4.§	W. H. Armstrong . . .	Refused *all* terms from Government.
5.*	*Sir Richard Butler* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
6.*	*John Bagwell*	*Changed sides* TWICE. See Black List.
7.§	Peter Burrowes	Now Judge of the Insolvent Court; a steady Anti-Unionist.
8.*	*John Bagwell, Jun.* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
9.†	John Ball	Member for Drogheda—*incorruptible.*
10.†	Charles Ball	Brother to the preceding.
11.†	Sir Jonah Barrington . .	King's Counsel—Judge of the Admiralty—*refused all* terms.
12.§	Charles Bushe.	Afterwards Solicitor-General and Chief Justice of Ireland—incorruptible.
13.†	John C. Beresford . . .	*Seceded* from Mr. Ponsonby in 1799, on his declaration of independence. That secession was fatal to Ireland.
14.	*Arthur Brown*	Member for the University, *changed sides* in 1800; was appointed Prime Sergeant by Lord Castlereagh, through Mr. Under-Secretary Cooke—of all others the most open and palpable case. See Black List.
15.§	William Blakeney . . .	*A Pensioner*, but opposed Government.
16.*	William Burton	Sold his *Borough*, Carlow, to a Unionist (Lord Tullamore,) but remained staunch himself.
17.*	H. V. Brooke.	
18.§	Blayney Balfour.	
19.§	David Babington . . .	Connected with Lord Belmore.
20.†	Hon. James Butler . . .	(Now Marquis of Ormonde.) *voted in* 1800 *against a Union*, but with Government on Lord Corry's motion.
21.*	Col. J. Maxwell Barry . .	(Now Lord Farnham.) nephew to the Speaker.
22.§	*William Bagwell*	*Changed sides* TWICE, concluded as a *Unionist.* See Black List.

	NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
23*	Viscount Corry	(Now Lord Belmore,) dismissed from his regiment by Lord Cornwallis—a zealous leader of the Opposition.
24.†	*Robert Crowe*	A Barrister, bribed by Lord Castlereagh. See his Letter to Lord Belvidere.
25.*	Lord Clements	(Now Lord Leitrim.)
26.*	Lord Cole	(Now Lord Enniskillen,) *unfortunately* dissented from Mr. Ponsonby's motion for a declaration of independence in 1799, *whereby* the Union was revived and *carried*.
27.§	Hon. Lowry Cole . . .	A General; brother to Lord Cole.
28.*	R. Shapland Carew . . .	
29.†	*Hon. A. Creighton* . . .	*Changed sides*, and became a Unionist. See Black List.
30.†	*Hon. J. Creighton* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
31.*	Joseph Edward Cooper.	
32.†	*James Cane*	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
33.*	Lord Caulfield	(Now Earl Charlemont,) son to Earl Charlemont, a principal leader of the Opposition.
34.†	Henry Coddington.	
35.§	George Crookshank . . .	A son of the Judge of the Common Pleas.
36.*	Denis B. Daly	Brother-in-law to Mr. Ponsonby; a most active Anti-Unionist.
37.†	Noah Dalway.	
38.*	Richard Dawson.	
39.*	Arthur Dawson	Formerly a Banker, father to the late Under-Secretary.
40.*	Francis Dobbs	Famous for his Doctrine on the-Millennium; an ENTHUSIASTIC Anti-Unionist.
41.†	John Egan	King's Council, Chairman of Kilmainham; offered a Judge's seat, but could not be purchased, though far from rich.
42.	R. L. Edgeworth.	
43.†	George Evans.	
44.*	Sir John Freke, Bart., . .	(Now Lord Carberry.)
45.*	Frederick Falkiner . . .	Though a distressed person, could not be purchased.
46.§	Rt. Hon. J. Fitzgerald . .	Prime Sergeant of Ireland; could *not* be bought, and was dismissed from his high office by Lord Cornwallis; father to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald.
47.*	William C. Fortescue, (Poisoned by accident.) .	One of the three who inconsiderately opposed Mr. Ponsonby, *and thereby carried the Union.*
48.*	Rt. Hon. John Foster . .	Speaker; the chief of the Opposition throughout the whole contest.
49.*	Hon. Thomas Foster.	
50.*	*Sir T. Fetherston, Bart.* .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
51.*	Arthur French	Unfortunately coincided with Mr. Fortescue in 1799, against Mr. Ponsonby.
52.§	*Chichester Fortescue* . . .	King at Arms; *brought over in* 1800, by Lord Castlereagh; voted both sides; *ended* a Unionist.
53.§	*William Gore*	*Bought* by Lord Castlereagh in 1800.
54.§	Hamilton Georges . . .	A distressed man, but *could not* be purchased; father-in-law to Under-Secretary Cooke.
55.§	Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan.	
56.§	Thomas Goold	Now Sergeant, brought into Parliament by the Anti-Unionists.
57.†	Hans Hamilton	Member for Dublin County.
58.†	Edward Hardman . . .	City of Drogheda; the Speaker's friend.
59.§	Francis Hardy	Author of the Life of Charlemont; brother-in-law to the Bishop of Down.
60.§	Sir Joseph Hoare . . .	
61.*	William Hoare Hume . .	Wicklow County.
62.§	Edward Hoare	Though *very old*, and *stone blind*, attended all the debates, and sat up all the nights of debate.
63.§	Bartholomew Hoare . .	King's Counsel.
64.§	Alexander Hamilton . .	King's Counsel; son to the Baron.
65.§	Hon. A. C Hamilton.	
66.§	Sir F. Hopkins, Bart. . .	Prevailed on to take money to *vacate*, in 1800, and let in a Unionist.
67.†	H. Irwin.	
68.*	Gilbert King.	
69 †	Charles King.	
70.*	Hon. Robert King.	
71.*	Lord Kingsborough . .	(Now Earl Kingston.)
72.	Hon. George Knox . . .	Brother to Lord Northland; lukewarm.
73.†	Francis Knox	Vacated his seat for Lord Castlereagh. See Mr. Crowe's Letter.
74.*	Rt. Hon. Henry King . .	
75.†	Major King	He opened the Bishop of Clogher's Borough in 1800.
76.§	Gustavus Lambert . . .	Brother to Countess Talbot.
77.*	David Latouche, jun., . .	A Banker.
78.§	Robert Latouche . . .	Ditto.
79.§	John Latouche, sen., . .	Ditto.

	NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
80.§	John Latouche, jun., . .	A Banker.
81.*	Charles Powell Leslie.	
82.*	Edward Lee	Member for the County of Waterford; zealous.
83.†	Sir Thomas Lighton, Bart.,	A Banker.
84.*	Lord Maxwell	Died Lord Farnham.
85.*	Alexander Montgomery.	
86.§	Sir J. M'Cartney, Bart., .	Much distressed, but could not be bribed; nephew, by affinity, to the Speaker.
87.§	*William Thomas Mansel* .	Actually *purchased* by Lord Castlereagh.
88.§	*Stephen Moore*	Changed sides on Lord Corry's motion.
89.§	John Moore.	
90.	Arthur Moore	Now Judge of the Common Pleas; a staunch Anti-Unionist.
91.*	Lord Mathew	(Now Earl Llandaff,) Tipperary County.
92.§	Thomas Mahon.	
93.§	John Metge	Brother to the Baron of the Exchequer.
94.§	*Richard Neville*	Had been a dismissed treasury officer; *sold his vote to be reinstated, changed sides.* See Black List.
95.§	Thomas Newenham . .	The Author of various Works on Ireland; one of the steadiest Anti-Unionists.
96.*	Charles O'Hara	Sligo County.
97.*	Sir Edward O'Brien . .	Clare County.
98.§	Col. Hugh O'Donnel . .	A most *ardent* Anti-Unionist; dismissed from his regiment of Mayo militia.
99.§	James Moore O'Donnel .	Killed by Mr. Bingham in a duel.
100.§	Hon. W. O'Callaghan . .	Brother to Lord Lismore.
101.	Henry Osborn	Could not be bribed; his brother was.
102.*	Right Hon. Geo. Ogle .	Wexford County.
103.§	Joseph Preston	An eccentric character; could not be purchased.
104.*	*John Preston*	Of Belintor, was *purchased* by a title, (Lord Tara,) and his brother, a Parson, got a living of £700 a year.
105.*	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Parnell .	Chancellor of the Exchequer, dismissed by Lord Castlereagh; incorruptible.
106.§	Henry Parnell.*	
107.§	W. C. Plunket	Now Lord Plunket.
108.*	Rt. Hon. W. B. Ponsonby	Afterwards Lord Ponsonby.
109.§	J. B. Ponsonby	Afterwards Lord Ponsonby.
110.§	Major W. Ponsonby . .	A General, killed at Waterloo.
111.*	Rt. Hon. G. Ponsonby .	Afterwards Lord Chancellor; died of apoplexy.
112.*	Sir Lawrence Parsons .	Kings County; now Earl of Rosse; made a remarkably fine speech.
113.§	Richard Power	Nephew to the Baron of the Exchequer.
114.*	*Abal Ram*	*Changed sides.*
115.*	*Gustavus Rochfort* . .	County Westmeath; seduced by Government, and *changed sides* in 1800. See Black List.
116.§	John S Rochfort . . .	Nephew to the Speaker.
117.	Sir Wm. Richardson.	
118.§	*John Reily*	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
119.	William E. Reily.	
120.§	Charles Ruxton.	
121.§	William P. Ruxton.	
122.*	*Clotworthy Rowley* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
123.§	*William Rowley* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
124.§	*J. Rowley*	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
125.*	Francis Saunderson.	
126.*	William Smyth	Westmeath.
127.*	James Stewart.	
128.§	Hon. W. J. Skeffington.	
129.*	Francis Savage.	
130.§	Francis Synge.	
131.§	Henry Stewart.	
132.§	Sir R. St. George, Bart.	
133.§	*Hon. Benj. Stratford* . .	Now Lord Aldborough; gained by Lord Castlereagh; *changed sides.* See Black List.
134.*	Nathaniel Sneyd.	
135.*	*Thomas Stannus* . . .	*Changed sides,* Lord Portarlington's Member. See Black List.
136.§	Robert Shaw.	A Banker.
137.§	Rt. Hon. Wm. Saurin . .	Afterwards Attorney-General; a steady but calm Anti-Unionist.
138.§	William Tighe.	
139.§	Henry Tighe.	
140.§	John Taylor.	
141.§	Thomas Townshend.	

* Sir John Parnell was one of the ablest supporters of Government of his day. His son has taken assiduously a more extensive and deeper field of business in finance, but in any other point, public or private, has no advantage over his father.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
142.* *Hon. Richard Trench* . .	Voted against the Union in 1799; was gained by Lord Castlereagh, whose relative he married, and voted for it in 1800; was created an Earl, and made an Ambassador to Holland; one of the Vienna Carvers; and a Dutch Marquess.
143.* Hon. R. Taylor.	
144.§ Charles Vereker . . .	(Now Lord Gort,) City Limerick.
145.§ Owen Wynne.	
146.* John Waller.	
147.§ E. D. Wilson.	
148.* *Thomas Whaley* . . .	First voted *against* the Union; *purchased* by Lord Castlereagh; he was Lord Clare's brother-in-law. See Black List
149.* Nicholas Westby.	
150.* John Wolfe	Member for the County Wicklow; Colonel of the Kildare Militia; refused to vote for Government, and was cashiered; could not be purchased.

ORIGINAL BLACK LIST.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
1. R. Aldridge	An English *Clerk* in the Secretary's office; *no* connection with Ireland.
2. Henry Alexander	Chairman of Ways and Means; cousin of Lord Caledon; his brother made a Bishop; himself a Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope.
3. Richard Archdall	Commissioner of the Board of Works.
4. William Bailey	Commissioner of the Board of Works.
5. Rt. Hon. J. Beresford . .	First Commissioner of Revenue; brother-in-law to Lord Clare.
6. J. Beresford, jun., ...	Then Purse-bearer to Lord Clare, afterwards a Parson, and now Lord Decies.
7. Marcus Beresford	A Colonel in the Army, son to the Bishop, Lord Clare's nephew.
8. J. Bingham*	Created a Peer; got £8,000 for two seats; and £15,000 compensation for Tuam. This gentleman first offered himself for *sale* to the Anti-Unionist; Lord Clanmorris.
9. Joseph H. Blake	*Created a Peer*—Lord Wallscourt, &c.
10. Sir J. G. Blackwood . . .	*Created a Peer*—Lord Dufferin.
11. Sir John Blaquiere . . .	Numerous Offices and Pensions, and created a Peer—Lord De Blaquiere.
12. Anthony Botet	Appointed Commissioner of the Barrack Board, £500 a year.
13. Colonel Burton.	Brother to Lord Conyngham; a Colonel in the Army.
14. *Sir Richard Butler* . . .	Purchased and changed sides; voted *against* the Union in 1799, and *for* it in 1800. Cash.
15. Lord Boyle	Son to Lord Shannon; they got an *immense* sum of money for their seats and Boroughs; at £15,000 each Borough.
16. Rt. Hon. D. Brown . . .	Brother to Lord Sligo.
17. Stewart Bruce	Gentleman Usher at Dublin Castle; now a Baronet.
18. George Burdet.	Commissioner of a Public Board, £500 per annum.
19. George Bunbury	Commissioner of a Public Board, £500 per annum.
20. *Arthur Brown*	*Changed sides and principles*, and was appointed Sergeant; in 1799 opposed the Union, and supported it in 1800; he was Senior Fellow of Dublin University; lost his seat the ensuing election, and died.
21. ——— *Bagwell, sen.*, . . .	*Changed* TWICE; got half the patronage of Tipperary; his son a Dean, &c., &c.
22. ——— *Bagwell, jun.*, . . .	*Changed* TWICE; got the Tipperary Regiment, &c.
23. William Bagwell	His brother.
24. Lord Castlereagh	The Irish Minister.
25. George Cavendish. . . .	Secretary to the Treasury during pleasure; son to Sir Henry.
26. Sir H. Cavendish	Receiver General during pleasure; deeply indebted to the Crown.
27. Sir R. Chinnery	Placed in office after the Union.
28. James Cane	Renegaded, and got a pension.
29. Thomas Casey	A Commission of Bankrupts under Lord Clare; made a City Magistrate.
30. Colonel C. Pope	Renegaded; got a Regiment, and the patronage of his county
31. General Cradock	Returned by Government; much military rank; now Lord Howden.
32. James Crosby	A regiment and the patronage of Kerry, jointly; seconded the Address.
33. Edward Cooke	Under-Secretary at the Castle.

* The Author of this work was deputed to learn from Mr. Bingham what his expectations from Government for his seats were; he proposed to take from the Opposition £8,000 for his two seats for Tuam, and oppose the Union. Government afterwards added a Peerage and £15,000 for the Borough.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
34. Charles H. Coote	Obtained a Regiment (which was taken from Colonel Warburton,) patronage of Queens County, and a Peerage, (Lord Castlecoote,) and £7,500 in cash for his interest at the Borough of Maryborough, in which, in fact, it was *proved* before the Commissioners that Sir Jonah Barrington had more interest than his Lordship.
35. Rt. Hon. I. Corry	Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, on dismissal of Sir John Parnell.
36. Sir J. Cotter.	Privately brought over by cash.
37. Richard Cotter.	
38. Hon. H. Creighton } . . .	Renegaded (see Red List) privately purchased.
39. Hon. J. Creighton }	
40. W. A. Crosbie	Comptroller to the Lord-Lieutenant's Household.
41. James Cuffe	Natural son to Mr. Cuffe of the Board of Works, his father created Lord Tyrawly.
42. General Dunne	Returned for Maryborough by the united influence of Lord Castlecoote and Government, to keep out Mr. Barrington; gained the election by only *one*.
43. William Elliot	Secretary at the Castle.
44. General Eustace	A Regiment.
45. Lord C. Fitzgerald . . .	Duke of Leinster's brother; a Pension and a Peerage; a Sea Officer of no repute.
46. Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald.	
47. Sir C. Fortescue	Renegaded (see Red List) Officer, King at Arms.
48. A. Fergusson	Got a place at the Barrack Board, £500 a year and a Baronetcy.
49. Luke Fox	Appointed Judge of Common Pleas; nephew by marriage to Lord Ely.
50. William Fortescue . . .	Got a secret Pension, out of a fund (£3,000 a year,) intrusted by Parliament to the Irish Government, solely to reward Mr. Reynolds, Cope, &c., &c., and those who informed against rebels.
51. J. Galbraith	Lord Abercorn's Attorney; got a Baronetage.
52. Henry D. Grady*	First Counsel to the Commissioners.
53. Richard Hare	Put two members into Parliament, and was created Lord Ennismore for their votes.
54. William Hare	His son.
55. Col. B. Henniker	A regiment, and paid £3,500 for his Seat by the Commissioners of Compensation.
56. Peter Holmes	A Commissioner of Stamps.
57. George Hatton	Appointed Commissioner of Stamps.
58. Hon. J. Hutchinson . . .	A General—Lord Hutchinson.
59. Hugh Howard	Lord Wicklow's brother, made Postmaster-General.
60. Wm. Handcock, (Athlone,).	An extraordinary instance; he made and sang songs *against* the Union in 1799, at a public dinner of the Opposition, and made and sang songs *for* it in 1800; he got a Peerage.
61. John Hobson	Appointed Storekeeper at the Castle Ordnance.
62. Col. G. Jackson	A Regiment.
63. Denham Jephson	Master of Horse to the Lord-Lieutenant.
64. Hon. G. Jocelyn	Promotion in the Army, and his brother consecrated *Bishop of Lismore*.
65. William Jones.	
66. Theophilus Jones	Collector of Dublin.
67. Major-General Jackson . .	A Regiment.
68. William Johnson	Returned to Parliament by Lord Castlereagh, as he himself declared, "to put an end to it;" appointed a Judge since.
69. Robert Johnson	Seceded from his patron, Lord Downshire, and was appointed a Judge.
70. John Keane	A Renegade; got a Pension; See Red List.
71. James Kearny	Returned by Lord Clifton being his Attorney; got an office.
72. Henry Kemmis	Son to the Crown Solicitor.
73. William Knot	Appointed a Commissioner of Appeals £800 a year.
74. Andrew Knox.	
75. Colonel Keatinge.	
76. Rt. Hon. Sir H. Langrishe .	A Commissioner of the Revenue, received £15,000 cash for his patronage at Knoctopher.
77. T. Lingray, sen., ...	Commissioner of Stamps, paid £1,500 for his patronage.
78. T. Lindsay, jun., ...	Usher at the Castle, paid £1,500 for his patronage.
79. J. Longfield	Created a Peer; Lord Longueville.
80. Capt. J. Longfield. . . .	Appointed to the office of Ship Entries of Dublin taken from Sir Jonah Barrington.

* This gentleman was known to be entirely indisposed to a Union, but peculiar circumstances prevented him imperatively but honorably from following his own impression. Sir Jonah Barrington communicated to Mr. George Ponsonby these causes, as he thought it but justice to Mr. Grady, who, on some occasions, did not conceal his sentiments, and acted fairly.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
81. Lord Loftus	Son to Lord Ely, Postmaster-General; got £30,000 for their Boroughs, and created an English Marquis.
82. General Lake	An Englishman (no connection with Ireland;) returned by Lord Castlereagh, *solely* to vote for the Union.
83. Rt. Hon. David Latouche.	
84. General Loftus	A General; got a Regiment; cousin to Lord Ely.
85. Francis M'Namara . . .	Cash and a private pension, paid by Lord Castlereagh.
86. Ross Mahon	Several appointments and places by Government.
87. Richard Martin	Commissioner of Stamps.
88. Rt. Hon. Monk Mason . .	A Commissioner of Revenue.
89. H. D. Massy	Received £4,000 cash.
90. Thomas Mahon.	
91. A. E. M'Naghten	Appointed a Lord of the Treasury, &c.
92. Stephen Moore	A Postmaster at will.
93. N. M. Moore.	
94. Rt. Hon. Lodge Morris .	Created a Peer.
95. Sir R. Musgrave	Appointed Receiver of the Customs, £1,200 a year.
96. James M'Cleland	A Barrister—appointed Solicitor General, and then a Baron of the Exchequer.
97. Col. C. M'Donnel. . . .	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £500 per annum.
98. Richard Magenness . . .	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £500 per annum.
99. Thomas Nesbit	A Pensioner at will.
100. *Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart.*	Bought, (see Memoir *ante*,) and a Peerage for his wife.
101. Richard Neville	Renegaded; reinstated as Teller of the Exchequer.
102. William Odell.	A Regiment, and Lord of the Treasury.
103. Charles Osborne	A Barrister; appointed a Judge of the King's Bench.
104. C. M. Ormsby	Appointed First Council Commissioner.
105. Admiral Pakenham . . .	Master of the Ordnance.
106. Col. Pakenham	A Regiment; killed at New Orleans.
107. H. S. Prittie	A Peerage—Lord Dunalley.
108. R. Pennefather.	
109. T. Prendergast	An office in the Court of Chancery, £500 a-year; his brother Crown Solicitor.
110. Sir Richard Quin . . .	A Peerage.
111. Sir Boyle Roche	Gentleman Usher at the Castle.
112. R. Rutledge.	
113. Hon. C. Rowley	Renegaded, and appointed to office by Lord Castlereagh.
114. Hon. H. Skeffington . . .	Clerk of the Paper Office of the Castle, and £7,500 for his patronage.
115. William Smith	A Barrister; appointed a Baron of the Exchequer.
116. H. M. Sandford	Created a Peer; Lord Mount Sandford.
117. Edmond Stanley	Appointed Commissioner of Accounts.
118. John Staples.	
119. John Stewart	Appointed Attorney-General, and created a Baronet.
120. John Stratton.	
121. *Hon. B. Stratford* . . .	Renegaded to get £7,500, his half of the compensation for Baltinglass.
122. *Hon. J. Stratford* . . .	Paymaster of Foreign Forces, £1,300 a-year, and £7,500 for Baltinglass.
123. Richard Sharkey. . . .	An obscure Barrister; appointed a County Judge.
124. *Thomas Stannus*. . . .	Renegaded.
125. J. Savage.	
126. Rt. Hon. J. Toler . . .	Attorney-General; his wife, an old woman, created a Peeress; himself made Chief Justice and a Peer.
127. Frederick Trench . . .	Appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Works.
128. Hon. R. Trench	A Barrister; created a Peer, and made an Ambassador. See Red List.
129. Charles Trench	His brother; appointed Commissioner of Inland Navigation—a new office created by Lord Cornwallis, for rewards.
130. Richard Talbot.	
131. P. Tottenham	Compensation for patronage; cousin, and politically connected with Lord Ely.
132. Lord Tyrone	104 offices in the gift of his family; proposed the Union in Parliament, by a speech written in the crown of his hat.
133. Charles Tottenham . . .	In office.
134. ——— Townsend . . .	A Commissioner.
135. Robert Tighe	Commissioner of Barracks.
136. Robert Uniack	A Commissioner; connected with Lord Clare.
137. James Verner.	Called the Prince of Orange.
138. J. O. Vandeleur	Commissioner of the Revenue; his brother a Judge.
139. Colonel Wemyss	Collector of Kilkenny.
140. Henry Westenraw . . .	Father of Lord Rossmore, who is of the very reverse of his father's politics.

APPENDIX No. III.

AN ACT FOR THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

2d JULY, 1800.

WHEREAS, In pursuance of His Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the Parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of the Parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved that, in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two Parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles, for effectuating and establishing the said purposes, in the tenor following :—

ARTICLE I. That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and forever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies ; and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as His Majesty, by his royal proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Article II. That it be the second article of Union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

Article III. That it be the third article of Union, that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled "The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Article IV. That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom ; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That such act as shall be passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons, to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective Parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof ; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass, by the clerk of the Parliaments at the table of the House of Lords whilst the house is sitting ; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the Parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the case may be.

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom ; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election ; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged.

That it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union ; *Provided*, That no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the Union, shall have become extinct ; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that

part of the United Kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for His Majesty his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the United Kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the United Kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled, by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom.

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct; *Provided*, That nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, reported to His Majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to His Majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided; subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect to Ireland as, from local circumstances, the Parliament of the United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in the cases of elections for counties and cities, and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That when His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding a first or any subsequent Parliament of the United Kingdom, a proclamation shall issue, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the Parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That if His Majesty, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain; then the said lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first Parlitment of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain; and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom; and such first Parliament may (in that case) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present Parliament of Great Britain may by law now continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved: *Provided always*, That until an act shall have passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown of Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty, holding such offices or places as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house as to make the whole number of members of the said house holding such offices or places as aforesaid more than twenty, then and in such case the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom, in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall, until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall

otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the lords and commons of the Parliament of Great Britain.

That the lords of Parliament on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of Parliament which shall belong to the lords of Parliament on the part of Great Britain; and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the same (the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted); and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland, existing at the time of the Union, shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedency next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland created after the Union shall have rank and precedency with the peerages of the United Kingdom, so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects, from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the United Kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the United Kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted.

Article V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland;* and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be and shall remain in full force forever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Article VI. That it be the sixth article of Union, that His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, His Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

That, from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the Schedule Number One, A. and B., hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in the manner hereinafter provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the Schedule Number Two, hereunto annexed, shall be subject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said Schedule Number Two; and the woolen manufactures, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland: Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain shall be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions, as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per centum from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so that as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said Schedule

Number One, A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner herein specified; and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the United Parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions: *Provided always*, That nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions, on the said articles, may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

Article VII. That it be the seventh article of Union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; and that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable,) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall deem just and reasonable upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision; or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average; viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined; or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other; unless, previous to any such period, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the United Kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall from time to time deem fit; *Provided always*, That in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that, if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested, by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; *Provided*, That the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all moneys to be raised after the Union, by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the United Kingdom by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; *Provided*, That, if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each

separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or, if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one-hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to declare, that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand; that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before described; *Provided nevertheless*, That the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country; that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct; that, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the United Kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the United Kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Article VIII. That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require. *Provided*, That all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; *And provided*, That from and after the Union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to His Majesty's delegates in his Court of Chancery in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas, the said articles having, by address of the respective Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before His Majesty, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same; and to recommend it to his two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles; in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect forever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one. *Provided*, That before that period an act shall have been passed by the Parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

[Here follows the supplementary enactment for regulating the mode of summoning the Irish lords and commons to sit in the then current United Parliament. This enactment is sufficiently described in the text.]

APPENDIX No. IV.

PROCLAMATIONS FOUND IN EMMET'S ARMS-DEPOTS, INTENDED TO BE ISSUED ON THE DAY OF THE OUTBREAK.

The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland:—

"You are now called upon to show to the world that you are competent to take your place among nations, that you have a right to claim their recognizance of you as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence, your wresting it from England with your own hands.

"In the development of this system, which has been organized within the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of external assistance; which has been conducted with a tranquillity, mistaken for obedience; which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated; in the development of this system, you will show to the people of England, that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or repress. You will show them, that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count upon its obedience; under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will show to them, that the question, which it now behooves them to take into serious and instant consideration, is not, whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will *drive us beyond separation;* whether they will, by a sanguinary resistance, create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they will take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds—a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and unalterable determination.

"If the secrecy, with which the present effort has been conducted shall have led our enemies to suppose, that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence, which was once lost by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other, to look only at our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one county, should be a signal for insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution, and in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

"In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound at the same time, to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our views. We, therefore, solemnly declare, that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland; that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives, that we will never, but at the express call of our country, abandon our post till the acknowledgment of its independence is obtained from England, and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country, while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration which we call on the people of Ireland to support. And we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralyzed by the want of intelligence, to show that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed; on that part of Ireland which was once foremost by its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the North to stand up and shake off their slumber and oppressions.

"Citizens of Dublin:

"A band of patriots, mindful of their oath and faithful to their engagement as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long career of English oppression.

"In this endeavor they are now successfully engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal cöoperation from the country, every part of which, from the extremity of the North to that of the South, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause. Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid; necessary secrecy has prevented, to many of you, notice of our plan, but the erection of our national standard, the sacred, though long degraded, Green, will be sufficient to call to arms and rally round it every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism or sense of duty. Avail yourselves of your local advantages—in a city each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery—impede the march of your oppressors—charge them with the arms of the brave—the pike—and from your windows and roofs hurl stones, bricks, bottles and all other convenient implements, on the head of the satellites of your tyrant, the mercenary, the sanguinary soldiery of England.

"Orangemen! add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its tyrant—attempt not an opposition, which will carry with it your inevitable destruction. Return from your paths of delusion, return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

"Countrymen of all descriptions, let us act with union and concert. All sects, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, are equally and indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of your object. Repress, prevent and discourage excesses, pillage and intoxication; let each man do his duty, and remember, that during public agitation inaction becomes a crime. Be no other competition known than that of doing good; remember against whom you fight; your oppressors for six hundred years. Remember their massacres, their tortures—remember your murdered friends—your burned houses—your violated females—keep in mind your country, to whom we are now giving her high rank among nations, and in the honest terror of feeling, let us exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that, which will be last of all."

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